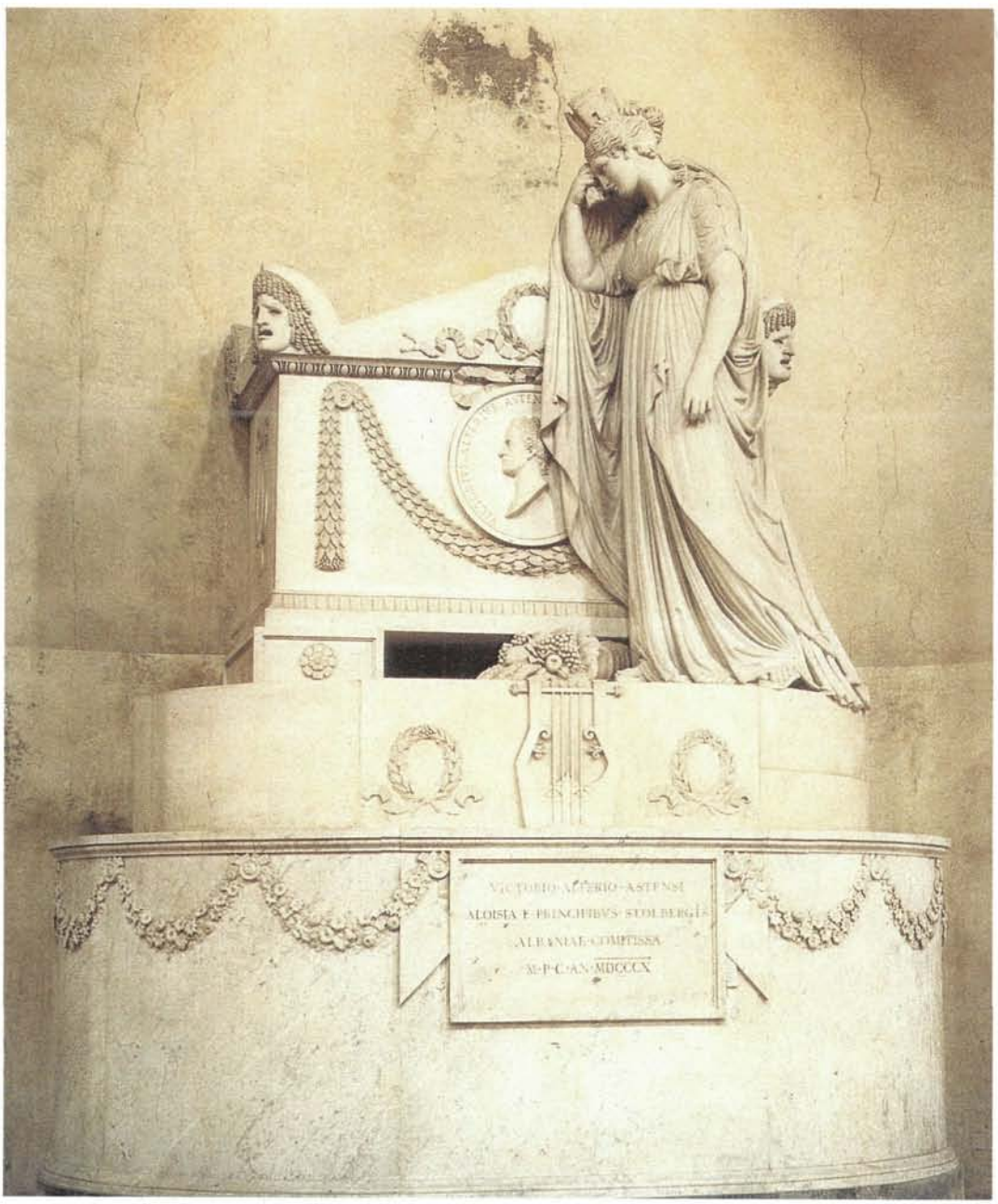
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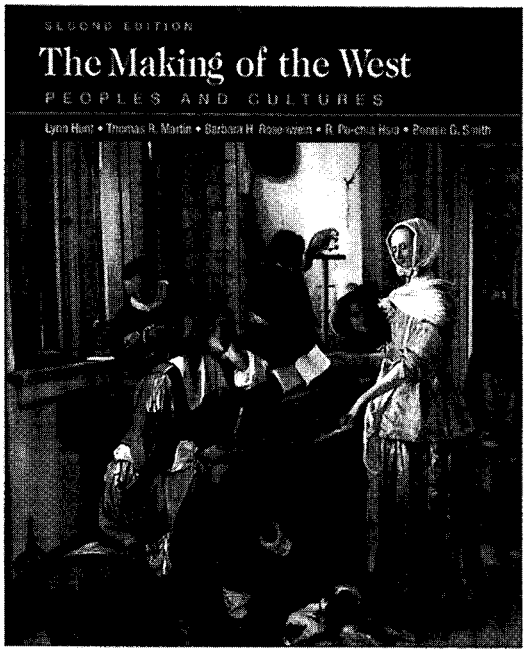
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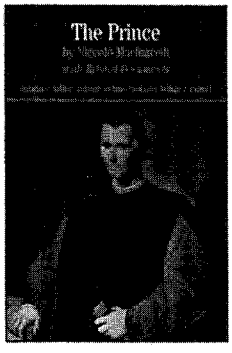


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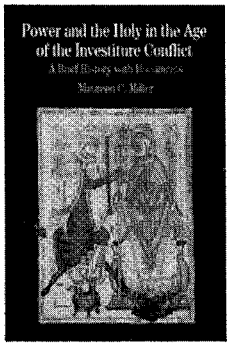
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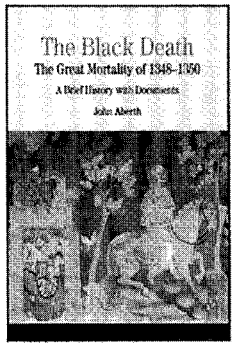
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The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.
Our editorial e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, $170 annually; for incomes over $70,000, $135; over $55,000, $112; over $45,000, $100; over $35,000, $85; over $20,000, $74; under $20,000, $40; for students, $35; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN) without the *Review*, $58; for K-12 with the *Review*, $85; for joint members or spouse/partners, $40; for emeritus and retired historians, $50; for associate members (nonhistorians), $50; a life membership is $2,600. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is $17.00. Subscription rates effective for Volume 108, Type 1, $200.00, Type 2, $250.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

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In This Issue

This issue contains five articles. The articles analyze the creation of a business press in early modern Europe, the ordering power of racial beliefs and practice in European colonialism, the interpretive importance of notarial records, the gender dynamics of late nineteenth-century Italian patriotism, and the continuing importance of local history in studying European colonialism. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

John J. McCusker argues that the publication of commercial and financial newspapers in early sixteenth-century Europe was a crucial component of the first step in the now five-centuries-long information revolution. The first newspapers were business newspapers. They delivered news that mattered to entrepreneurs much more conveniently and consistently than previous sources of such information. McCusker chronicles how these papers developed most fully in the major commercial and financial centers of the era, successively, as one superseded the other: in Antwerp during the sixteenth century, in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century, and in London during the eighteenth century. Critically, he emphasizes, no city in colonial British North America had even one such newspaper; instead, colonists relied on London as their source of news about the markets until the time of the American Revolution. Only after 1783 did cities in the United States begin to publish business newspapers, as first Philadelphia and then New York assumed the role for the new nation that London had performed previously. McCusker then argues that when New York replaced London as the commercial and financial center of the world at the turn of the twentieth century, and thus as the center of business communications, the second step of the "information revolution" had occurred: a shift to the faster transmission of the news, at first mechanically, by train and steamship, and then electrically, by telegraph and telephone. Finally, he explains, in the second half of the twentieth century, the world was introduced to the electronic transmission of news. McCusker charts these changes in the financial press to contend that the sixteenth century delivered news better, the nineteenth century delivered news faster, and the twenty-first century delivers news cheaper. As a result, he contends that the information revolution contributed to the globalization of the world economy.

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Saliha Belmessous examines the efforts of seventeenth-century French authorities to construct a colonial society in North America that included national settlers and indigenous peoples. She argues that they promoted the mixing of settlers and natives through intermarriage and common living. Their aim, however, was to create not a métis society but a homogeneous French society. Thus colonial officials encouraged native people to accept French religion and civility. *Francisation* became the official French policy toward the Amerindians. However, Belmessous explains, the policy failed because of natives' refusal to assimilate on these terms. To account for that failure, she maintains, French colonial officials developed a new ideology that racialized Amerindians. It is this ideological change, Belmessous contends, that accounts for the metropolitan formation of racialized attitudes. Consequently, in explaining the history of assimilation in New France, she argues that racial ideology in the colony was not the result of exploitation; nor was it influenced by metropolitan intellectual discussion of the ideas of civility and progress. Instead, she insists that racial ideology arose directly out of the political experience of colonization. Thus she challenges the idea that race emerged from modern science. Equally important, she demonstrates the importance of the *longue durée* for understanding the emergence of race.

Kathryn Burns argues that understanding the rules and customs of record making is vital for interpreting the kind of truth that notarial archives offer. From the medieval Mediterranean world to the colonial Americas and beyond, notaries created and maintained official records in which they attested to the truth of their clients' dealings: sales, loans, dowries, wills, and much more. Historians prize notaries' records for the rich details they convey about the texture of everyday life. However, we still know relatively little about the conditions in which notaries, their assistants, and their clients collaborated to produce notarial truth. Using records primarily from colonial Cuzco, Peru, Burns considers the stereotypes that dogged notaries, the templates they used, and the pressures that might attend the work done in and around their workshops. She contends that the space of the notarized document itself should be considered a historical artifact that invites interpretation. She uses selected documents to trace the ways that unequal relations of power may show up on close, informed reading of the notarial record. Burns concludes that reading notarial archives for maximum insight into a society's power relations requires a methodologically informed understanding of their creation and use.

Silvana Patriarca examines the major political writings of the Italian Risorgimento. She proposes a new reading of nineteenth-century Italian nationalist discourse that stresses its articulation with a Europe-wide conversation on the "character" of nations, its deeply gendered nature, and its similarities with the nationalist rhetoric of peoples in similar structural positions. She emphasizes the recurrent patriotic denunciations of the "vices" of the Italians, especially their "effeminacy" and "indolence," to show how those denunciations reflected and reacted to widespread negative European discourses about the Italian character. These negative stereotypes, Patriarca argues, relied on Enlightenment notions of national character that stressed the influence of the environment and history on a people's moral

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predisposition. Italian authors both challenged and embraced the stereotypes. Patriarca highlights their gendered representations of Italy's political "degeneration," which she argues resulted in calls for a national regeneration also expressed in gendered terms. She concludes that Risorgimento patriotism is indicative of basic continuities in European nationalism.

Gregory Mann asks whether the much-heralded end of area studies and the rise of colonial studies must necessarily be accompanied by a declining commitment to local history. Focusing on the French town of Fréjus—and on war memorials built there and in the French Soudan (today's Mali) between the 1920s and the 1990s—he asserts the importance of the locality in colonial history and illustrates past and present connections between metropolitan and colonial sites. Mann argues that colonial histories deserve the kind of local analysis that illuminates the emergence of singular social forms or particular politics, as well as the accidents of history by which, for instance, a seaside town in southern France became the temporary home of thousands of West Africans, Southeast Asians, and Malagasy. Such colonial situations engendered a quality of locality that manifested itself in a web of memory and meaning elaborated over decades. Mann moves along that web as far as Mali before returning to Fréjus, but the web itself stretches to other places, particularly Southeast Asia. He concludes that historical studies rooted in garrisons, towns, or camps may illuminate issues that studies framed by colonies and empires do not.

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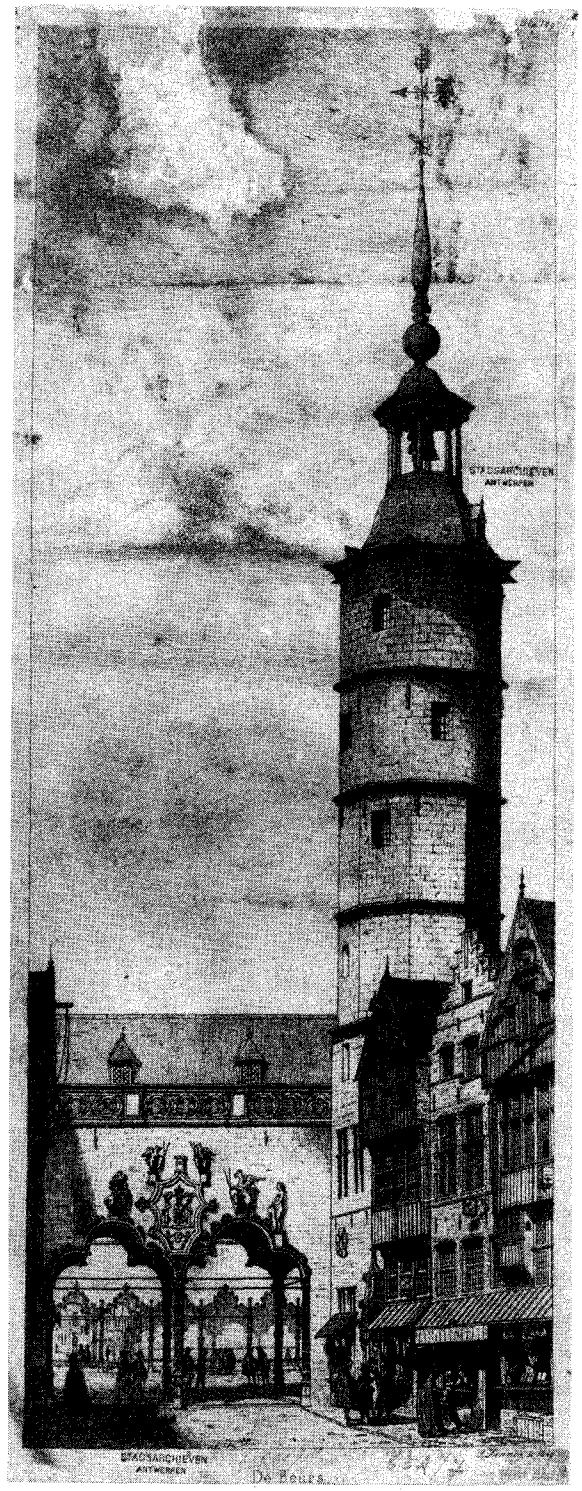


FIGURE 1: The Antwerp Exchange (1531–1581). Engraved in 1849 by Jan Theodor Joseph Linnig (1815–1891). The view north along Twaalfmaandenstraat showing the main entrance to the Beurs/Bourse with the bell tower. Notice the booksellers' or stationers' stalls where one might have purchased copies of the Antwerp business newspapers. Reproduced with kind permission of the Stadsarchief, Antwerp.

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The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World

JOHN J. McCUSKER

Remember that time is money.

—Benjamin Franklin, 1748[1]

Never was the farmer better paid for the part [of his crops that] he spared for commerce, as the published prices current abundantly testify.

Benjamin Franklin, 1787[2]

L'espace, ennemi numéro 1.

Fernand Braudel[3]

THE VALUE OF INFORMATION TO THE ECONOMY IS OBVIOUS. The ways in which information was provided to participants in the economy of the Atlantic World during the second half of the second millennium of the Christian era changed significantly, twice. Step one in this transformation engaged the printing press in the

During the time that I was engaged in the researching and writing of this essay, I enjoyed a great deal of support. I am immensely grateful for the help given me: as a Visiting Senior Mellon Scholar in American History at the University of Cambridge; as a John Adams Fellow of the Institute of United States Studies, University of London; as a Fellow of the Eccles Centre for American Studies, the British Library; as a Leverhulme Trust Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge; for a Helen Cam Fellowship at Girton College, University of Cambridge; as a Fulbright Senior Scholar to Great Britain; as a Scholar in Residence at the Rockefeller Center, Bellagio, Italy; for a Fredson Bowers Grant from the Bibliographical Society of America and the Bibliographical Society of Great Britain; for a Reese Fellowship from the Bibliographical Society of America; for a Franklin Research Grant from the American Philosophical Society; and for a fellowship offered by the Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, Brussels. I have also benefited from the opportunity to respond to thoughtful comments on some of the ideas developed herein offered at presentations before several sets of colleagues: at the Washington Area Economic History Seminar, American University; at the Seminar on Economic History, Indiana University; at the Conference on "Founding Financier: Robert Morris," City University of New York Graduate Center, New York City; at the Third International Congress of Maritime History, Esbjerg, Denmark; at the Graduate School Seminar, University of Helsinki, Finland; and at the Legal History Colloquium, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[1] Benjamin Franklin, "Advice to a Young Tradesman," as printed in George Fisher, *The American Instructor; or, Young Man's Best Companion . . .* , 9th edn. rev. (Philadelphia, 1748), 375. See also Franklin, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Leonard W. Labaree *et al.*, eds., 37 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1959—), 3: 304–308.

[2] Franklin, "Comfort for America, or Remarks on Her Real Situation, Interests, and Policy," *American Museum* 1 (January 1787): 6.

[3] Fernand [P.] Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 4th edn. rev. and corrected, 2 vols. (Paris, 1979), 1: 326–61, and his extended discussion of "*l'espace, ennemi numéro 1*" (distance, enemy number one).

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service of business. Before the change, sharing information involved direct, interpersonal communication; after it, information could be broadcast. The second step began with the telegraph and has progressed to the palm pilot and the mobile telephone—both, as you read these words, being melded into one, ever-smaller device combining telephone, personal digital assistant, camera, and portable scanner. The delivery of information changed at that point from mechanical to electronic, with consequences yet fully to be fathomed, the progression across the centuries captured in the mantra of the modern business world: better, faster, cheaper—an information revolution.

Frances Cairncross has written of the "death of distance," a potent phrase that vividly evokes the impact of the latest information technologies (IT).[4] Yet distance and its close cousin time did not die suddenly. The death of distance has been a lingering one, the story of which is only becoming clearer as we learn more about the onset of its demise over the three centuries between 1500 and 1800. Pivotal for business in reducing the impact of distance and time were the introduction and spread of commercial and financial newspapers.[5]

The publication of business newspapers was the first step in a break with the past; they became the method of choice for the dissemination of economic news to our own era. Once introduced into the European economy in the mid-sixteenth century, business newspapers developed rapidly into several different types and came quickly to be published in the important European commercial and financial centers—but not elsewhere, for several centuries.[6] Thus the starting up of

[4] I wish to acknowledge as the inspiration for my title the book by Frances Cairncross, *The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change Our Lives*, 2nd edn. (Boston, 2001). See also John J. McCusker, "Information and Transaction Costs in Early Modern Europe," in *Weltwirtschaft und Wirtschaftsordnung: Festschrift für Jürgen Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag*, Rainer Gömmel and Markus A. Denzel, eds., Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, no. 159 (Stuttgart, 2002), 69–83. Compare Richard O'Brien, *Global Financial Integration: The End of Geography* (New York, 1992).

[5] The story is not well known. For a recent, fine essay on the importance of information to business firms in the early modern period—but one that, like many others, seems not even aware of the existence of a business press—see Daniel A. Rabuzzi, "Commercial Intelligence: France and the Baltic Trades, c. 1750–1815," in *Négoce, Ports et Océans, XVI^{e}-XX^{e} siècles: Mélanges offerts à Paul Butel*, Silvia Marzagalli and Hubert Bonin, eds. (Bordeaux, 2000), 47–59.

[6] General purpose newspapers began to appear only later, in the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century. D[irk] H. Couvée, "The First Coranteers—The Flow of the News in the 1620's," *Gazette: International Journal of the Science of the Press* 8, no. 2 (1962): 22–36. It follows, of course, that business newspapers were the first newspapers. Business newspapers must certainly be considered newspapers if only because they conform reasonably enough to the standard definition of a newspaper, the seven characteristics of which were out in Otto Groth, *Die Zeitung: Ein System der Zeitungskunde (Journalistik)*, 4 vols. (Mannheim, 1928–1930), 1: 22–90. Groth argued that, for a publication to be considered a newspaper, it had to be (1) issued periodically; (2) duplicated mechanically; (3) available to anyone willing to pay for it; (4) broad in the news that it reported; (5) general in the audience to which it appealed; (6) timely in its reporting; and (7) produced by an established, ongoing enterprise. The point is argued in John J. McCusker and Cora Gravensteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe*, Nederlandisch Economisch-Historisch Archief, ser. 3, no. 11 (Amsterdam, 1991), 21–31 and *passim*. The commercial and financial newspapers that are the subject of this article fall short of this definition in several ways. First, and most particularly, they were not the general kind of newspaper about which Groth wrote. They were narrow, specialized newspapers, a subset of the genre "newspaper," but newspapers nonetheless in the same way that financial and commercial newspapers published in our own time are so considered (e.g., the *Wall Street Journal* or the *Financial Times*). Second, while they were for the most part reproduced mechanically, some were only partly-printed. I would argue that this is an unimportant distinction for the time when

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indigenous business newspapers in the United States only in the 1780s, after the American Revolution, presents for us a chance to ponder the causes and consequences of the demise of time and the death of distance.[7] That the establishment of the first business newspaper in the United States was concurrent with the establishment of the country's political independence underscores the new nation's emergence as a separate economic entity, too. That both developments were set in the same city, Philadelphia, suggests a linkage between the developing political and economic power of the country.

Much was new in these developments in the Western Hemisphere but much was old, too. Just as the political system installed in the United States was grounded in Old World ideas and institutions, so also was its economic system. This makes the earlier absence of a business press all the more curious. The questions are obvious: Why were no business newspapers published in British America prior to the 1780s? Why were some fifteen of them suddenly established during the next two decades? The answer to the questions is to be found in the historical development of business newspapers in Europe from the 1530s to the 1780s and in the way they finally came to be established in the United States during the two decades after the Peace of Paris in 1783.

To explain these developments is the point of this essay, first through an exploration of what happened in Europe, then of what happened in the new United States. Reflecting on these developments illuminates some of the fundamental reasons for the emergence of commercial and financial journalism as the first step in the demise of distance. I would argue that this account of the information revolution is best presented as a narrative that pays attention to the timing and places of its origins. Telling the tale in this manner not only makes it broadly accessible, but also highlights the chronological sequence of events and ideas so crucial to the creation of the broader information revolution that the emergence of the business press launched. I believe this method of presentation is critical as well because it emphasizes the importance of narrative as a tool of historical analysis and presentation. In this form, the moral of the story is as much in the telling as in the subject being explained. For this reason, my chronicle of the expanding

they were being published. Certainly the Venetian exchange rate current did not stop being a newspaper, which it had been by these criteria for over a century, when it changed from a fully printed format to a prtly printed one. Finally, some of the newspapers discussed in this article were issued less frequently than once-a-week, Groth's minimum level of periodicity. Again, for early modern Europe, this seems less significant. They were certainly regular and periodical. I think that "early business newspapers" describes them neatly and accurately. Compare Eric W. Allen, "International Origins of the Newspapers: The Establishment of Periodicity in Print," *Journalism Quarterly* 7 (December 1930): 310–11, who also prescribes a less dogmatic, more historical perspective on any such criteria when discussing early newspapers, as does Covée, cited above. See also Stanley Morison, *The English Newspaper: Some Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London between 1622 and the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1932), 7, 9; K[urt] Baschwitz, *De Krant door alle tijden*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam, 1949), 20–23; and Anthony Smith, *The Newspaper: An International History* (London, 1979), 9–13 and *passim*. In the same way that business and financial newspapers published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were treated as newspapers in law and practice, so also were the earlier ones, published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, equally newspapers.

[7] A wildly enthusiastic editorial in *The North American* (Philadelphia), January 15, 1846, 2, col. 1, celebrated the telegraph for effecting a revolution "by the annihilation of time."

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exchange of business information is also a brief for the importance of narrative analysis.[8]

This initial step in the information revolution triggered developments that continue to bring changes into our own time. Under the impetus of the business press, increasingly integrated local, national, and international markets yielded greater profitability for business firms thanks to better information. Three hundred years after the introduction of the business press, the steamship and the locomotive, the telegraph and the telephone added speed to reliability in the delivery of news. A century and a half later, at the beginning of the third millennium, labor and commodity markets were increasingly globalized to a degree that amazed all and disconcerted many.[9] Information had become practically costless. IT no longer mattered, the clever conceit of Nicholas Carr.[10] The information revolution was over; distance—the enemy targeted by Fernand Braudel—passed unlamented.

SOME FIVE CENTURIES AGO, the business press came into being when a group of merchants decided that their comparative advantage was significantly improved by the printing and sale of information that they and their colleagues had previously thought more valuable for being kept secret. Up to that point, keeping things a secret, the better to gain the upper hand over one's competitors, was standard business practice. The prices of commodities, the availability of goods, the location of customers, the arrival and departure of cargoes, the sailing of ships, the vagaries of the sea, the winds, and the tides: there was, and is, a great value to all this information. Developing private sources of information to the benefit of one's own firm was fundamental to success. These same notions continue to have currency in the business world today.

Such secrets gathered from trusted sources had always been shared with one's business contacts, of course, particularly within the various branches of a firm.[11] Mercantile correspondence from as long ago as the Phoenician traders of the third and second millennia B.C. is rich in such information. The merchants of the Italian city states of the late Middle Ages developed and distributed forms for the collection and circulation of commodity prices among members of the same

[8] In this, as in much else, I am indebted to the example of one of my students, Thomas P. Slaughter. See, for instance, his "Afterword" to Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram* (New York, 1996), 267–71. For a powerful critique of the art of historical discourse as practiced over the last half-century, see Allan Megill, "Coherence and Incoherence in Historical Studies: From the *Annales* School to the New Cultural History," *New Literary History* 35 (Spring 2004): 207–31.

[9] Jay R. Mandle, "Globalization: Pro and Con," in *The Economic History of World Trade since 1450: An Encyclopedia*, John J. McCusker *et al.*, eds., 2 vols. (forthcoming, New York, 2005). Compare Mandle, *Globalization and the Poor* (Cambridge, 2003). See also Lester C. Thurow, "Globalization: The Product of a Knowledge-Based Economy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 570 (July 2000): 19–31.

[10] Nicholas G. Carr, "IT Doesn't Matter," *Harvard Business Review* 81 (May 2003): 41–49; Carr, *Does IT Matter? Information Technology and the Corrosion of Competitive Advantage* (Boston, 2004). This essay presents something of a challenge to Carr's thinking in that it suggests that it is not just first adopters who reap the advantages of innovations; so do ingenious adapters.

[11] The Fuggers of Augsburg developed their famous interoffice newsletter network for just such purposes. See Götz von Pölnitz, *Die Fugger*, 6th edn. rev. (Tübingen, 1999), 293–96. Compare Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger: Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Jena, 1896).

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company. Numbers of these survive in the archives of, for instance, the Datini of fourteenth-century Prato.[12] Practically every letter of every merchant I have ever seen has a postscript telling the recipient the latest price for some commodity and the current rate of exchange, sometimes expressed in a shorthand so cryptic as to seem a code.[13]

Limiting the exchange of business information enhanced its value. The elaboration of a local market and the creation of a community of colleagues perforce opened up the circle a bit as organizations of merchants and guilds of brokers based at one town or fair agreed to gather and in face-to-face conversation share basic information to their mutual benefit. Even still, the clique was closed to all but the trusted few. Reliable intelligence about markets and prices—"the freshest advices"—is what kept business alive. Such information was meant to be private, to the benefit only of those who needed to know.

Then something changed. The printing press made it possible, but an altered attitude made it happen.[14] Perhaps the merchants of Venice were first, but the earliest known instance of the printing and publication of business newspapers occurred at Antwerp. The development was quite dramatic, fortuitously testified to in the letter book of the Antwerp office of a merchant firm, the Van der Molen, that traded Low Country cloth with merchants in Italy. The copybook of the firm's letters to its correspondents covers the period from 1538 through 1544. Into its first many pages, the company's clerk transcribed not only the texts of letters sent but also appended, as usual, prices and exchange rates at the foot of the letter, in a list—"*listini*" in Italian, the language of the letters. In August 1540, the copy clerk

[12] Federigo Melis, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII-XVI*, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini," Pubblicazioni, serie 1: Documenti, no. 1 (Florence, 1972), 38–39, 298–321, identifies and reproduces fourteen handwritten "*listini dei prezzi*" dated between 1383 and 1430. See the discussion of them in McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 22–23.

[13] Unfortunately when modern editors prepare such letters for publication, they often fail to reproduce these addenda either because they do not recognize them for what they were or they consider the information unimportant. For an example of one who treated the documents properly, see Henry [G.] Roseveare, ed., *Markets and Merchants of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marescoe-David Letters, 1668–1680*, Records of Social and Economic History, n.s., vol. 12 (Oxford and London, 1987).

[14] "It is abundantly evident . . . that the newspapers did not create news, but that news (plus the printing press) created the newspaper." Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (Philadelphia, 1929), 3. Considerable work has been done over the last few decades on the impact of the printing press on the history of the Western world. The essence of the discussion is handily summarized in the forum on "How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?" published in the *AHR* 107 (February 2002): 84–128, to which the reader is referred. In the position advanced here, I suggest that the printing press was a necessary but not sufficient cause of any such revolution: the important change came with the publication of business news, a development that was merely facilitated by the printing press. The key was the decision to publish and not the decision to print. In this emphasis, I am somewhat at odds with the thrust of Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's seminal study, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformation in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), in which she maintains that the printing press was the root cause of the changes. A similar argument is mounted by Michael Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit: Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), who compares the impact of the printing press with that of computers in the late twentieth century. Compare Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums, 1493–1598*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, vol. 163 (Mainz, 2000). By contrast, see Anthony T. Grafton, "The Importance of Being Printed," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (Autumn 1980): 265–86. Compare Adrian [D. S.] Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998).

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suddenly changed his practice; he stopped transcribing rates and prices. Instead he began noting in the copybook that the recipient would find enclosed with the letter "[*listini di*] *pretio di mercanti*"—lists of the prices of goods—"*in stampa*," that is, printed.[15]

It is from this period that we have our first evidence of the publication of two kinds of business newspaper, the one called the commodity price current and the other called the exchange rate current. We date the start of the commercial and financial press to these humble but significant beginnings at Antwerp around 1540—although, given the early and continuing publication of them in the Italian language and recognizing the heavy dependence by Low Country merchants on Italian practices and precedents in matters mercantile, one must reserve the possibility of an even earlier origin in the Italian city states, perhaps, as was said above, Venice.[16]

Who published them? And why? We can only speculate in answer to both of these questions. (I am reminded at this point of the cliché about the medieval historian who forges ahead with two documents and lots of imagination.) If, as seems likely, later modes of organizing the publication of these newspapers emulated previous modes, then we can look to what we know about the publication of the Amsterdam business newspapers for an indication of what the Antwerpers had done first. If so, then it was the licensed brokers of the city acting through the famous Antwerp Beurs (or Bourse, the Antwerp Exchange) that organized the publication of these newspapers.

The Antwerp Exchange—the model for the Amsterdam Exchange and the prototype for Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange in London—played a central role in the business of the city. (See Figure 1). Such exchanges faced in two directions, like the Roman god Janus. Their primary function was to channel business news to their local membership. Members of the exchange met there during business hours and learned the news in a medley of ways: through conversations with other

[15] Pieter van der Molen Brievenkopij, 1538–1544, Insolvente Boedelskamer no. 2898, Stadsarchief, Antwerp. See, for instance, the letters to sig. Azeretto, at Genoa, August 22 and September 19, 1540, Van der Molen Brievenkopij, fols. 171v, 175r, 175v. Compare *ibid.*, fols. 184v, 185v. For more about the firm and the letter book, see Florence [M.] Edler, "The Van der Molen, Commission Merchants of Antwerp: Trade with Italy, 1538–44," in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*, James Lea Cate and Eugene N. Anderson, eds. (Chicago, 1938), 78–145. John Munro, in the most recent of his many insightful explorations of the dynamics of this trade, has established yet another reason for the rise of Antwerp. See his "The Low Countries' Export Trade in Textiles with the Mediterranean Basin, 1200–1600: A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Comparative Advantages in Overland and Maritime Trade Routes," *International Journal of Maritime History* 11 (December 1999): 1–30.

[16] John J. McCusker, "The Role of Antwerp in the Emergence of Commercial and Financial Newspapers in Early Modern Europe," in *La ville et la transmission des valeurs culturelles au bas Moyen Âge et aux temps modernes—Die Stade und die Übertragung von kulturellen Werten im Spätmittelalter und in die Neuzeit—Cities and the Transmission of Cultural Values in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, Gemeentekrediet van België/Crédit Communal de Belgique, Collection Histoire, no. 96 (Brussels, 1996), 303–332. See also Ugo Tucci, "I listini a stampa dei prezzi e dei cambi a Venezia," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 25 (1993): 15–33; Peter Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, John [J.] Martin and Dennis Romano, eds. (Baltimore, 2000), 389–419; and Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)*, Quadrante Laterza, vol. 115 (Rome, 2002).

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members; through announcements called out to all of them;[17] through the receipt and disbursal of the letter post; and, increasingly after the invention of the printing press, through flyers, broadsides, and, ultimately, newspapers printed and posted on the exchange. Exchanges came to be valued for their libraries; the back issues of the newspapers to which the exchange subscribed were an important part of library holdings.[18] As that suggests, the second function of these exchanges, one that grew to become increasingly important after the 1540s, was to channel local business news abroad. This second impulse originated on the Antwerp Beurs when its brokers decided to publish local business newspapers.

Based again on what we know to have been the practice later at Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other places, we surmise that from the start the committee of the brokers guild that ran the Antwerp Exchange licensed the publication of their newspapers to one or more members of their guild who then ran the publication as a separate business. At Amsterdam a century later, the members of that subcommittee were called the "*prijs courantiers*." They hired clerks to do the work of gathering and assembling the information. At the appointed day and hour, the clerks circulated on the trading floor of the bourse, questioning designated brokers at each of their designated trading areas, or "walks," asking them about the latest prices of specific commodities, exchange rates, insurance rates, and the rest.[19] (See Figure 2). Writing on a copy of the previous issue of the newspaper, the clerks penciled in the changes, corrections, and comments. They then met to assemble the data they had gathered and the five *prijs courantiers* checked it carefully—"*ghecorrigeert by ons vyven*" the Amsterdam newspaper proclaimed, seeking to reassure its readers—before sending copy to the printer with whom they had

[17] Perhaps the most famous site for such announcements was the "pulpit" at Lloyd's from which news was read aloud by one of the coffee-house waiters, as described by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. See Charles Wright and C[harles] Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's from the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day* (London, 1928), 26–27, citing the *Tatler*, December 26, 1710, and the *Spectator*, April 23, 1711.

[18] See the description of the impressive library in the offices of the Frankfurt city agency established by and for the city's merchants to facilitate the conduct of their affairs. It stocked books, political newspapers, and both local and foreign exchange rate currents and commodity price currents: "die Wechsel- und Waaren-Preiß-Couranti nicht allein von hier, sondern auch von Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bremen, Venedig u.s.w." Frankfurt am Main, Messe, *Franckfurter Meß-Schema, oder Verzeichniß aller nach Franckfurt Kommenden . . . in Ansehung der Messe zu wissen nützlicher Nachrichten* (Frankfurt am Main, 1775), "Vorbericht." Serving the same functions later in the 1840s, the North and South American Coffee House in Threadneedle Street, London, could boast of having available to its members back-files of between three and four hundred newspapers. [David Morier Evans], *The City; or, The Physiology of London Business; With Sketches on Change, and at the Coffee Houses* [1st edn.] (London, 1845), 126. Compare the libraries that were a prominent part of the colonial merchant exchanges like the one established at Boston by the mid-1650s. Josiah Henry Benton, *The Story of the Old Boston Town House, 1658–1711* (Boston, 1908), 52 and *passim*.

[19] Thus, in 1659, Amsterdam grain merchant Dirck de Wolff, already a member of the Council of the Brokers Guild, was appointed *overman* (overseer) of grain prices. C[arel] H. Jansen, "Geschiedenis van de familie de Wolff: Sociale en economische facetten van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden in de zeventiende eeuw," *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 56 (1964): 131–32. In 1810, in his presentation before the famous Bullion Committee, Aaron Asher Goldsmid, partner in Mocatta and Goldsmid, one of the five legendary London bullion brokerage houses, stated that since the 1690s his firm had served a similar function on the Royal Exchange as the designated brokers who reported on gold and silver prices for John Castaing's *Course of the Exchange*. Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Report, Together with Minutes of Evidence, and Accounts, from the Select Committee on the High Price of Gold Bullion*, House of Commons, Sessional Papers, 1810, vol. 3 (Reports), no. 349 (London, 1810), 36.

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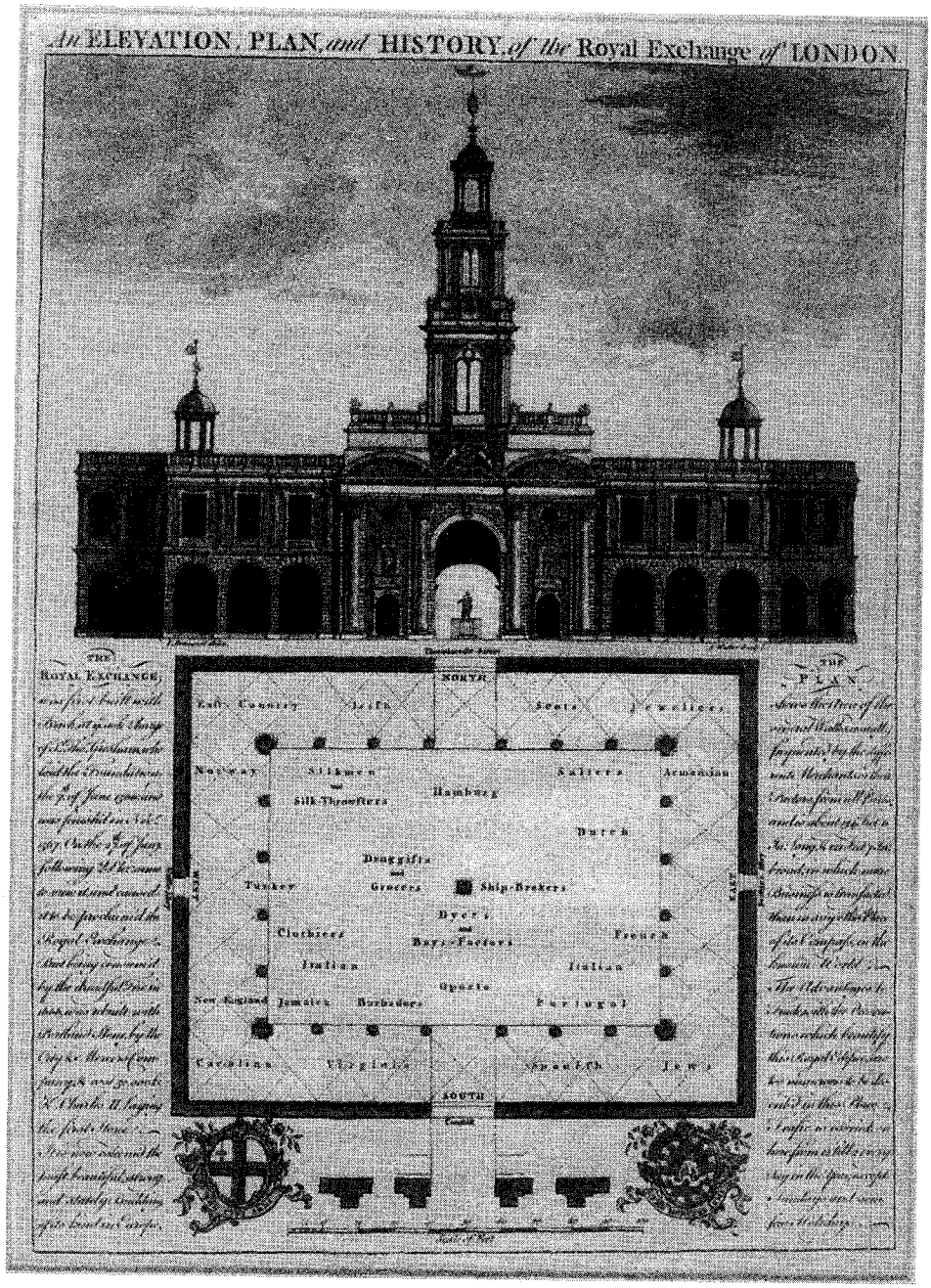


FIGURE 2: "An Elevation, Plan and History of the Royal Exchange of London" (1761). Drawn by John Donowell (fl. 1753–1786) and engraved by Anthony Walker (1726–1765). Shown are the "walks" of each trading group. Reproduced with permission from a copy in the author's possession.

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contracted to set type and produce the newspaper.[20] It was sold by subscription and by individual copy to any who cared to pay the price.

This manner of operation continued to be carried on rather unchanged into the first half of the twentieth century. A former editor of the *Financial Times* of London once explained to me that the way of gathering the information and preparing copy that I have just described was how things were done for his newspaper until just before World War II. This was certainly how the first commodity price current was published in Philadelphia in the 1780s.[21] It is likely that this was how it was done from the start, at Antwerp, in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Why did the brokers of Antwerp break with the past and publish their trade secrets? This is an even trickier question and one for which we have no hard evidence at all to help us find answers, only inferences.[22] Nevertheless several things seem obvious.

Probably the most telling reason merchants in a city such as Antwerp agreed to the organization of a business press was that doing so would generate more business for the city. A published list of the prices at which commodities sold on the Antwerp market announced the existence of such a market at Antwerp. It advertised the commodities that could be sold there, thus attracting more sellers. It publicized all the goods that could be purchased there, thus attracting more buyers. So did a similar listing of the rates at which bills of exchange could be negotiated encourage more businesses to consider Antwerp as the place to buy and sell them. Later newspapers touted the costs and availability of money on loan, cargoes just landed, ships about to sail, and the rates at which goods could be freighted. Even a newspaper that appeared only quarterly served the same purposes. Increasing business, of course, quickly turned a quarterly newspaper into a weekly newspaper in the same way that the increased business convinced a city famous for its quarterly fairs that it needed to build an exchange because the fair had become a daily occurrence. The city of Antwerp opened its newly constructed exchange in 1531 to accommodate what had become, according to Florentine merchant and longtime

[20] Early numbers of both the Amsterdam and the Hamburg commodity price currents printed such pledges by the *prijs courantiers* making explicit that they had, indeed, carefully checked the contents. *Cours van Negotie* (Amsterdam), November 23, 1609 (quotation); *Prys Corant* (Hamburg), April 14, 1626; *Prys Crant* (Hamburg), February 12, 1630. See McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 44, 225. There is evidence that printers of commodity price currents and exchange rate currents did not distribute type back into the type cases between issues of the newspapers but maintained standing type, parts of which they changed as necessary. E.g., *ibid.*, 401–402. On the subject of standing type during the hand-press period, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), 116–17; and C[arolyn] Nelson and M[atthew] Seccombe, *Periodical Publications, 1641–1700: A Survey with Illustrations*, Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society, no. 2 (London, 1986), 36.

[21] See John J. McCusker, "Philadelphia and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the United States" (forthcoming).

[22] Instructive in this context is George J. Stigler, "The Economics of Information," *Journal of Political Economy* 69 (June 1961): 213–25. (I thank Jim Simler for this reference.) Compare Stephen Morris and Hyun Song Shin, "Social Value of Public Information," *American Economic Review* 92 (December 2002): 1521–534.

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inhabitant of Antwerp, Lodovico Guicciardini, a "continuous fair."[23] Business newspapers, founded there within the decade, helped the expansion of that market.

A second reason for the publication of business newspapers was that publishing them was a profitable business in itself.[24] Every one of these newspapers about which there exists relevant information was run as a money-making enterprise. The *prijs courantiers* contended for the job and paid to the brokers' guild that ran the exchange both an initiation fee and an annual renewel fee for their license to operate. They came to value these licenses more highly over time, to bid their price up fiercely, and to defend them stoutly. They had cause. The broker's guild not only dispensed licenses but also organized the screening of the newspapers to guarantee the accuracy and impartiality of their contents. They withdrew licenses when malfeasance was detected.[25] In later times and other places, competitive pressures supplemented and supplanted oversight by authorities to insure honesty and consistency in reporting, the invisible hand of the market replacing the visible hand of government. The publisher contracted with and paid a licensed printer for doing his job. Governments monitored and taxed these enterprises, both the newspapers themselves and the printers thereof.[26] But governments also considered business newspapers important enough to promote their publication by granting them various incentives like concessionary postal privileges. The English crown valued one business newspaper so highly that, uniquely, it made the newspaper's printer free of all control by the city and the Stationers' Company.

Most importantly for publishers, there were profits to be made in selling newspapers. They sold them to patrons near and far, hiring young people (called in

[23] Guicciardini, *Descrittione di m. Lodovico Cuicclardini, patritio fiorentino, di tutti i paesi bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Antwerp, 1567), 117. Compare Raymond Van Uytven, "Antwerpen: Steuerungszentrum des europäischen Handels und Metropole die Niederlande im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Herrschaft und Verfassungsstrukturen im Nordwesten des Reiches: Beiträge zum Zeitalter Karls V.-Franz Petri zum Gedächtnis (1903–1993)*, Bernhard Sicken, ed., Stadteforschungs, Reihe A, Darstellungen, Vol. 35 (Cologne and Vienna, 1994), 1–18.

[24] "The *Wall Street Journal* does not provide this information [about prices] out of altruism or because it recognizes how important it is for the economy. Rather, it is led to provide this information by the very price system whose functioning it facilitates. It has found that it can achieve a larger and more profitable circulation by publishing these prices." Milton Friedman and Rose [D.] Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement* (New York, 1980), 16. Compare Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study in the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Rutherford, N.J., 1987), 176, where he notes that such "tabular material" began to be included in general purpose newspapers beginning in the 1720s because it was "a useful selling point." The front-page headline story in *The London Evening-Post*, March 30, 1762, called attention to its newly inclusive publication of business news.

[25] Publishers recognized the necessity of apologizing for mistaken entries and correcting them. McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, *passim*. One Hamburg publisher lost his license because of questionable practices. *Ibid.*, 225–26. In general, I think that the conclusions reached about the accuracy and reliability of the reporting in later business newspapers also apply earlier. Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, *Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784–1861*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1936–1937), 1: 336, reported that "the editors of the Philadelphia newspapers carefully collected the prices which they published and changed their listed prices promptly" in response to changes in the marketplace.

[26] Just like exchange brokers, printers were also licensed by the city and organized into a guild or company. For this subject and for the restrictions imposed on all publishing, including newspapers, see McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, *passim*. Compare Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, "The Creation of the Periodical Press, 1620–1695," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*,, Vol. 4, *1557–1695*, John Barnard, D[onald] F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell, eds. (Cambridge, 2002), 535.

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London "Mercuries"—many of whom were women [See Figure 3]) to deliver them to clients close by, using the mail to speed them to subscribers in the country and abroad.[27] Some local customers bought several copies and sent them to their own business contacts, taking advantage of promotive postal rates. To foster this behavior, publishers offered multiple copies to a single purchaser at a reduced price per copy. American merchants and planters insisted that their metropolitan correspondents subscribe in their behalf and forward them regularly and frequently. The publishing of business newspapers was a business like the publication of any other newspaper.

A third reason for the adoption and success of business newspapers was that they increased the efficiency of an economy by enabling individual businesses to work more productively. They delivered important news to contacts near and far in ways that were more regular, more thorough, more comprehensive, more reliable, and more predictable than earlier modes, thereby reducing the risks of carrying on business. They eased the workload within firms that had many correspondents in far away places, cutting the cost of doing business. (Perhaps the clerks in the employ of the Van der Molen noticed that after August 1540 they had extra time to do other tasks for their employer, perhaps to write more letters to new clients. One or more may have lost his job, rendered dispensable by new technology.) Business newspapers served as independent, impartial, and redundant sources of information about conditions in the market, verifying what a correspondent had written, reassuring clients, and confirming customers. They changed the workday of business owners who could choose to attend the exchange less frequently. It became possible to work out of a coffee house or the front office of a company that subscribed to business newspapers.[28]

All these advantages and others acted to cut a firm's transaction costs and allowed merchants to engage customers more closely, to challenge competitors more successfully.[29] By lowering the costs of doing business in any given economy, business newspapers helped increase productivity and profitability and create more business for that economy. Awarding the market that had the best communications

[27] For women as Mercuries, see Margaret [R.] Hunt, "Hawkers, Bawlers, and Mercuries: Women and the London Press in the Early Enlightenment," in *Women and the Enlightenment*, Hunt *et al.*, eds. (New York, 1984), 41–68; Marcellus Laroon, *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engraving and Drawings*, Sean Shesgreen, ed. (Aldershot, 1990), 186; [J.] Michael Treadwell, "Anne Dodd (London: 1711–1739)," in *The British Literary Book Trade, 1700–1820*, James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, eds., *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 154 (Detroit, 1995), 103–105; and Helen Berry, "An Early Coffee House Periodical and Its Readers: The *Athenian Mercury*, 1691–1697," *London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 25, no. 1 (2000): 14–33.

[28] "The Royal Exchange . . . has no longer the prominence as a place for the meeting of merchants it once had . . . the presence of the commercial man on 'Change is not so imperative." John Weale, ed., *A New Survey of London: Fully Developing Its Antiquity, History and Architecture* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1853), 1: 377. As a London commentator observed in 1727: "Coffee-Houses were first founded for the Entertainment of Gentlemen and Merchants; they were the Theatres of News and Politicks." *A Dissertation upon Drunkenness. Shewing to What an Intolerable Pitch that Vice is Arriv'd at in this Kingdom* . . . (London, 1727), 4–5. For the mode of operation of a London business firm, see Jacob M. Price, "Directions for the Conduct of a Merchant's Counting House, 1766," *Business History* 28 (July 1986): 134–50.

[29] See McCusker, "Information and Transaction Costs in Early Modern Europe." Compare Jonathan Barron Baskin, "The Development of Corporate Financial Markets in Britain and the United States, 1600–1914: Overcoming Asymmetric Information," *Business History Review* 62 (Summer 1988): 199–237.

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FIGURE 3: "London's Gazette Here." Ca. 1687–1688. Drawn by Marcellus Laroon the Elder (1653–1702) and engraved by Pierce Tempest (1653–1717). Reproduced from the copy in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge University, with the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College.

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a competitive advantage accorded that market a potential for preeminence.[30] Business newspapers managed to reinforce the supremacy of pivotal business places, thereby helping to create and to bolster the likes of an Antwerp, an Amsterdam, a London—and, so the story goes, temporarily a Philadelphia, and, ultimately, a New York City.

Indeed one can argue that, in tandem with the profound political and cultural changes that had their beginning in the mid-fifteenth century and that created the early modern world, there was an equally profound set of economic changes that many have called the "commercial revolution." Simply sketched, this revolution ended the domination of the European economy by Mediterranean merchants who, in the late Middle Ages, made their home in the Italian city states. This "commercial revolution" can be defined as the shift in the center of western commerce and finance out of Mediterranean Europe and into North Atlantic Europe.

AT FIRST THE NEW LOCUS OF POWER WAS ANTWERP, lasting from the opening of the sixteenth century until the 1570s.[31] Amsterdam ruled for roughly the next century, the golden age of the Netherlands. Then it was London's turn.[32] The core of western—and, increasingly, worldwide—trade and finance was London from the 1690s to World War I. "London has become, what Amsterdam formerly was, the grand emporium of the commercial world—*universi orbis terrarum emporium*."[33] New York City took over at that point, and it still holds sway into our own day—though, plotting on the global trajectory of the succession thus far, we might expect Tokyo, or Hong Kong, or, perhaps, Shanghai to inherit the mantle of Venice sometime soon in this new millennium.[34]

[30] "The growth of the market to a size sufficiently large to allow the customary contracted terms of sale for a product of a known quality to account for a large number of transactions was extremely important. It allowed a freely obtained market price to be determined by the forces of supply and demand alone. Beginning in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, these prices were periodically gathered and printed. The Amsterdam 'price current' was widely circulated and provided information about the terms at which exchanges could be made. These price currents have been found in the archives of every important European city. They provided a merchant with a starting point to negotiate trades in local areas in the Low Countries and outside. *No merchant would sell locally for less than he could obtain in Amsterdam, making allowance for the costs of moving his goods there.*" Douglass C. North and Robert Paul Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge, 1973), 136–37 (emphasis added).

[31] For the rise and decline of commercial Antwerp, see Herman van der Wee's magisterial *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1963).

[32] For these three cities and their interconnectedness during this immensely important period, see the several stellar essays in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London*, Patrick [K.] O'Brien *et al.*, eds. (Cambridge, 2001).

[33] J[ohn] R. McCulloch, "Navigation Acts," in Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, McCulloch, ed., 4th edn. rev. (London, 1850), 537 (emphasis as in the original). Compare Philip L. Cottrell, "London as a Centre of Communication: From the Printing Press to the Travelling Post Office," in *Kommunikationsrevoluton: Die neuen Medien des 16. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Michael North, ed., Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Studien, vol. 3 (Cologne, 1995), 157–78.

[34] *Time International*, September 27, 2004, Asia edition, led with a cover story on "Shanghai: The New World Capital," celebrating it as "the most happening city on earth," calling special attention to "Pudong . . . the city's new financial district."

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What is clear is that developments in business communications accompanied and facilitated each of these shifts from city to city. During the early modern era, this meant an articulation of the business press. The Amsterdam commodity price current ruled the markets of Europe in the seventeenth century, setting the standard for everyone else. The Amsterdamers had taken their example from Antwerp and had become the "Great Staple of News," in the words of English diplomat and writer James Howell, a contemporary observer of many of these developments.[35] The first evidence we have of an Amsterdam commodity price current is a rather simple, two-page newspaper from 1585, but within a very few years it had grown in form and size to become the model that all others mimicked.

In the seventeenth century, the Amsterdam commodity price current was published weekly in at least four different languages—English, French, and Italian as well as Dutch—and it circulated widely within the orbit of expanding Europe.[36] The Amsterdam *prijs courantiers* published their newspaper in English not out of deference to their linguistically challenged colleagues across the North Sea but because they recognized and sought to reinforce the dominant position of the Amsterdam market in the business world of the seventeenth century. Londoners subscribed to the newspaper in whatever form they could get it for the same reason: Amsterdam set the market for Europe. During its golden age, the price at Amsterdam was the benchmark price, the market maker. One might buy or sell for more or less, but the point of reference was the price at Amsterdam, for commodities, for bills of exchange, for insurance, for money. And the prices for all of them except the last were reported weekly in the *Cours van Koopmanschappen tot Amsterdam*.[37]

The same political and cultural factors at work late in the sixteenth century that had caused Antwerp's decline continued to be in play over the next hundred years so that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the curtain was rising on the next act of the commercial revolution. The plot was much the same but the actors different—or at least the setting was different. Depending on one's perspective, either the Dutch conquered England in 1688 or the English staged a Glorious Revolution that year, with considerable Dutch help. In any event, the net result was a new king of England, a Dutchman of Anglo-Dutch ancestry, William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, King

[35] Letter from James Howell, at Amsterdam, to his brother Thomas, later bishop of Bristol, April 1, 1617, in Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ: Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren; Divided into Six Sections, Partly Historicall, Politicall, Philosophicall, Upon Emergent Occasions* (London, 1645), 10.

[36] The largest single surviving cache of Amsterdam commodity price currents can be found in Jakarta, Indonesia, for just that reason. The Dutch East India Company dispatched multiple copies on board each of its ships; its Far Eastern headquarters in Batavia (modern Jakarta) preserved them. They are listed in J[acobus] A. van der Chijs, *Inventaris van 's Lands Archief te Batavia (1602–1816): Zamengesteld en Uitgegeven op Last van de Nederlandsch-Indische Regering* (Jakarta, 1882), 33–34. The Landsarchief is now part of the modern Arsip Nasional, Jakarta. There also appear to be some copies among the Dutch Records, 1657–1825, MSS. 137, 745, 1134, Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai (formerly Madras), India. See A. Galletti, A. J. van der Burg, and P. Groot, eds. and trans., *The Dutch in Malabar, being a Translation of Selections Nos. 1 and 2, with Introduction and Notes*, Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records, no. 13 (Madras, 1911), 35, n. 3. I have yet to examine this collection.

[37] For the Amsterdam commodity price current, see McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 43–66. Compare Clé Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand: Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en verandering in de ruimtelijke economie van de Nederlanden, ca. 1550-ca. 1630*, Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, Grote Serie, vol. 27 (Hilversum, 2001), chap. 6, "Amsterdam als centrum van informatie voorziening." Compare Lesger, "De mythe van de Hollandse wereldstapelmarkt in de zeventiende eeuw," *NEHA-Jaarboek voor Economische, Bedrijf- sen Techniekgeschiedenis* 62 (1999): 6–25.

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William III.[38] In his train came many Dutch merchants and Dutch financiers who served as advisers to his government and who extracted from the shifting political scene multiple business opportunities. A great deal changed in English commerce and finance after 1689, and one of those changes, consequence and cause, was a massively invigorated English business press.

London had had a commodity price current from as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century.[39] By the 1640s, it looked very much like a reduced version of the Amsterdam commodity price current upon which it was modeled.[40] All surviving copies from its first sixty years are in French. There was also a daily bills of entry published from 1619, if not before. By the 1670s, there were two commodity price currents being published weekly, by the 1690s, there were three, and, soon after, a fourth. That same decade witnessed the founding in London of two new and different business newspapers—both of which continue to be published today, a marine list and an exchange rate and stock exchange current. In 1716, a London merchant could subscribe to as many as seven different weekly or daily business newspapers, all of them delivered to his door, at an annual cost of £6.00 sterling, which, when adjusted for nearly three centuries of inflation, is the equivalent in today's money of roughly £630 sterling or nearly $1,200 (€900).[41] London had become the center of the commerce and finance of the Western world and it possessed the commercial and financial press to secure and strengthen its position.

The newspapers to which our London merchant subscribed were essentially four in kind (see Appendix on page 320).[42] Two of them published prices on the London exchange; the other two dealt with shipping and cargoes. The commodity price current listed the market prices of goods sold. The exchange rate current tracked the local price at which bills of exchange drawn against trading cities abroad could be purchased. The bills of entry recorded the commodities entered into the London Custom House as imported or exported. The marine list specified the arrival and departure of vessels at the port of London. We will recognize that eventually nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first-century newspapers came to include all of this information in one section of a multisectioned general newspaper. Such a move

[38] I am very much taken with this more expansive interpretation of the Glorious Revolution, propounded most recently by Jonathan I. Israel, "The Dutch Republic and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688/89 in England," in *1688—The Seaborne Alliance and Diplomatic Revolution: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 5–6 October 1988*, Charles H. Wilson and David Proctor, eds. (Greenwich, 1989), 31–44.

[39] John J. McCusker, "Commercial and Financial Journalism," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5, *1695–1830*, Michael Suarez and Michael Turner, eds. (Cambridge, forthcoming).

[40] See the deposition to this effect by the publisher of the London commodity price current, John Day, June 13, 1637, High Court of Admiralty, Instance and Prize Court Papers, Examinations and Answers, 1637–1638, HCA 13/53, fols. 191v-192r, Public Record Office, The National Archives London (hereafter, PRO/TNA). For Day and his newspaper, see McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 291–311; and McCusker, "The Business Press in England before 1775," *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 6th ser., 8 (September 1986): 314–50, as revised and updated in McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (London, 1997), 155–62.

[41] As of March 2005. For the basis of such admittedly crude comparisons across time, see John J. McCusker, *How Much Is That in Real Money? A Historical Commodity Price Index for Use as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States*, 2nd edn. rev. (Worcester, Mass., 2001).

[42] An earlier version of this table appeared in McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*. See also John J. McCusker, *European Bills of Entry and Marine Lists: Early Commercial Publications and the Origins of the Business Press* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 10–12.

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to consolidate was already underway in London by the end of the seventeenth century, but the overlap was still minimal. Nevertheless, separate and different newspapers with these distinctive characteristics continued to be published in London and elsewhere in the world to the first half of the twentieth century, the United States included.

Two of these London newspapers deserve special mention if only because, founded in the 1690s, they are still both being published today in essentially the same manner, with essentially the same content. Initially issued out of Edward Lloyd's coffee house beginning sometime before January 1692, *Lloyd's List* is, after the official *London Gazette*, the second oldest continually published newspaper of any kind still produced in the world today. It is a marine list in that its primary function, then as now, was to trace the arrival and departure of merchant ships.[43]

The *Course of the Exchange*, started by John Castaing in March 1697, runs third in the same race. Castaing's was basically an exchange rate current, but, reflecting developments in the London market place in the explosive 1690s, he expanded its coverage beyond just the rates of foreign exchange to include the selling prices of company stock shares, bank shares, and government securities. It continues to be published today as the *Stock Exchange Daily Official List*.[44] Reacting to the increasingly competitive nature of London's business press, in 1735 the editor of *Lloyd's List*, Richard Baker, engaged in a bit of journalistic skullduggery. Baker began to print on the reverse side of his single-sheet newspaper exchange rate tables and stock and securities prices, thereby combining into one newspaper both his own marine list and a twin of Castaing's expanded exchange rate and stock exchange current. Baker's imitation of the *Course of the Exchange* was flatteringly blatant even down to duplicating its use of different type faces to convey different kinds of information.[45]

Great Britain's colonists were aware of and hungry for the news from London markets and from the earliest days of settlement clamored for these newspapers. Letters from merchants in the colonies—just as much British merchants as the denizens of the city and the businessmen of the outports—entreated their London correspondents to send them copies of all London business newspapers.[46] Colonial

[43] For *Lloyd's List*, see McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 323–27; McCusker, "The Business Press in England before 1775"; and McCusker, "The Early History of 'Lloyd's List,'" *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 64 (October 1991): 427–31.

[44] In October 2003, the London Stock Exchange launched an electronic version of the *Daily Official List*, abbreviated SEDOL.

[45] For John Castaing and his newspaper, see McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 311–22; and McCusker, "The Business Press in England before 1775." See also S[idney] R. Cope, "The Stock Exchange Revisited: A New Look at the Market in Securities in London in the Eighteenth Century," *Economica*, n.s., 45 (February 1978): 18.

[46] See, for instance, Thomas Fitch, at Boston, to Thomas Crouch and Company, at London, March 15, 1706/1707, Thomas Fitch Letterbook, 1703–1711, p. 182, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; or James Logan, at Philadelphia, to John Askew, at London, May 28, 1713, James Logan, Copies of Letters Sent, 1712–1715, 113, Logan Papers, 1664–1871, Collection no. 379, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter, HSP). Concerning the availability of English serials generally in the colonies, compare David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 235–62; Carolyn Nelson, "American Readership of Early British Serials," in *Serials and Their Readers, 1620–1914*, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds. (Winchester, 1993), 27–44; and Janice G. Schimmelman, "Art in the Early English Magazine, 1731–1800: A Checklist of Articles on Drawing, Painting and Sculpture, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *London Magazine*, and *Universal Magazine*,"

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publishers of general newspapers also subscribed to the London business press and advertised the fact as a way of promoting their own publications. In 1705 and 1706, the editor of *The Boston News-Letter*, John Campbell, noted that he regularly had for sale copies of different London newspapers to which he subscribed and for which he no longer had any use, having first plumbed them for his own publication. The newspapers Campbell offered for sale included London bills of entry and London commodity price currents.[47]

It was the business news from London to which all attended because London was the business center of the Old Empire.[48] In 1740, *The Newcastle Journal* expressed what everyone knew to be the case: "London . . . which Place governs the Value of all Grain in England."[49] In the same way that London set the benchmark price "at home," so it did the same thing for the entirety of the empire and beyond. The price at London set the market for colonially produced staple commodities. Chesapeake tobacco planters and West Indian sugar planters made decisions based on the London prices for their commodities. The rate for marine insurance at London was the rate that most concerned colonial shippers, the arrival and departure of ships and cargoes at London, colonial merchants. Certainly local business news was also important, increasingly so over time, but that need was easily satisfied in conversations carried on at the local merchants' exchange, frequently housed in the coffee house.[50] London made the market that mattered most—and it was London's commercial and financial newspapers that conveyed that market's news.[51] As London merchant Moses Franks declared in a letter to his New York

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, n.s., 108 (October 1998): 397–478. Indicating a knowledge of the existence of and an awareness of the nature of business newspapers, the Charleston Library Society made it clear from the beginning that it did not want any sent it by its London bookseller: "you are not to send any News papers, Votes of Parliam[e]nt, Lloyds Lists or Bills of Entry." Letter from Robert Brisbane, at Charleston, to James Rivington, at London, August 10, 1758, in James Raven, *London Booksellers and their American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811* (Columbia, S.C., 2002), 237.

[47] See *The Boston News-Letter*, e.g., July 30, 1705, June 10, 1706. "To be Sold at the Post-Office in Boston" by John Campbell, "London Gazettes, Flying-Posts, Post-Man, Post-Boy, Bills of Entry, Price Courants, Observations, at 1d. [Massachusetts currency] per Piece" (*ibid.*, June 10, 1706). The earlier advertisement had offered them "either in Setts by the year or single [*sic*]." Compare the discussion in Ian K. Steele's *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986), 213–28 and *passim*.

[48] Cottrell, "London as a Centre of Communication"; D[erek] Keene, "The Financial District of the City of London: Continuity and Change, 1300–1871," in *Cities of Finance*, Herman [A.] Diederiks and David [A.] Reeder, eds., Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, vol. 165 (Amsterdam, 1996), 287–88.

[49] *The Newcastle Journal*, July 19, 1740, 1, col. 1.

[50] Like the "Merchants' Exchange" established at Philadelphia in 1754, for which see McCusker, "Philadelphia and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the United States." Compare Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (New York, 1989), 114–16. See also Brown, "Early American Origins of the Information Age," in *A Nation Transformed by Information: How Information Has Shaped the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., and James W. Cortada, eds. (Oxford, 2000), 39–53.

[51] In 1721, Virginia tobacco planter Robert Carter compared the percentage return on Bank of England stock as reported in "the prints" (quite possibly the *Course of the Exchange*) with what he knew he could get investing his money locally. Letter from Carter, at Rappahannock, Virginia, to Micajah Perry, at London, February 13, 1720/1721, in *Letters of Robert Carter, 1720–1727: The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentlemen*, Louis B. Wright, ed. (San Marino, Calif., 1940), 73.

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City associate, James Beekman, enclosing promised copies of the London commodity price currents: they are "the Government of our markets."[52]

Given that the London commodity price current governed London markets and that London markets governed imperial markets, it is easily understood why no business newspapers were published in the colonies before the American Revolutionary War. The colonists got their most significant market news from the London business press. Colonial newspapers served other purposes.[53]

The New World was not bereft of printers or presses and newspaper publishing in the British colonies had been an active, widespread enterprise for eighty years and more by the time of the War for Independence.[54] Published business newspapers, so integral to the activities of the early modern Atlantic economy, were known and used from Newfoundland to Barbados in the colonial period. There were none produced in the colonies, it seems clear, because, by the eighteenth century, the publication of business newspapers had come to be concentrated in each trading system's commercial and financial center. British America was part of the British Empire and the commercial and financial center of the Old Empire was London. From London came almost all the business newspapers that the colonists needed to consult.

It was only with the diminution of the relative centrality of London for American business men and business women—or, better put, it was only with the relative increase for them in the importance of American business centers—that a demand arose for the provision of financial and commercial news from those American business centers. It was then that an American business press came into being to satisfy this demand. Not surprisingly, those who set out to publish the first American commercial and financial newspapers followed the European example. The first American business newspaper was a commodity price current published at Philadelphia starting in the middle of 1783.

There had been a lively colonial press in the eighteenth century but newspaper editors, like John Campbell of Boston, published general purpose newspapers. Full

[52] See Moses Franks's letters to James Beekman of New York, 1756–1760, in *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746–1799*, Philip L. White, ed., 3 vols. (New York, 1956), 2: 583–95 (the quote is from a letter dated April 1, 1760, *ibid.*, 2: 595). See also White's comment, *ibid.*, 1: v. Speaking of fashions in consumption, Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh maintained: "Urban influences undoubtedly did affect Chesapeake behavior, but these influences were English not local. London was the metropolitan center." Carr and Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 45 (January 1988): 139.

[53] Brown, *Knowledge Is Power*, 110–31, fails to distinguish between the kinds of business news published in London and colonial newspapers and the uses to which colonial business men and business women put such news.

[54] For the beginning of printing in the Western Hemisphere, see José Toríbio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584–1824)*, 4 vols. (Santiago, 1904–1907). For newspaper publishing in British America, see Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740* (New York, 1990); and Clark, "Early American Journalism: News and Opinion in the Popular Press," in *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1 (Worcester, Mass. and Cambridge, 2000), 347–66. Clark assiduously avoids any discussion either of commercial and financial journals per se or of the business content of general newspapers. The same is true of W[illiam] David Sloan and Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Early American Press, 1690–1783*, The History of American Journalism, vol. 1 (Westport, Conn., 1994); and Carol Sue Humphrey, *The Press of the Young Republic, 1783–1833* (Westport, Conn., 1996). By contrast, see Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*; and Karl Tilman Winkler, *Handwerk und Markt: Druckerhandwerk, Vertriebswesen und Tagesschrifttum in London, 1695–1750* (Stuttgart, 1993). For the publication of similar newspapers in the French colonies, see M[arie]-A[ntoinette] Ménier and G[abriel] Debien, "Journaux de Saint-Dominique," *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies* 36, nos. 3–4 (1949): 424–75.

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of political news from Europe, with stories and datelines from neighboring colonies, and nearly overrun by advertisements, colonial newspapers spared some space for local business news but not much and without much consistency. In the port cities of the Continental Colonies, just as in the "outports" in Great Britain (the word was used at the time to mean all ports other than London), local general newspapers did sometimes include information about shipping, prices, and other business matters, but they did so only inconsistently and incompletely, almost as a filler, never as a matter of first priority. Almost all devoted a few lines to the arrival and departure of ships at the colony's port of entry, but when we can check these reports against official shipping records, it is obvious that such coverage was not a priority because it was neither thorough nor consistent. Eventually many colonial newspapers also printed a limited array of local commodity prices. Again, however, an important news story or a few more advertisements seem easily to have squeezed such sections off the page and out of the newspaper until the next week. It was not that colonial business men and business women were uninterested in local news. They simply had better, more immediate sources for it. Local business news was readily available, all around them.

With the establishment of the new nation and the emergence of Philadelphia as the political and economic hub of that new nation, an interest developed in publishing business newspapers in the United States. Philadelphia's regional and intercolonial significance had grown over the eighteenth century, so much so that by the 1770s it had become the most important of the several port cities of British America.[55] Its central geographical position helped, of course. Its expanding transatlantic trade reinforced its position among the other colonies, both its near neighbors to the north and east, New Jersey and New York, and to the south, Maryland and Virginia, and also farther away, in British North America and the West Indies, British and otherwise. In 1776, one West Indian observer called Philadelphia "the great mart of America."[56] Boston's relative standing had declined from its prior eminence. Baltimore and the other ports along Chesapeake Bay had emerged after 1740 as extensions of Philadelphia, Baltimore most particularly as its southern satellite and, later, fierce rival. Charleston, while very important for the rice trade, was simply not as big a player as others in the "coastwise trade," the phrase that described the extensive intercolonial network that linked everywhere from Newfoundland to Barbados. New York City was coming along to challenge

[55] The Philadelphia market had become the regional price maker and point of reference well before the middle of the eighteenth century. See Thomas Ringgold's assertion—reflecting this awareness—that his flour "is cheap according to Philadel[phi]a Merketts." Ringgold, at Chestertown, Maryland, to Samuel Galloway, at West River, Maryland, April 25, 1760, in Galloway Family Correspondence, III, no. 8427, Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Family Papers, 1654–1888, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, LC). Compare the advertisement for the lease or sale of a distillery located at Charlestown, Maryland, a selling point of which was that, because of "its convenient situation, near the Head of Chesopeak [Bay], . . . Rum distilled there, may be vended in said Bay, at a higher Price considerably than at any Distillery in Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), December 31, 1767, 3, col. 3. Thus Charles Carroll of Annapolis complained loudly to his son when the latter neglected sending him copies of the Philadelphia newspapers quickly or regularly enough: "It was impossible . . . to determine trade strategy without the Philadelphia prices." Ronald Hoffman, "Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), 108. Compare the argument advanced in McCusker, *How Much Is That in Real Money?*, 47–48, n. 18.

[56] George Cuthbert, at Jamaica, to Lieutenant General John Dalling, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, August 5, 1776, CO 137/71, PRO/TNA. Cuthbert was later to become a member of the council and provost marshall of Jamaica and also judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for the island.

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Philadelphia, a contest in which it would succeed some fifty years later, but it was not there yet.[57]

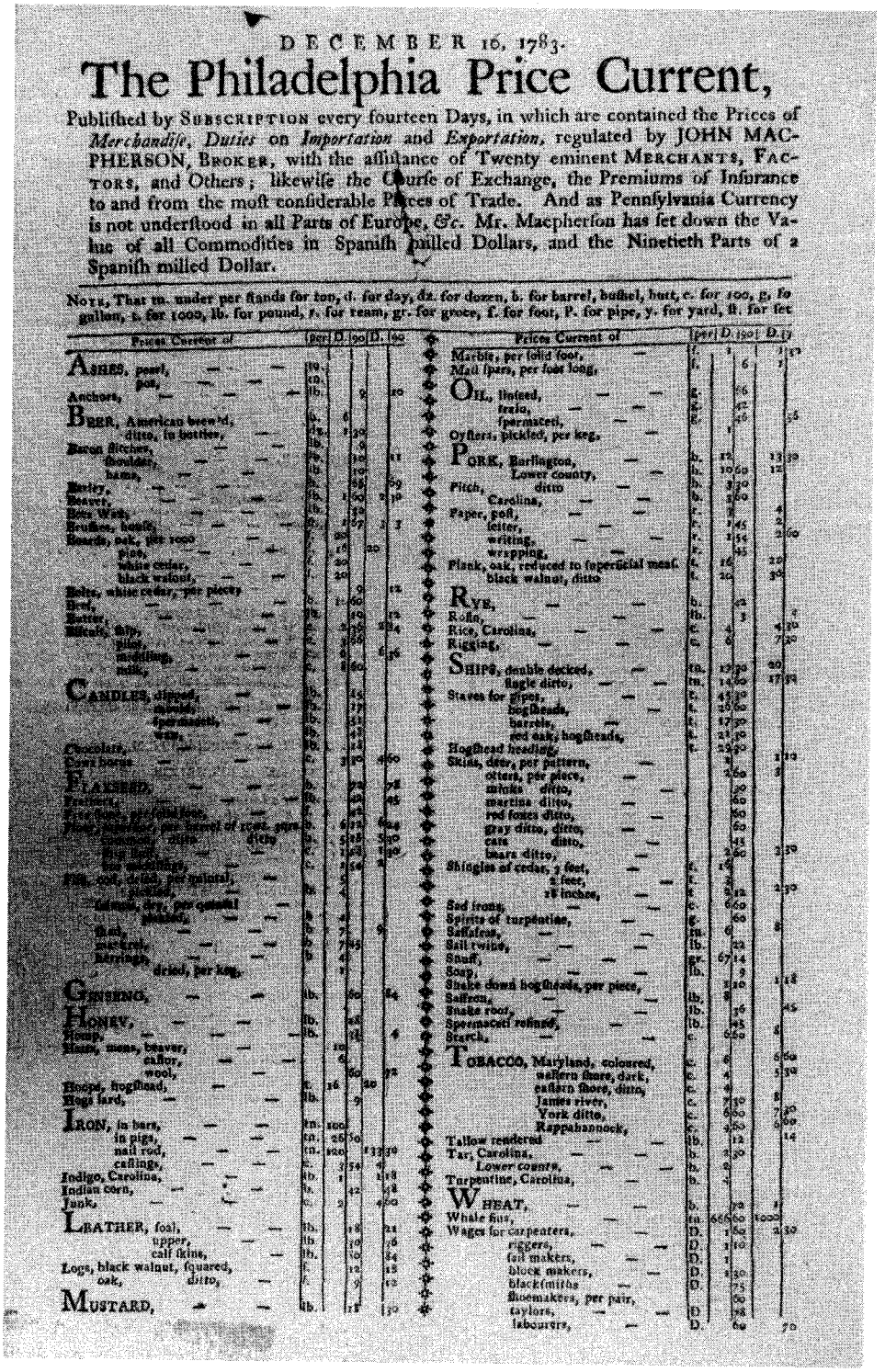
On June 13, 1783, John Macpherson published the first number of his *Philadelphia Price Current*.[58] (See Figure 4). He described himself as a broker and his endeavor as "the first price current that ever was published in the North America." Macpherson's *Philadelphia Price Current* was a business newspaper in the same tradition as those published in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London. However familiar the European model, North Americans had never had anything like it before from an American press.[59] The better to reassure his potential clients and to insure their custom, Macpherson patterned his enterprise on what all knew was the

[57] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789*, 2nd edn. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 189–208 and *passim*. Compare Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986). See also James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780–1860* (Harrisburg, Penn., 1947).

[58] For the full story of Macpherson and his newspaper, see McCusker, "Philadelphia and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the United States."

[59] The consul from the Austrian Netherlands, Fréderick Eugène François, Baron de Beelen-Bertholff said the same thing: "[les] prix courant des marchandises à Philadelphie . . . sont les premières qui ont été publiées." Enclosure "B" in Baron de Beelen, at Philadelphia, to the Ministere Plénipotentiaire, Barbiano de Belgioioso, at Brussels, November 1, 1783, Archives de la Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, SEG no. 2163, Algemeen Rijksarchief/Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Belgium. For this collection of documents, see J[oseph]Lefèvre, "La Secrétairerie d'État et de guerre et ses archives," *Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées de Belgique* 31, no. 2, (1960): 133–48. Some of Beelen's letters and reports have been printed in *Die Berichte des ersten Agenten Österreichs in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Baron de Beelen-Bertholff an Die Regierung der Österreichischen Niederlande in Brüssel, 1784–1789*, Hanns Schlitter, ed., Fontes Rerum Austriacarum/Œsterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Zwiete Abteilung: Diplomataria et Acta, vol. 45, part 2 (Vienna, 1891). Compare J[ohn] Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1884), 3: 1958, n. 1: "Through palpable oversight, Hudson's 'Journalism in the United States' makes the following erroneous statement: 'The *Boston Prices Current and Marine Intelligencer, Commercial and Mercantile*, the publication of which was begun on the 5th of September, 1795, was the first regular and legitimate commercial paper issued in this country.' " Scharf and Westcott claimed the honor for Macpherson but relegated their rebuttal to a footnote and gave the barest of details. As a consequence almost no one has paid any attention to their allegation. Their reference was to Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York, 1873), 335. Challenges contradicting Baron de Beelen, Scharf, and Westcott's claims for the primacy of the Philadelphia commodity price current prove upon investigation to be unfounded. See David P. Forsyth, *The Business Press in America, 1750–1865* (Philadelphia, 1964), 20–23. None of the three things he mentioned qualify as newspapers, each being simply a printed broadside or a privately issued advertising circular. See, for instance, the June 27, 1775 entry by Philadelphia printer Robert Aitken for printing done for the Philadelphia mercantile firm of Francis Somerville and George Noble. Aitken recorded the printing of "200 4° [i.e., quarto] Advertis[emen]ts" and "400 Price Curr[en]t[s]" (not 4000) in the very same way that he had earlier sold other stationery items to Somerville and Noble. This was a one-time occurrence. Aitken was not printing and Somerville and Noble were not publishing a newspaper. Robert Aitken Waste Book, 1771–1802, pp. 252, 264 (quotations), 268, 275, 306, Robert Aitken Papers, 1771–1802, Library Company of Philadelphia Collection, HSP. Somerville and Noble's list of prices may have resembled the broadside that was "Printed for Crouch & Gray, New England Factors" of Charleston and titled the "South-Carolina Price-Current . . . " It was completely printed except for the day, month, and year, which were entered by hand in pen and ink. All three of the surviving copies are dated July 30, 1774. See Broadsides, vol. 172, no. 3, Division of Rare Books and Special Collections, LC; in Map Drawer 2/9, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island; and Broadside 1774 .S69, Special Collections, Tracy W. McGregor Library, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. There are numerous similar broadside printings of lists of prices and terms and conditions for trade prepared by a variety of businesses for their customers to be found in these same and other libraries and archives. Especially rich collections of them are in the John Codman III Papers, Codman Family Manuscripts Collection, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts; and in the Price Current Bulletins, 1800–1903, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

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DECEMBER 16, 1783.

The Philadelphia Price Current,

Published by SUBSCRIPTION every fourteen Days, in which are contained the Prices of *Merchandize*, *Duties* on *Importation* and *Exportation*, regulated by JOHN MACPHERSON, BROKER, with the aſſiſtance of Twenty eminent MERCHANTS, FACTORS, and Others; likewiſe the Courſe of Exchange, the Premiums of Inſurance to and from the moſt conſiderable Places of Trade. And as Pennſylvania Currency is not underſtood in all Parts of Europe, &c. Mr. Macpherſon has ſet down the Value of all Commodities in Spaniſh milled Dollars, and the Ninetieth Parts of a Spaniſh milled Dollar.

NOTE, That tn. under per ſtands for ton, d. for day, dz. for dozen, b. for barrel, buſhel, butt, c. for 100, g. for gallon, t. for 1000, lb. for pound, r. for ream, gr. for groce, f. for foot, P. for pipe, y. for yard, ll. for ſet

Prices Current of	per	D.	90	D.	90
ASHES, pearl,	cwt.				
pot,	lb.		9		20
Anchors,					
BEER, American brew'd,	b.		6		
ditto, in bottles,	doz.	1	30		
Bacon ſides,	lb.		9		
ſhoulders,	lb.		10		11
hams,	lb.		12		
Barley,	b.		85		89
Beaver,	lb.	1	00	2	10
Bees Wax,	lb.		30		
Bruſhes, hatters,	d.		07		7
Brandy, oak, the 1000	g.	28			
pipes,	g.	18		20	
white cedar,	g.	20			
black walnut,	g.	20			
Bolts, white cedar, per piece			9		12
Bark,	lb.	1	60		
Butter,	lb.		10		12
Biſcuit, ſhip,	c.	5	00	5	24
pilot,	c.	5	60		
middling,	c.	4	80	5	36
milk,	c.	4	60		
CANDLES, dipped,	lb.		16		
moulds,	lb.		17		
ſpermaceti,	lb.		45		
wax,	lb.		28		
Chocolate,	lb.		18		
Coal horſe,	c.	3	50	4	50
FLAXSEED,	b.	1	80	1	98
Feathers,	lb.		28		28
Flour, ſuperfine, per barrel of 196 gun.	b.	6	18	6	24
common, ditto,	b.	5	18	5	30
fine middling, ditto,	b.	5	18	5	30
middling,	b.	4	80		
Fiſh, cod, dried, per quintal,	c.	3	50	4	
ſalmon,	b.		4		
herrings, dry, per quintal,	c.		4		
pickled,	b.		2		2
Gun, muſkets,			7	45	
Herrings,	c.		4		
dried, per keg,			1		
GINSENG,	lb.		60		64
HONEY,	lb.		18		
Soap,	lb.		18		6
Skins, moos, beaver,			10		
caſtor,			6		
wool,			60		72
Hoops, hogſhead,	M.	26		30	
Hogs lard,	lb.		9		
IRON, in bars,	tn.	200			
in pigs,	tn.	26	00		
nail rod,	tn.	320		330	
caſtings,	c.	3	50	4	
Indigo, Carolina,	lb.	1		1	18
Indian corn,	b.		42		48
Junk,	c.	2		4	00
LEATHER, ſoal,	lb.		18		22
upper,	lb.		10		16
calf ſkins,	lb.		10		24
Logs, black walnut, ſquared,	f.		12		18
oak, ditto,	f.		9		12
MUSTARD,	lb.		18		30

Prices Current of	per	D.	90	D.	99
Marble, per ſolid foot,	c.		1		1
Maſt ſpars, per foot long,	b.		5		7
OIL, linſeed,	g.		56		
train,	g.		42		
ſpermaceti,	g.		40		55
Oyſters, pickled, per keg,			1		
PORK, Burlington,	b.	12		13	30
Lower county,	b.	10	60	12	
Pitch, ditto	b.	3	30		
Carolina,	b.	2	60		
Paper, poſt,	r.		8		4
letter,	r.	1	45		2
writing,	r.	2	55		2 60
wrapping,	r.		45		
Plank, oak, reduced to ſuperficial meaſ.	f.		16		22
black walnut, ditto	f.		20		30
RYE,	b.		42		
Roſin,	lb.		2		2
Rice, Carolina,	c.	4		4	30
Rigging,	c.	6		7	20
SHIPS, double decked,	tn.	13	30	20	
ſingle ditto,	tn.	14	00	17	33
Staves for pipes,	c.	45	00		
hogſheads,	c.	28	00		
barrels,	c.	17	00		
red oak, hogſheads,	c.	21	00		
Hogſhead headings,	c.	25	00		
Skins, deer, per pattern,			2		2 00
otter, per piece,			2 60		3
minks ditto,			20		
martins ditto,			40		
red foxes ditto,			60		
gray ditto, ditto,			60		
cats ditto,			15		
bears ditto,		2	00	2	30
Shingles of cedar, 3 feet,	c.		25		
2 feet,	c.	2	12	2	30
18 inches,	c.	1	60		
Sad irons,	c.		60		
Spirits of turpentine,	g.		60		8
Saſſafras,	tn.	6			
Sail twine,	lb.		22		
Snuff,	gr.	67	14		
Soap,	lb.		9		
Shake down hogſheads, per piece,		1	20	1	28
Saffron,	lb.	8			
Snake root,	lb.		36		45
Spermaceti refined,	lb.		45		
Starch,	c.		60		8
TOBACCO, Maryland, coloured,	c.	6		6	60
weſtern ſhore, dark,	c.	4		5	30
eaſtern ſhore, ditto,	c.	4			
James river,	c.	7	30	8	
York ditto,	c.	6	60	7	30
Rappahannock,	c.	5	60	6	60
Tallow rendered	lb.		12		14
Tar, Carolina,	b.	1	30		
Lower county,	b.	2			
Turpentine, Carolina,	b.	2			
WHEAT,	b.		70	1	
Whale fins,	tn.	66	00	1000	
Wages for carpenters,	D.	1	20	2	30
riggers,	D.	1	10		
ſail makers,	D.	1			
block makers,	D.	1	30		
blackſmiths	D.	1	25		
ſhoemakers, per pair,			50		
taylors,	D.		48		
labourers,	D.		60		70

FIGURE 4: *The Philadelphia Price Current*, December 16, 1783 (recto and verso). Reproduced with kind permission of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

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case in Europe. He duplicated those publications in almost every aspect of his own endeavor, most especially in the collection of the prices and in their presentation.

The Philadelphia Price Current continued to appear until the end of 1785, attracting considerable attention from contemporaries—if not from historians.[60] Other publishers quickly took up Macpherson's example.[61] Competition was keen and the times precarious. [62] The most successful of the initial group, Mathew Carey's *Complete Counting House Companion*, which he started up in 1785 and which closely duplicated Macpherson's paper, passed out of Carey's hands in 1788 and out of existence near the end of 1790.[63] No more fortunate was Vincent Pelosi whose newspaper, *Pelosi's Marine List and Price Current*, begun in 1791, folded in less than a year despite his novel attempt to pattern it on *Lloyd's List* of London. The longest-lived of this first group, *The Pennsylvania Mercury and Philadelphia Price-Current*, expired in 1792 after eight years. What Macpherson in Philadelphia had started had its grandest claim to fame in the long-running *Commercial List and Maritime Register*, which began in 1827 and ceased publication only in the Great Depression of the twentieth century.[64]

The subsequently diminished political importance of Philadelphia, with the eventual settling of the national capital at Washington, D.C., and the increasing economic competition offered Philadelphia by Boston, Baltimore, and, especially, eventually, New York City, encouraged the publication of similar newspapers in those cities within a few years of Macpherson's inaugural venture. Before the 1840s, the new United States found itself with several competing seacoast centers of business and many competing business newspapers. When New York finally triumphed as the commercial and financial capital of the country, it became the locus of the business press, too. By the end of World War I, New York had replaced London as the center of world trade and finance and the center of business communications as well.[65]

[60] Even most students of early newspapers seem not to know about the existence of *The Philadelphia Price Current*. See, for instance, United States, Works Progress Administration, Historical Records Survey, *Checklist of Philadelphia Newspapers Available in Philadelphia: Including Files Held by the Principal Libraries, and by Newspaper Publishers or Their Representatives*, 2nd edn. rev. (Philadelphia, 1937); and Ruth Salisbury, *Pennsylvania Newspapers: A Bibliography and Union List*, Glenora E. Rossell, ed., 2nd edn. (Pittsburgh, 1978). These omissions are hardly culpable, however, given that so few copies of the newspaper have survived. It seems the peculiar fate of business newspapers that, despite being published in reasonable press runs, they appear to have been less likely to have been preserved than the more general purpose newspapers. This is a constant theme in McCusker and Gravesteijn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, *passim*. As one example, while we know that the publishers of the *Boston Price-Current; and Marine-Intelligencer* printed "nearly 500 at an impression" (February 29, 1796), 4, col. 3, as few as three or four copies of that issue still survive and of other issues none at all. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass., 1947), 1: 339–40, obviously constitutes the exception that proves my rule.

[61] Compare Brown, *Knowledge Is Power*, 128–31.

[62] For a recent summary of the scholarship on the state of the economy during this period, see John J. McCusker, "Estimating Early American Gross Domestic Product," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 33 (Summer 2000): 155–62.

[63] For Carey, see William Clarkin, *Mathew Carey: A Bibliography of His Publications, 1785–1824* (New York, 1984); and James N. Green, *Mathew Carey: Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1985). For his newspapers, see Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 2: 897, 930–31.

[64] The title of the *Commercial List and Maritime Register* changed several times. For its history, see Winifred Gregory Gerould, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821–1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), 611, 616.

[65] The story of that transition is begun in Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port (1815–1890)* (New York, 1939); and continued in Jean Heffer, *Le port de New York et le commerce extérieur américain, 1860–1900*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Série Internationale, vol. 25 (Paris, 1986). For the last chapter in the story of New York City's ascendancy—but without any mention of the

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In 1810 or so, a Philadelphia merchant could subscribe to as many as five different locally published weekly or semiweekly business newspapers, all of them delivered to his door, at an annual cost of $15.00, which, when adjusted for some two centuries of inflation, is roughly equivalent to $230 in today's dollars.[66] In addition, he or she could also subscribe to perhaps a dozen different English weekly or daily business newspapers, all of them delivered through the mail and after some considerable delay, at an annual cost of some £21 sterling, the equivalent today to roughly £910 sterling or about $1,720—postage not included.[67] While the North American newspapers sometimes repeated the news from London, to be fully cognizant of all the news that mattered most, American businessmen and businesswomen still needed access to both at a total cost in modern terms of well over $2,000. Such innovations did not come cheaply.[68]

WHAT THIS ALL MEANT IS THAT THE BUSINESS CENTERS of the United States had not yet replaced London on the commercial map.[69] The likes of Philadelphia had only just started to assume some of the importance in the conduct of American affairs that London had claimed exclusively before the United States attained political independence. The center of trade and finance in the Western world had not yet shifted from London to New York City; that would not happen for another century. Nevertheless, change had begun. Commercial and financial institutions that had

importance of business communications—see Mira Wilkins, "Cosmopolitan Finance in the 1920s: New York's Emergence as an International Financial Centre," in *The State, the Financial System and Economic Modernization*, Richard [E.] Sylla, Richard [H.] Tilly, and Gabriel Tortella [Casares], eds., (Cambridge, 1999), 271–91. Valuable insights into the early stages of this transformation can be found in Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

[66] These newspapers included the *Boston Price-Current; and Marine-Intelligencer*, the *New York Prices-Current, Hope's Philadelphia Price-Current*, *Baltimore Weekly Price Current*, and the *Telgraphe et le Commercial Advertiser and New-Orleans Price Current*. Subscriptions to the second and third of these five newspapers cost $3.00 per year; I presume that the other three, the rates of which are not known, cost the same. Forsyth, *Business Press in America*, 30, 36, 38.

[67] Mathew Carey, as the editor of the new *Pennsylvania Evening Herald, and American Monitor* (Philadelphia), February 22, 1785, 2, col. 1, noted that "the yearly subscription" to the London commodity price current cost "one guinea, and the postage as much more," thus £2.10 total. By 1797, newspapers were costing the Philadelphia "Merchants' Exchange" "upwards of £500" ($1,330) annually, the equivalent today of more than $20,000. *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), June 24, 1797, 2, col. 4.

[68] In an advertisement proposing the reestablishment of the old London Coffee House, Eleazer Oswald promised as an inducement that "All the various newspapers, magazines, &c. both foreign and domestic, will be regularly filed in the public room" *The Independent Gazetteer; or, The Chronicle of Freedom* (Philadelphia), February 25, 1783, 3, col. 2. In 1790, Edward Moyston, the proprietor of the City Tavern, the site of "The Merchants Coffee-House and Place of Exchange," pledged a regular, punctual supply of "the European Publications" of interest to his clientele. *The Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), November 29, 1790. Four years later, he called attention to the availability of "Bound Books of Public Papers for some years back." *The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, January 4, 1794. The publishers of *The Boston Price-Current; and Marine Intelligencer*, John and Joseph N. Russell, wanted their readers to know that they "subscribed for all the valuable commercial papers, printed in Europe . . . which will be sent to us by the spring vessels, and thenceforward regularly," February 29, 1796, 4, col. 3. Well into the nineteenth century, the operators of similar establishments continued to advertise the availability of such newspapers as a way to draw customers. See Charles G. Steffen, "Newspapers for Free: The Economies of Newspaper Circulation in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23 (Fall 2003): 413–17. Compare n. 18, above.

[69] Contrast Brown, *Knowledge Is Power*, 111.

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been centered in London for the colonists of the First British Empire were now being organized in the United States. A central bank, like the Bank of England, a stock exchange, like the London Stock Exchange, insurance companies, like those of London: all of these forms of enterprise were replicated in the United States in the years after 1783.[70] To serve them and the expanding agriculture, commerce, and industry of the new country, a business press was a necessity. Its time had come.

Just as had been the case for Antwerp and the other centers of European commercial and financial publishing after the 1540s, so for Philadelphia and the other business centers of the United States after 1783, business newspapers empowered the struggling economy of the young United States in several ways. Organized and supported by the local business community, published as money-making enterprises themselves, they contributed to the efficiency of the markets where they were based. They provided business people in their own cities with news more consistently, reliably, and conveniently than alternative modes of news-gathering. They disseminated news about their own markets widely to others located elsewhere and thereby encouraged them to do business with the merchant community that produced them. Business newspapers helped to perfect the market. As had been the case earlier with London, the rise of ports such as Philadelphia and, later, New York, occurred, in part, because of the articulation of the business press based there. Dependent on the "Freshest Advices," business gloried in better communications. Better communications—if not yet faster and cheaper—changed much in the world of business during the early modern era, diminishing distance and time, while not yet denying them.

In advancing to the next stage in the transformation of communications during the 1780s, the United States reached a point at which Europe had arrived two and a half centuries before. The new nation's center of business played its part in bettering the quality of business news, first mimicking, then usurping the role played by the more senior actors. News may have been better in the early modern world, but it did not move much faster and it certainly was not cheaper than had been the case before the rise of the business press. Faster news transmission came only after the next step, with the telegraph and the radio. Prior to the telegraph, messages traveled only as fast as the horse and rider, the ship at sea—and, only much later, the steamboat and the railway locomotive.[71] By telegraph news arrived instantaneously, if expensively.[72] Cheaper

[70] In this regard, see most particularly Peter L. Rousseau and Richard [E.] Sylla, "Emerging Financial Markets and Early U.S. Growth," *Explorations in Economic History* 42 (January 2005), 1–26. See also Edwin J. Perkins, *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700–1815* (Columbus, Ohio, 1994); and Robert E. Wright, *The Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850* (Cambridge, 2002).

[71] "Before the telegraph, information travelled no faster than a horse or sailing ship; afterwards it moved at the speed of light." David E. Nye, "Shaping Communication Networks: Telegraph, Telephone, Computer," *Social Research: An International Quarterly of the Social Sciences* 64 (Fall 1997): 1073. Kenneth D. Garbade and William L. Silber, "Technology, Communication and the Performance of Financial Markets, 1840–1975," *Journal of Finance* 33 (June 1978): 819–32, demonstrate empirically the rapid narrowing of inter-market price differentials between national and international financial markets effected by the telegraph. Compare Richard B. Du Boff, "Business Demand and the Development of the Telegraph in the United States, 1844–1860," *Business History Review* 54 (Winter 1980): 459–79; Yrjö Kaukiainen, "Shrinking the World: Improvements in the Speed of Information Transmission, c. 1820–1870," *European Review of Economic History* 5 (April 2001): 1–28.

[72] Celebrating the advent of the telegraph, *The North American* (Philadelphia), January 15, 1846, 2, col. 1, proclaimed: "The markets will no longer be dependent upon snail paced mails." Presciently, the editorial writer also worried that the telegraph "will be expensive to a degree little anticipated." In the

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news required the computer, the Internet, and the World Wide Web, when the marginal cost of the next unit of information approaches zero, finally tolling the death of distance. Better, faster, cheaper—change in the communication of business news happened in that order over the last five centuries.[73]

WITH DISTANCE NO LONGER A FACTOR, the world of the twenty-first century can with some profit contemplate the implications of the information revolution the origins of which we find revealed in the sixteenth-century records of a small Antwerp firm. Almost five hundred years ago, the businessmen of that city agreed to expand the scope of their affairs by publishing information they had previously kept quiet. Their decision set in motion the series of world-altering changes that have been recounted above. In sum, half a millennium later, what was once undependable, often too late to be useful, and cost a great deal is now available securely, quickly, and nearly without cost. Yet the impact of better, faster, and cheaper information on human society has yet to be completely grasped. The globalization and rationalization of the international economy may be only the most immediate consequence. It is still not clear, for instance, whether the most recent progress in the electronic stage of the demise of time and the death of distance will increase or decrease the impulse to economic centralization and concentration. For the scholarly community, it may mean the end of libraries as we have known them. Already, for some who are reading this article, it may only be available online. Certainly for the average reader, my words are available better, faster, and cheaper than in the past—an observation that may constitute the ultimate act of self-referencing.[74]

early 1850s, messages between Philadelphia and Chicago that the post carried for 3 cents the telegraph charged $1.55 to send (per ten words). Six decades later a ten-word telegram still cost 50 cents. United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970,* United States. Congress. 93rd Congress, 1st Session. House Document, no. 93–78, 3rd edn., 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1975), 2: 790, 807. Compare [United States, Bureau of Labor], *Investigation of Western Union and Postal Telegraph-Cable Companies: Letter from the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to a Senate Resolution of May 28, 1908, a Partial Report Showing the Results of an Investigation Made by the Bureau of Labor into the Western Union and Postal Telegraph-Cable Companies* [United States. Congress. 60th Congress, 2nd Session. Senate Documents, Vol. 14, No. 725. Serial Set No. 5401] (Washington, D.C., 1909), 23–25. The owners of telegraph companies believed that the businesses that used their services were more interested in speed than in lower costs. Richard B. Du Boff, "Business Demand and the Development of the Telegraph in the United States, 1844–1860," *Business History Review* 54 (Winter 1980): 462, 466.

[73] John J. McCusker, "Better? Faster? Cheaper?—The Transmission of Information and the Costs of Doing Business in the Early Modern Atlantic World" (unpublished paper presented at the Harvard Law School, Legal History Colloquium, Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 4, 2002); and McCusker, "Information and Transaction Costs in Early Modern Europe."

[74] Compare Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), 113: "The significance of the information revolution is not that we can read on a screen things that we previously read in the newspaper or looked up in the library, but that marginal costs to codified knowledge of every kind have declined dramatically."

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Appendix

Catalogue and Description of the Types of Early Commercial and Financial Newspapers Published in Europe Prior to the End of the Eighteenth Century

Catalogue

A. Publications that reported on the local economy ("currents")
 1. Commodity price currents
 (a) General price currents
 (b) Specialized price currents
 2. Foreign exchange rate currents
 3. Money currents
 4. Stock exchange currents

B. Publications that reported on overseas trade and shipping
 1. Bills of entry
 (a) General bills
 (b) Specialized ("small") bills
 2. Marine Lists

C. Publications that combined two or more of the elements from categories A and B
 1. Exchange rate current/stock exchange current
 2. Exchange rate current/marine list
 3. Exchange rate current/stock exchange current/marine list

Description

A. Local Market Publications or "Currents"

1. Commodity Price Currents

Published the local currency prices of goods offered for sale in a specific market. The general commodity price currents included the prices of a broad range of goods; the specialized price currents were limited to particular kinds of commodities, e.g., cloth, grain, sugar, imported colonial goods, etc. The general commodity price current also usually listed a few exchange rates and sometimes insurance rates and money rates.

2. Foreign Exchange Rate Currents

Published the going rates on the local exchange or bourse for bills of exchange against a list of cities in other countries. Bills of exchange are negotiable instruments for the transfer of funds, usually to another country. They were similar to modern bank checks but were drawn on funds held by individuals or businesses rather than on funds held by banks.

3. Money Currents

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Published the value in the local money of account of a variety of foreign and domestic coins and, sometimes, gold and silver bullion. As this implies, even domestically minted coins sometimes fluctuated in value against the local money of account.

4. Stock Exchange Currents
 Published the prices at which shares of stock, bonds, and government securities were traded on the local market.

B. Overseas Trade and Shipping Publications
 1. Bills of Entry
 Published lists of commodities that had been entered into the local customhouse books as being off-loaded and imported or as being loaded on board for export.

 2. Marine Lists
 Published lists of ships entering into or clearing from various ports, particularly the port at which the list was published but sometimes other domestic and foreign ports also.

C. Combined Publications
 As economies grew more complex and business publishing became more sophisticated and competitive, some publishers produced newspapers that incorporated more than one of the elements in categories A and B. Modern business newspapers and the business sections of modern political newspapers combine everything distinguished above.

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Assimilation and Racialism in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century French Colonial Policy

SALIHA BELMESSOUS

> Ploughing, when it is honoured, has softened savage peoples.
>
> Fénelon.[1]

ALTHOUGH THE IDEA OF RACE is increasingly being historicized, its emergence in the context of French colonization remains shadowy.[2] This is despite the fact that colonization was central to the emergence of race in French culture.[3] The French are either credited with a generous vision and treatment of Amerindians or they are kept in limbo.[4] The publication of Richard White's *Middle Ground* in 1991 shook up these conventional ideas by showing that French conciliation toward indigenous peoples had to be explained by particular political and economic factors rather than by national character.[5] Yet the issue of race has remained almost untouched, and

My deep gratitude is due to Andrew Fitzmaurice, John A. Dickinson, Jean Heffer, and the *AHR*'s anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier versions of this essay—en français comme en anglais, mille mercis à tous.

[1] François de Fénelon, *Dialogues des morts: Composés pour l'éducation d'un prince* (Paris, 1718), dialogue 10.

[2] On discussions of race in French thought, see André Devyer, *Le sang épuré: Les préjugés de race chez les gentilhommes français de l'Ancien Régime, 1560–1720* (Brussels, 1973); Arlette Jouanna, *L'idée de race en France au XVI^e^ et début du XVII^e^ siècle* (Montpellier, 1981); and Sue Peabody, *"There Are No Slaves in France": The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York, 1996). On race in French colonization, see Tony Chafer and Amanda Sackur, eds., *Promoting the Colonial Idea: Propaganda and Visions of Empire in France* (Basingstoke, 2002); Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall, eds., *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France* (Durham, N.C., 2003).

[3] Peabody and Stovall, *Color of Liberty*, 4–5.

[4] On French "colonial genius," see eighteenth-century Jesuit historian Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix who wrote, "Only our Nation knows the secret of winning the Americans' affection." Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1744), 1: vij. See also Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1898), 44; Mason Wade, "The French and the Indians," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., *Attitudes of Colonial Powers toward the American Indian* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 61–80; Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Nouvelle-France/Québec/Canada: A World of Limited Identities," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 98; Cornelius Jaenen, "French and Native Peoples in New France," in J. M. Bumsted, ed., *Interpreting Canada's Past*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Toronto, 1993), 1: 80. For skepticism of this historiographic tradition, see Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978), 116; Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montreal, 1985), 299–300; John A. Dickinson, "French and British Attitudes to Native Peoples in Colonial North America," *Storia Nordamericana* 4, nos. 1–2 (1987): 41–56.

[5] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991).

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French America has still not taken its place in the current debate about race, color, and civility.[6]

The present essay is an empirical contribution to the discussion on the origins of European racialism as applied to colonial situations. It argues that racial prejudice in colonial Canada emerged only after an assimilationist approach had been tried for almost a century and had failed. In the seventeenth century, French policy toward the indigenous peoples of New France relied on the assimilation of the natives to French religion and culture. The aim was to mix colonial and native peoples in order to strengthen the nascent New France. This policy of *francisation* (sometimes translated as "Frenchification") was based on a paternalistic vision of cultural difference: the French officials viewed the Amerindians as "savages," socially, economically, and culturally inferior to the Europeans.[7] As such, they had to be educated and brought to civility. This policy remained the official "native policy" employed throughout the period of the French regime in Canada despite the internal tensions and contradictions displayed by French officials. Historians have traditionally emphasized the implementation of this policy by missionaries and, consequently, have neglected or, at best, diminished the significance of *francisation* for civil authorities.[8] The conversion of Amerindians to Christianity was undoubtedly an important part of the policy of *francisation*, but that importance has been overstated: *francisation* was more a political program than a religious one. An understanding of the central role played by the state in the promotion of the policy of assimilation has profound consequences for our comprehension of the relations between the French and Amerindians.

[6] A few exceptions must be acknowledged: Cornelius J. Jaenen, "'Les Sauvages Ameriquains': Persistence into the Eighteenth Century of Traditional French Concepts and Constructs for Comprehending Amerindians," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 1 (1982): 43–56; Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton, 1984); Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 57, no. 2 (2000): 323–48; Jennifer M. Spear, "Colonial Intimacies: Legislating Sex in French Louisiana," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 60, no. 1 (2003): 75–98; Guillaume Aubert, "'The Blood of France': Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 61, no. 3 (2004): 439–78; Frédéric Régent, *Esclavage, métissage, liberté: La Révolution française en Guadeloupe, 1789–1802* (Paris, 2004).

[7] On the use of the word *franciser* (to Frenchify), see, for example, Governor General Louis de Buade de Frontenac to Minister, November 13, 1673, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926–27* (Québec, 1927), 34. According to the governor general it would be wiser "to try to *franciser* the Savages and to teach them our language and our customs" within the existing Jesuit missions instead of creating new ones (all translations are mine unless otherwise noted). Frontenac added, "I hope I will be a good missionary, and maybe I will be able to *franciser* the Savages as well as anyone else," 43; see also Frontenac to Minister, October 20, 1691, Archives Nationales de France (hereafter, AN), Paris (microfilms), série C^{11A}, vol. 11, fol. 234; and Intendant Jacques Duchesneau to Minister, November 20, 1679, lines 10, 12: AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 49. These words were occasionally still used in the eighteenth century—see Sr de Lino, procureur du roi de Québec, au Conseil de la Marine, c. 1717, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 38, fol. 210.

[8] George F. G. Stanley, "The Policy of 'Francisation' as Applied to the Indians during the Ancien Regime," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* 3, no. 3 (December 1949): 333–48; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1976) is right to underline that "French policy towards the Amerindians . . . was based on assimilationist concepts," but he fails to analyze the consequences of the policy of *francisation*. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, 1985), 23–70, deals particularly with the Jesuit missionaries' activity, and his presentation of the civil policy of *francisation* is both descriptive and very brief; moreover, colonial authorities are considered in relation to their opposition to the Jesuits.

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Moreover, it is necessary to understand the civil basis of the policy of assimilation to discern the consequences of the civil government's recognition in the eighteenth century that the policy had failed. The awareness of this failure was a crucial step from the perception of native peoples in terms of a cultural prejudice to a perception by the civil government of Amerindians through racial prejudice. The history of the civil authorities' experiments and failures with assimilation is, therefore, no less than the history of the inclusion of race in the language of French colonial government policy.

Familiarity with mostly well-known and often-quoted sources from the Correspondance Générale, the Série C^{11A} of the Archives des Colonies (the sources of civil government) especially, has prevented scholars from questioning the significance of those sources over the issue of race. Indeed, familiarity seems to have engendered tediousness and reluctance to go beyond what these sources have already told us—or seem to have told us—about related or different issues. Yet these sources still have a lot to say about the significance of *francisation* and its racial outcomes.

It is mainly through the major issue of *métissage* (miscegenation)—interethnic cohabitation and intermarriage—that I will examine this question.[9] Although I am well aware that much can be said about hybridity in general (about hybrid places, artifacts, practices, peoples, and languages), this essay will nonetheless focus on mixed neighboring and coupling.[10] Other related and important issues—such as intermarriage and the (re)construction of gender relations; miscegenation in the peripheral French settlements; the colonial experience of native peoples; the involvement of the church in *francisation*; and the significance of West African slavery in the construction of racial boundaries in French America as well as in France—are addressed even if they are not my focus.[11] Attitudes to miscegenation in the heart of New France inform us of officials' openness or anxiety toward natives. Indeed, the choice of whether or not to mix with the indigenous peoples was a choice of inclusion or exclusion; and the first consequence of the emergence of racial prejudice in Canada was a dread of mixed descendants.[12]

[9] Although the word *métissage* did not appear in the French language before 1834, I have chosen to use it, even if it may be seen as anachronistic, to refer to a situation it best describes. On the importance of miscegenation in colonial policies, see the comparative study of Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *AHR* 106, no. 3 (2001): 866–905.

[10] On hybrid places, see White, *Middle Ground*; on hybrid artifacts, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) and Serge Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse* (Paris, 1999); on hybrid peoples, see Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664–1701," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 40–67.

[11] On intermarriage and gender relations, see Peggy Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations: The Case of Interracial Marriage," *Frontiers* 12, no. 1 (1991): 5–18; on miscegenation in the peripheral French settlements, see Spear, "Colonial Intimacies"; and Carl J. Ekberg, *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times* (Urbana, Ill., 1998); on colonial experiences with native peoples, see especially Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*; and White, *Middle Ground*; on the action of the church in *francisation*, see mainly Cornelius Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto, 1976), and *Friend and Foe*; see also Axtell, *Invasion Within*; on the construction of racial boundaries in France, see Peabody, *"There Are No Slaves in France"*; and Peabody and Stovall, *Color of Liberty*.

[12] Olive P. Dickason has studied intermarriages in "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Métis," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg, 1985),

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It is true that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the North American continent, miscegenation was encouraged as a means of eliminating Native Americans, and this policy was partly motivated by racial prejudice.[13] This later period of officially sanctioned miscegenation was underpinned by the overwhelming numerical domination of European Americans over indigenous Americans. It was confidently predicted that Amerindian blood would be diluted to the point of disappearance in European blood. The contrast with this later period underlines one of the most striking features of the policy of miscegenation in seventeenth-century New France: the French colonizers were a very small minority of the population of the territory over which they claimed sovereignty, and they were overwhelmingly numerically dominated by Native Americans. In this context, the policy of miscegenation also reflects great confidence—the confidence of cultural paternalism, the belief that Native Americans would assume European ways once exposed to European culture. Importantly, however, the context of this policy seems to indicate the absence of an idea of race: that is, despite their numerical inferiority, the French had no fear that they could be biologically overwhelmed. On the contrary, miscegenation was seen as the means of strengthening the colony demographically, economically, and militarily.

Although historians and postcolonial theorists have often stressed that racial prejudice was the result of colonial exploitation, I shall argue, by contrast, that, in eighteenth-century Canada, the failure of the policy of assimilating the indigenous peoples was a catalyst in the emergence of the idea of race. As such, in this essay, I am largely concerned with people who had no concept of race. Moreover the development of racial assumptions should not be equated to "racism." Scholars have been sometimes too quick to describe French official statements about intermarriage as "racist" whereas we can find only the emergence of some of the assumptions of the idea of race in eighteenth-century French colonial policy.[14]

Because the idea of race is a sensitive issue hotly debated among scholars, anyone conducting a local study on the foundations of racialization needs to avoid pitfalls relating to the larger origins debate. While it is largely accepted that race is a historical phenomenon constructed by Europeans, differences still exist over what was characteristic of the idea and when it first emerged.[15] The idea of race with which I am concerned is scientific and was articulated in eighteenth-century and particularly nineteenth-century scientific discourse. The scientific disciplines

19–36. The perspective chosen in this article (the creation of a métis identity) has, however, limited her analysis of these marriages. Dickason writes correctly that they were increasingly forbidden and discusses the material conditions that justified this interdiction, but she does not look at the consequences of this decision.

[13] On miscegenation as a way to erase Amerindians physically and/or culturally in the nineteenth-century United States, see Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference," 885–93.

[14] Such quick judgments can be found in White, *Middle Ground*, 69–70.

[15] Alden T. Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York, 1995); Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, 1996); Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 54, no. 1 (1997): 103–42; Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); for a comprehensive summary of these debates, see Chaplin, "Race," in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2002), 154–72.

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emerging from the Enlightenment searched for an explanation for differences between human societies that lay in nature rather than culture. This was the "discovery" of race.[16] Of central concern to this enterprise was the identification of physical and mental differences between humans of different groups.

A number of studies have recently demonstrated the emergence of race in discourses of physical differences in colonial America, focusing particularly on the experience of the southern colonies.[17] The language of physical difference can be shown to have emerged in the colonization of New France in a fashion comparable to the English colonies.[18] French officials identified a few bodily differences between Europeans and natives: they praised the height of native men, their good posture, their strength, their endurance, and their agility. The French also believed the Amerindians to have an inextinguishable thirst for alcohol, which they struggled to explain.[19] What meanings were ascribed to these physical differences? According to French officials, hardships imposed by nature gave the native body virtues that the comforts of technology had denied the European body. By contrast, indigenous primitive technology did not prepare the native body for European products such as alcohol. Thus physical difference was at first attributed to environmental difference and not intrinsic qualities.

Prior to and necessary to the development of discourses of physical differences was the development of a discourse that explained difference through immutable nature. At the heart of the scientific language of race is the idea that groups of humans possess different natures. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, French colonizers assumed that the differences between them and Amerindian societies were cultural. By the eighteenth century, they concluded that the differences were in "nature." This assumption of a different nature was a fundamental premise for the scientific idea of race. Natural difference between humans could, of course, be then subject to scientific scrutiny and from that scrutiny would emerge arguments about different physical characteristics and different temperaments.

[16] George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York, 1978); Jacqueline Duvernay-Bolens, *Les Géants Patagons: Voyage aux origines de l'homme* (Paris, 1995); Hannaford, *Race*; Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Houndsmills, 1996).

[17] On the construction of race in the British colonies, see Joyce E. Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 54, no. 1 (1997): 229–52; and Chaplin, *Subject Matter*; on race in Spanish America, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650," *AHR* 104, no. 1 (1999): 33–68; on the Amerindian invention and use of racial categories, see Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red," *AHR* 102, no. 3 (1997): 625–44.

[18] Compare Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J., 1980) and Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000).

[19] On the effects of alcohol on religion, see André Vachon, "L'eau-de-vie dans la société indienne," *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report* (1960): 22–32; on natives' social use of alcohol to solve internal conflicts without weakening the community, see John A. Dickinson, "'C'est l'eau-de-vie qui a commis ce meurtre': Alcool et criminalité amérindienne à Montréal sous le régime français," *Études Canadiennes/Canadian Studies* 35 (1993): 83–94; see also Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

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THE COLONIZATION OF NEW FRANCE, first entrusted to a few great financiers and merchants, often Huguenots or foreigners living in France, developed rapidly into an essentially economic enterprise to the detriment of the population and development of the colony. Policies regarding native peoples were nevertheless officially portrayed in terms of religious aims, which legitimized the French enterprise and demanded its successful prosecution.[20] It was only when a serious effort at settlement was made along the St. Lawrence River after 1632 that the Christianization of the natives became a genuine concern rather than merely royal rhetoric. The installation of French dwellings and the continental extension of the fur trade inspired an attempt to integrate the natives and provide them with a role within the confines of French settlements. The sending of missionaries overseas enabled both this problem to be addressed and the protection of civil society threatened by the surrounding "savagery." Despite these practical motives, in the period of post-Tridentine spiritual revival, it is probable that the French colonial administration sincerely sought the conversion of the American peoples.

As early as 1603, the founder of Quebec, Samuel de Champlain, deemed that the assimilation of Amerindians was a necessary means of increasing the colonial population. Champlain reportedly promised the Ottawas and the Hurons that when the French were established, "our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people."[21] Indeed, the demographic development of the colony was extremely slow and irregular compared to that of the English colonies. Following the mercantilist argument that a country's power depended upon the size of its population, the French crown never strongly sustained the peopling of Canada for fear of weakening the kingdom: in 1666, Secretary of State Jean-Baptiste Colbert expressed Louis XIV's view that "it would not be wise to depopulate his kingdom in order to populate Canada."[22] The king wanted to maintain his own population, which was already, though wrongly, perceived as weak, to support his claim for a preeminent position in Europe. As opposed to England, the French crown did not believe that it had people to spare (the Thirty Years War from 1618–1648 had been a drain on its population); nor did it try, at that time, to get rid of marginal groups whether they were religious or social. The policy of *grandeur*, as understood by the crown, demanded France's expansion through colonization without compromising the kingdom's claims for preeminence in Europe.[23]

French reluctance to send emigrants to Canada gave, therefore, a distinctive feature to the colony: Canada's population was to be generated through the

[20] *Commissions du Roy et de Monseigneur l'Admiral au sieur de Monts pour l'habitation des terres de l'Acadie, Canada, et autres endroits en la Nouvelle-France* (1605), in Albert Duchêne, *La politique coloniale de la France: Le ministère des colonies depuis Richelieu* (Paris, 1928), 15.

[21] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols. (New York, 1959), 5: 211 for the quote, and 10: 26.

[22] Jean-Baptiste Colbert to Intendant Jean Talon, January 5, 1666, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1930–31* (Québec, 1931), 41. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the philosopher Denis Diderot could still argue that "it would be going against the very purpose of the colonies to establish them by depopulating the ruling country." *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "Colonies," cited in Jean Meyer *et al.*, *Histoire de la France coloniale: I, La conquête* (Paris, 1991), 19, my translation.

[23] On the expansionist content of the ideology of *grandeur*, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); on French colonial ambitions, see William J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York, 1972); Meyer *et al.*, *Histoire de la France coloniale*, 38–41; Philippe Haudrère, *L'Empire des rois, 1500–1789* (Paris, 1997).

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miscegenation of a small group of settlers with natives. In 1666, Colbert argued that:

> To increase the colony . . . , it seems to me that, instead of waiting to benefit from the new settlers who could be sent from France, the most useful way to achieve it would be to try to civilize the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the other Savages who have embraced Christianity; and to persuade them to come to settle in a commune with the French, to live with them, and educate their children in our mores and our customs.[24]

The successful settlement of the colony demanded that Amerindians had to be involved in the French colonial project. Without them, the French settlers could not overcome their small numbers to create a colonial society. Without them, the colony could not extend the fur trade, which was its main economic activity, nor could it defend its settlements and guarantee its military security. Without them, the settlers could barely feed themselves and adapt to their new environment. To remedy these difficulties, Amerindians were asked to participate in colonial growth as agents of demographic reproduction, instruments of economic development, and warriors.

Amerindians' inclusion in the French colonial project as key actors rather than passive and exploited instruments indicates not only the general strength of native peoples in the nascent colony but also the absence of an idea of race in the minds of French officials.[25] Cultural tradition represented Amerindians as savage people, meaning unfinished people who had to be humanized.[26] To achieve this goal, Christians had the moral duty to bring them faith and reason. According to lawyer and propagandist Marc Lescarbot, who went to Canada with Champlain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the dispossession of Amerindians could not be challenged for two reasons: first because indigenous peoples had shown their inability to improve the land; and second because they were not Christians. Therefore, the spiritual responsibility in which the Europeans genuinely believed legitimized expansion as well as colonization: France originally founded its colonial titles on natives' lack of religion and, consequently, on its evangelical duty.[27]

[24] Colbert to Jean Talon, January 5, 1666, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1930–31*, 45. Colbert's promotion of interracial mixing has been strangely overlooked in James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge, 2004), 18–19.

[25] On the absence of racial prejudice, as opposed to cultural prejudice, see Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal, 1976), 274. However, intermarriage and mixed sexual relations taken out of their political context did not imply, as it has recently been argued, that racial and social prejudices could be overcome by the elite. For this statement, see Gary B. Nash, "A Tale of Three Cities (and Their Hinterlands): Race Mixture in Colonial North America," in Serge Gruzinski and Nathan Wachtel, eds., *Le Nouveau Monde, Mondes Nouveaux: L'expérience américaine* (Paris, 1996), 54. This statement should be strongly qualified as marriages could be a political or social act not related to the perception of the partner as an individual; moreover, sexual relations with women seen as socially inferior, such as servants or slaves, did not erase class or racial prejudice. See Arlette Gautier, *Les soeurs de solitude: La condition féminine dans l'esclavage aux Antilles du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1985).

[26] Berkhofer, Jr., *White Man's Indian*; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982); Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le Sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, au temps des Guerres de religion (1555–1589)* (Paris, 1990); Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*.

[27] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1612), xvi–xvii, 4; "Edit du Roy contenant le pouvoir et Commission donnée par sa Majesté au Marquis de Cottenmeal et de la Roche pour la conquête des terres de Canada, Labrador, Ile de Sable, Norembergue, et pays adjacens," January 12,

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In the seventeenth century, necessity intensified the French officials' belief that natives could be civilized into thinking that they had to be *francisés*. Intermarriage and interethnic cohabitation were all the more appropriate in that they brought together populations whose social conditions were similar—common settlers (*roturiers*) and Amerindians who were seen as common people too. There was, at first sight, no risk of misalliance, and if French noblemen did marry Amerindian women, it happened rarely enough not to put into question the policy of intermarrying.[28] Although it has been argued that the "white" skin color of Amerindians facilitated the promotion of assimilation, no convincing evidence has been provided to show that seventeenth-century French officials discussed this issue.[29] Culture, and not physical difference, was the central point according to which Amerindians were perceived in the seventeenth century. When scholars awkwardly translate French statements on assimilation, replacing the word *peuple* (people) with "nation" and "race," they have further clouded the question.[30] In seventeenth-century French, "nation" meant "all the people of a certain country" whereas "race" meant "lineage." Even if the idea of race conveyed an ideology of inborn differences, it was an ideology that explained difference based on social inequality and not biological characteristics.[31] When Colbert famously encouraged French settlers and native peoples to "constitute one people and one blood," his probable meaning was "creating a commonwealth through intermarriage."[32] Although it has been argued that in 1684 François Bernier first introduced in France the word "race" with its contemporary significance, recent scholarship has shown that such a meaning was not clearly apparent before 1749 when Georges Buffon published his *Histoire naturelle de l'homme*, that is, at the end of the period with which we are concerned here.[33]

The reasons why miscegenation was successful or not were largely concerned with official policy, native agenda, and settlers' designs. From the early seventeenth century, the French used natives' assimilation to French customs and manners as an

1598, in Lescarbot, *History of New France*, H. P. Biggar and W. L. Grant, eds., 3 vols. (Toronto, 1907), 2: 398–405; the patent Henri IV gave to Sieur de Monts on November 8, 1603 gave the same title and the same justification for colonization (*History of New France*, 2: 409).

[28] A few examples of such unions can be found in Dickason, "From One Nation," 25–26. Similarly, misalliance between common people and nobles in France did not put into question the institution of marriage.

[29] That unsubstantiated argument is found in Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 146–47.

[30] Confusing translations can be found in Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 21, 27, 28; and Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 68. On the "anachronistic use of new concepts of [our] times to translate somewhat similar ancient terms," see Bernard Crick, "Foreword," in Hannaford, *Race*, xii.

[31] Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois* (1679; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1970); on race as a belief in inherited inequality, see Jouanna, *L'idée de race en France*, 23; on moral and physical dispositions inherited through lineage, see Devyer, *Le sang épuré*, 36, 164–69; on the development of the idea of race as a belief in biological inequality in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe, see Hannaford, *Race*, chap. 7.

[32] "Ils ne fassent plus ainsy qu'un mesme people et un mesme sang," Colbert to Jean Talon, November 13, 1666, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 2, fol. 332.

[33] François Bernier, "Nouvelle division de la terre, par les differentes Especes, ou Races d'hommes qui l'habitent, envoyée par un fameux Voyageur à M. l'Abbé de la *** à peu près en ces termes," *Journal des Sçavans* (1684): 133–40. On the historical significance of Bernier's discourse on race, see Siep Stuurman, "François Bernier and the Invention of Racial Classification," *History Workshop Journal* 50 (Autumn 2000): 1–21; and Pierre H. Boulle, "François Bernier and the Origins of the Modern Concept of Race," in Peabody and Stovall, *Color of Liberty*, 20.

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instrument of power. To dominate the Amerindians, the crown did not deem it necessary to resort to force for two reasons: to save money and, paternalistically, because it was convinced that a gentle approach would bring submission. As "savages," the Amerindians had to be "reduced to civil life and made able to fulfill all the duties of an honest life, every one according to the condition into which God had given him birth."[34] Several factors were perceived to favor the conversion of the natives: material conditions (demographic, economic, and military); optimism as to the malleability of their characters; confidence in the power of education; and a cultural assumption that all peoples move from savagery to civility, placing them at an early stage of an inevitable historical development.[35] Accordingly, Amerindians could, with the help of their new master, improve their condition so that they could fulfill their potential as humans.[36]

The conversion of natives into French people had to follow three stages. Because civility was a precondition to conversion, the Amerindians first had to be *francisés*.[37] The understanding of what constituted "French" national identity at a time when cultural and social diversities were great is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, French officials used the terms *franciser* and *francisation* to describe the process of assimilation. Indeed, it was in part through the contrast of European self and New World other that the language of national identity would crystallize.[38] Amerindians were encouraged to settle and farm the land—to grow wheat and hemp instead of corn and to raise cows, chickens, and pigs. They were also required to submit to French laws and adopt French language, customs, "French-type clothes," food, trades, occupations, and housing (fitting their houses with "French-type chimneys").[39]

French officials never wrote a coherent program clarifying what should be done to assimilate Amerindians, but they did agree that this process had to meet the needs of the colony as much as possible. Intendant Jacques Duchesneau (the colony's chief administrator from 1675 to 1682) wanted native men to keep their

[34] King Louis XIV to Governor General Frontenac, April 22, 1675, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926–27*, 80.

[35] On the pre-Enlightenment origins of the progressive theory of history, see Peter Burke, "America and the Rewriting of World History," in Karen Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 33–51; and David Armitage, "The New World and British Historical Thought," in Kupperman, *America in European Consciousness*, 52–75.

[36] Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 98–99.

[37] The English missionaries argued similarily that "In order to make them Christians, they [the Amerindians] must first be made Men." See Axtell, *Invasion Within*, chap. 7, and 131 for the quote.

[38] The construction of a "French" identity is not discussed in the present essay. I have examined it at length in Saliha Belmessous, "Etre français en Nouvelle-France: Identité française et identité coloniale aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles," *French Historical Studies* 27 (Summer 2004): 507–40.

[39] Governor Frontenac to Minister, November 13, 1673, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926–27*, 43; Intendant Jacques Duchesneau to Minister, November 13, 1681, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 290; Intendant Jacques de Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1682, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fols. 87–88; and November 4, 1683, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fols. 193–94; Governor General Jacques René de Brisay de Denonville to Minister, November 13, 1685, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 7, fol. 106. Acquiring literacy was also part of the program: on writing and the possession of reason, see Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes," in Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago, 1985): 8; on the perceived necessity of literacy and writing for the possession of history, and on savagery and the absence of literacy, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 114–29.

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traditional clothes and diet "so that they would not become effeminate and they would be fitter and less constrained for the hunt, which makes their wealth and ours," an aim that was not entirely consistent with the desire to develop settled forms of agriculture. In an attempt to develop the colonial economy, Duchesneau's successor promoted the teaching of spinning and sewing to native girls so that they would be able to work in the industries that would be established in Canada.[40]

As pagans, Amerindians then had to be Christianized. In 1627, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, granted to the Amerindian neophytes the automatic status of French subjects, without restriction of privileges.[41] Through baptism, indigenous peoples would then return to life as both Christian *and* French. The granting of French citizenship allowed the cardinal skillfully to deal two political blows: the first against the Amerindians themselves as they were told that their submission to Christian law was inseparable from their subjection to the colonizer's law; in other words, Christianization legitimized usurpation by revoking native title over the land. The second blow was aimed at the rival colonial powers that were thereby denied any claim to lands inhabited by French natives.

Once made French and Christian, natives would be mixed with the settlers. Three concrete measures were adopted to advance miscegenation. First, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, French officials encouraged native initiatives to migrate in the St. Lawrence Valley so that the Amerindians could easily observe the French and, by good example, imitate their way of life.[42] Political motivations influenced this decision. Indeed, French authorities aimed at obtaining the obedience of indigenous hunters and warriors, vital for colonial development, as well as ensuring a uniform social frame for everybody, settlers and natives. Even if colonial authorities had little control over native migrations and settlements, seventeenth-century officials acknowledged the strategic benefit brought by native villages to the defense of the colony, regarding native warriors to be generally faithful allies.[43] This cohabitation, however, had to be limited. The number of Amerindians welcomed among the French dwellings had to be less than the size of the colonial population to preserve the settlers' dominance of their indigenous neighbors.[44]

As the second measure to advance assimilation, the French authorities strongly encouraged the education of native children to secure the conversion of the next generation. In 1668, Louis XIV invited the religious orders to pursue the comprehensive instruction in French customs for children initiated a few decades earlier. That was the only way "to constitute just one people." More schools for

[40] Intendant Duchesneau to Minister, November 13, 1681, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 291; on this question, see also W. J. Eccles, "Sovereignty-Association, 1500–1783," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (1984): 482; on native labor in colonial industry, see Intendant De Meulles to Minister, November 4, 1683, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fol. 194; September 28, 1685, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 7, fol. 152.

[41] "Article XVII de la charte de la compagnie des Cent-Associés," in *Mercure de France*, XIV, 245, cited by Pierre Clément, ed., *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1865), 3: 2, 404.

[42] Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, H. P. Biggar, ed., 6 vols. (Toronto, 1929), 3: 4, 145–46.

[43] Intendant Duchesneau to Minister, November 13, 1681, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fols. 290, 317; Marc Jetten, *Enclaves amérindiennes: Les réductions du Canada, 1637–1701* (Sillery, Québec, 1994), 130–34. On the history of native Catholic villages, see this brief and useful synthesis.

[44] Colbert to Governor Frontenac, May 8, 1679, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926–27.*

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native children were therefore opened in Quebec and Montreal to promote the royal desire. As this measure was still insufficient given the modesty of the public funds compared with the enormous number of children who had to be educated, French officials encouraged religious congregations and wealthy settlers to receive Amerindian children into their homes and to raise them.[45]

Colonial authorities strongly encouraged their native allies to send their daughters to the Ursuline convent. Once Christianized and educated, these girls would be married to settlers and would establish Catholic families instead of going back to their villages to marry infidel native men. French officials also thought that intermarriage within Christian practice would prevent Frenchmen from falling into savagery (*ensauvagement*) as they had in Brazil about fifty years earlier. A royal fund to endow the assimilated native girls was set up in 1680 to facilitate the project.[46] Although it was never clearly stated that intermarriage should concern only native women and male settlers, French secular and religious authorities never encouraged or even mentioned the possibility of Frenchwomen marrying native men, and the teaching of Amerindian girls was strongly encouraged for this very reason.

Demographic as well as cultural, political, and economic reasons could be given to understand the kind of intermarriage promoted. First, the lack of nubile French females in the colony, aggravated by demographic weakness, partly explains official attitudes. Between 1608 and 1699, only 1,772 women (nuns excepted) emigrated to Canada as compared with 12,621 men. The sexual imbalance remained a feature of colonial society to the end of the century.[47]

A further basis for the policy of intermarriage lay in traditional European gender practices. When establishing a new France, authorities tried to replicate metropolitan gender organization, which was patriarchal and patrilineal. By contrast, some native cultures, mainly Iroquoian, had a matrilineal system which, for the Europeans, testified to their savagery.[48] Following their gender conventions, the French put the male at the head of the household. Greek philosophy, Roman law, and Christian doctrine had established the authority of the father over his wife and children: they formed a natural society governed by the father because he was believed to be the one who could best provide resources, look after the family's

[45] Louis XIV to Bishop Laval, March 2, 1668, cited by G. Stanley, "Policy of Francisation," 340; Colbert to Jean Talon, February 20, 1668, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1930–31*, 94–95; and February 11, 1671, 147; Louis XIV to Governor Frontenac, April 22, 1675 and May 12, 1678; and Colbert to Frontenac, May 8, 1679, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926–27*.

[46] Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto, 1997), 17, followed by Aubert, "Blood of France," 454–55, has recently claimed that the state-funded transportation of about 770 French single women (*filles du roi*) to Canada between 1663 and 1673 showed that the policy of intermarrying was already abandoned. Greer states that "the 'king's daughters' program represented a racial reorientation as much as a demographic developmentalist agenda." Yet the endowment of Christian native women, twenty years after the supposed abandonment of intermarriage, invalidates such statements: intermarriage was still promoted even if few blessed unions were celebrated. The crown sent French women to invigorate colonial demographic development. The "*filles du roi*" program was parallel to francisation; it was not an alternative. It was a short-term program whereas francisation was still the long-term one.

[47] Hubert Charbonneau, Bertrand Desjardins, *et al.*, *Naissance d'une population: Les Français établis au Canada au XVII^e siècle* (Paris and Montreal, 1987), 8–9, 15, 58.

[48] Sarah M. S. Pearsall, "Gender," in Armitage and Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, 120.

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interests, preserve its unity, and link it to the previous generations. The early modern conception of paternity assumed that the father alone transmitted his qualities to the children and established their legitimacy; that theory attributed to the father the dominant role in the procreation of children. The mother, comparatively, had a minor role: she was thought to catch her husband's semen and transmit the paternal qualities to the children without passing on anything herself. The mother cared for the child's body whereas the father was responsible for the care of the soul; he had the sacred duty to educate his sons in particular. This conception of paternity was exalted by the Catholic Church in the seventeenth century, and the catechism of the Council of Trent clearly presented the father as the priest's intermediary.[49] Given that children belonged to the father, one can better understand why French officials promoted the union of Frenchmen with Amerindian women (and not the reverse): such unions provided the only promise of creating French families and the security that their children would be integrated into the colonial community.[50]

Miscegenation was not only a colonial strategy of peopling based on metropolitan gender order; it was also conceived as an instrument of empire.[51] The imperial and commercial designs of the French included the promotion of intermixing—therefore the use of sex—as a means to develop the fur trade and consolidate French-Amerindian relations. According to indigenous customs, the French-native alliance rested on economic, political, cultural, and social bonds.[52] Intermarriage helped strengthen trading ties, which would in turn reinforce political and military bonds.[53] Although it has been recently argued that late eighteenth-century British commentators promoted intermarriage as a way to legitimize usurpation through the transmission of property rights to the children of mixed unions, this observation cannot be generalized to the French experience. In the sixteenth century, the French established their colonial titles on cession (notably through Christianization and native acquisition of French citizenship) and conquest of non-Christian lands; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, native stateless societies (European states were also very weak) and supposed nomadism justified the seizure of land that had not yet been claimed by other European nations.[54]

[49] Jean Delumeau and Daniel Roche, eds., *Histoire des pères et de la paternité* (Paris, 1990), 44, 58, 61–62, 71–72, 131, 136; Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Familles: Parenté, maison, sexualité dans l'ancienne société*, rev. edn. (1976; Paris, 1984), 117–18; Pierre Darmon, *Le mythe de la procréation à l'âge baroque* (Paris, 1977); Jouanna, *L'idée de race en France*, 75; on the physical differences thought to exist between men and women, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

[50] On gender and colonialism, see especially Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); and Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York, 1999).

[51] Isabelle Perrault, "Le métissage en Nouvelle-France" (M.Sc. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1980), 235; Dickason, "From One Nation," 19, 21–22.

[52] On the political use of sex in French America, see Spear, "Colonial Intimacies"; on French-Amerindian alliance, see Denys Delâge, "L'alliance franco-amérindienne, 1660–1701," *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 19, no. 1 (1989): 3–15; and White, *Middle Ground*, chap. 4.

[53] Similar policies were used when the French tried to colonize the island of Maranhão in northern Brazil between 1612 and 1614 and in the early days of colonization of the Illinois country and Florida in the eighteenth century (see Dickason, "From One Nation," 33 n. 16).

[54] On the use of assimilation to dispossess indigenous peoples, see Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and

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A FIRST SHIFT FROM THE INITIAL POLICY of intermarriage occurred in 1682, when Intendant de Meulles (in charge from 1682 to 1686) criticized the endowment of native girls. He believed it was a useless expenditure for "there is hardly one or two who marry each year." Statistical evidence concerning intermarriage has always been difficult to obtain, and the numbers available are not reliable because mixed unions were commonly celebrated *à la façon du pays*, that is, according to indigenous customs and without consulting the civilian and religious authorities.[55] According to de Meulles, native women who were assimilated had to be encouraged to marry native men. With this argument, de Meulles did not reject French-native marriages: rather he criticized the position according to which intermarriage was the main way to accomplish *francisation*. Because that policy had had few concrete results, another needed to be adopted. Accordingly, de Meulles promoted the endowment of native women in kind rather than in money, proposing to "give them a pig, wheat, and a few hemp seeds." These women would assimilate their husbands by daily confronting them with another way of life:

> Being brought up in this spirit, I do not doubt that once married to savage men, they would gradually introduce their husbands to this way of life which could lead them to dress, eat, and live like us and would, with time, get the savage mind out of them.[56]

De Meulles's project was therefore to use native women to educate native men who, given their role as hunters, were the most inclined to a nomadic life. In this respect, de Meulles echoed the concern expressed by Father Paul Le Jeune, S.J., almost fifty years earlier when he was trying to Christianize Amerindian boys. According to Le Jeune, native girls had to be securely evangelized to provide Christian wives for native men.[57] Native women were targeted for moral as well as social reasons. The corruption of women was believed to reflect a greater corruption of the natural order. Therefore establishing civility within indigenous societies had to be achieved through women: assimilated women would pass on a culture based on French

Difference," 867, 885; on French early colonial claims, see Brian Slattery, "French Claims in North America, 1500–59," *Canadian Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1978): 139–69; on the European religious argument to justify colonization, see Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York, 1990), 66, 80–81; on the development of French claims throughout French rule, see Belmessous, "D'un préjugé culturel à un préjugé racial: La politique indigène de la France au Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1999), 316–40.

[55] De Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1682, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fol. 90. Demographers have confirmed De Meulles's estimate, recording six official intermarriages for the seventeenth century (that is 1.6 marriages for a thousand) and ninety-five for the whole period of the French regime. See Hubert Charbonneau and Yves Landry, "La politique démographique en Nouvelle-France," *Annales de démographie historique* (1979): 54. Historians have found different and conflicting numbers: Cornelius Jaenen has recorded sixteen intermarriages in the seventeenth century (*Role of the Church*, 29) whereas André Lachance and Sylvie Savoie have found higher numbers—145 marriages between Frenchmen and Amerindian women and thirty-five between Frenchwomen and Amerindian men ("Les Amérindiens sous le Régime français," in Lachance, ed., *Les marginaux, les exclus et l'Autre au Canada aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* [Saint-Laurent, Québec, 1996], 191).

[56] De Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1682, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fols. 87–88.

[57] Paul Le Jeune, "Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1633," in Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 5: 145; on Jesuit efforts to convert Amerindians to Christianity, see Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 46–127.

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civility to their husbands and children, a culture promoting male authority, controlled sexuality, and stable married households.

To achieve natives' assimilation, French officials could not rely on missionaries' enthusiasm. Religious orders, despite being officially in charge of *francisation*, found it difficult to apply a policy they had stopped believing in almost twenty years earlier. Indeed, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Recollects, Jesuits, and Sulpicians had all experimented with *francisation*, thinking that indigenous peoples first had to adopt French laws and mores before being converted to Christianity. This civil evangelism did not succeed, however. Very few native children came to Christian schools, and those who did ran away when possible; their parents often interfered. Moreover, these children could not promote French culture and Christianity once back among their people because they had no influence. At the end of the 1630s, the Jesuits had already turned their back on interethnic living, arguing that French settlers were undermining their evangelical work by their scandalous behavior and brandy trade. They gradually moved all their missions and isolated them from colonial settlements.[58] After 1640, the Jesuits abandoned *francisation* as well for the reason that it was unnecessary for conversion. They no longer believed that native cultures and societies were an obstacle to conversion, and when they tried to translate the Christian message to native languages, they tried as well to find a compromise between Christian principles and native customs. This new program was undoubtedly contrary to the state's policy toward indigenous peoples and, in the second half of the seventeenth century, continuous conflicts opposed colonial authorities to the Jesuit order.[59] Since this policy had already been unsuccessfully pursued, why did the state continue to promote it so strongly? The various motivations we have already seen justified official interest and involvement; and the clergy's incompetence was held responsible for the failure of earlier experiments.[60]

What did indigenous peoples think about miscegenation as promoted by the French? It is generally agreed that they welcomed it as it strengthened existing alliances. In Acadia, the French settled on inhabited lands with the approval of the native community. Amerindians happily welcomed the tiny European population because its size did not threaten them; besides, they could trade with the French and acquire European goods without having to travel far. French settlements in the vicinity of Huron and Algonquin tribes and later in the West were also welcomed. The French presence was always small, and it allowed the establishment of close economic, military, and personal ties.[61] Except for the Iroquois, even those settled in the midst of the colonial towns who were reluctant to marry Europeans, native peoples generally advocated intermarriage and women chose to marry Frenchmen, with their family's approval. For Great Lakes communities, intermarriage could secure a regular supply of European merchandise by encouraging traders to return

[58] Jetten, *Enclaves amérindiennes*, 128.

[59] Officials' opposition to the Jesuits was part of a larger effort to decrease ecclesiastical authority to the benefit of royal power. See Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 67, 69; and James F. Traer, *Marriage and Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 22–47.

[60] Colbert, "Instruction pour M. de Bouterone, intendant du Canada, 5 avril 1668," in Clément, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, 3: 2, 404.

[61] Eccles, "Sovereignty-Association," 479, 493, 498; White, *Middle Ground* 69, 74, 165.

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to their wives' villages and by increasing the traders' generosity toward native kinfolk.[62] Native women may have married French traders because of sexual imbalance and possibly also to avoid soral polygamy, both of which were prevalent in Great Lakes societies.[63] Through intermarriage, native women became intermediaries between their world and that of their husbands, and thereby enhanced their prestige and authority among their people: native women served as guides, interpreters, diplomatic envoys, and spies; they transferred their husbands' property to their families; and they firmly established military and trade ties between kin families.[64]

French settlers had mixed feelings concerning miscegenation. They welcomed Amerindian visitors in their towns for economic reasons at least. They happily traded brandy, usually illegally, and were glad to get furs in exchange.[65] If the *habitants* (farmers) were generally not interested in marrying native women, the *coureurs de bois* (the settlers involved in the fur trade) found it very advantageous.[66] Native wives provided access to their kin trading networks as well as food and information. They could also help their husbands in their work by treating and repairing the furs, walking as far and as long as needed, farming the land, and generally enduring the hardships of a trader's life.[67]

In 1686, Governor General Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville (in office from 1685 to 1689) advocated the first definite move away from interethnic cohabitation, arguing that although "For a long time, it was believed that domiciling the Savages near our dwellings was likely to accustom them to live like us . . . I realize Monseigneur, that the very opposite has happened because, instead of becoming familiar with our laws . . . they communicate to us all they have that is the very worst, and they take on likewise all that is bad and vicious in us." According to Denonville, French-native cohabitation presented the seduction of indigenous lifestyle to transplanted Frenchmen instead of bringing savage men to civil society. As Denonville believed that living together had very harmful sociocultural effects, he wanted the two groups to be separated to protect colonial youth from the Amerindians, whose acculturation seemed to him far lower than that of the settlers. This segregation required that colonial authorities gather non-Christian natives living in the vicinity of Montreal inside villages;[68] Denonville also encouraged the further establishment of Jesuit reservations.

[62] Bruce M. White, "The Woman Who Married a Beaver: Trade Patterns and Gender Roles in the Ojibwa Fur Trade," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 128, 138.

[63] White, *Middle Ground*, 65–66.

[64] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (1980; Norman, Okla., 1983), 4; White, *Middle Ground*, 65, 69; White, "Woman Who Married a Beaver"; Susan Sleeper-Smith, "Women, Kin, and Catholicism: New Perspectives on the Fur Trade," *Ethnohistory* 47, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 423–51.

[65] Jan Grabowski, "The Common Ground: Settled Natives and French in Montreal, 1667–1760" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal, 1993).

[66] On the close link between the fur trade and intermarriage, see Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1815," in Peterson and Brown, *The New Peoples*, 53.

[67] Farming was the responsibility of women in northeastern and northwestern indigenous societies: see Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast*, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1978).

[68] Governor Denonville to Minister, November 13, 1685, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 7, fols. 90–91 for the quote; September 10, 1686, vol. 8, fol. 146; Denonville, "Mémoire à Monseigneur de Seignelay,"

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When criticizing miscegenation, Denonville was articulating more strongly a doubt, already expressed by his predecessors, concerning the way it was pursued rather than really calling into question *francisation*. Denonville supported native evangelization despite, he believed, their reluctance to convert and the Iroquois' rejection of Christian proselytism.[69] He estimated that the French had to subdue their allies militarily to force them to listen more carefully to the missionaries; they also had to conquer the Iroquois who had supposedly martyred missionaries in the past and who were still slowing down the evangelization of allied tribes with their continual wars.[70]

At the end of the seventeenth century, colonial authorities started expressing serious doubts concerning the assimilation of Amerindians. If earlier a few officials admitted that the policy was difficult to put into practice, they still thought that its achievement was possible with patience, encouragement, and means. Their doubts may have been more serious but if so, they were wise to keep them private to not disappoint Colbert, who was very committed to *francisation*. Commenting on his private involvement in the education of native children, Intendant Jacques Duchesneau confessed that "it is very difficult to tame them. Three have already left me after I dressed them very well." To account for his failure, the intendant commented that the "savage mood" of these children demanded a great deal of softness and patience on his part.[71] If Duchesneau still thought that he had to be determined in his efforts, Intendant Jean Bochart de Champigny (in office 1686–1702) did not show any hope nineteen years later:

> The difficulty in civilizing remote nations, revealed by the example we have that almost none of the savages educated among us choose to stay, . . . is a certain prejudice showing that we will not succeed . . . [and] it happens more commonly that a Frenchman becomes savage than a savage becomes a Frenchman.[72]

Agreeing with the intendant, other French officials began to state the futility of attempting to civilize natives: they ceased using the word *francisation*, a sign that this policy had been abandoned.

Why did *francisation* fail? Amerindians appropriated many material goods and a few military and economic practices but rejected French language, customs, and laws. They did not feel inferior to the French; nor did they believe that their

August 10, 1688, vol. 10, fol. 66; Denonville, "Mémoire concernant le Canada pour Monseigneur le marquis de Seignelay fait en janvier 1690," vol. 11, fol. 188.

[69] Denonville to Minister, May 8, 1686, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 8, fol. 11; Denonville to Governor Dongan, September 29, 1686, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 8, fols. 101–02; Denonville to Minister, September 11, 1686, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 8, fol. 161; August 25, 1687, vol. 9, fol. 82; January 1687, vol. 9, fol. 249; August 10, 1688, vol. 10, fol. 69; Denonville to King, no date, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 10, fol. 26.

[70] Denonville's plea for military conquest was not exceptional: François de Laval, bishop of Quebec and apostolic vicar between 1658 and 1688, called several times for military action against the Iroquois to ensure the evangelization of indigenous peoples. See Luca Codignola, "The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British North America, 1486–1760," in Kupperman, *America in European Consciousness*, 211.

[71] Duchesneau to Minister, November 20, 1679, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 51; November 13, 1680, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 178 for the quote; November 13, 1681, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 291; and Memoir, November 13, 1681, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 5, fol. 317.

[72] "Sentiments du Sr de Champigny sur le Mémoire du Sr Lamotte Cadillac," October 20, 1699, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 17, fol. 101.

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sociocultural practices were inferior to those of the French. It has been argued that a successful assimilative policy relies on three essential factors: namely, the numerical inferiority of the nation to be absorbed; a weak consciousness of native identity; and the willingness of the natives to be assimilated. Lacking these conditions, colonial authorities needed to dominate the natives politically, militarily, and technologically; they also needed the support of a strong colonial population to achieve their goals. Yet, none of these conditions was present in French Canada.[73]

Official disappointment with the attempts to assimilate the natives had several concrete results. First, emphasis shifted to the Christianization of natives since it could supposedly extend French influence.[74] French officials thought that they could dominate those natives who were subject to the guidance of missionaries as spiritual advisers.[75] Second, the budget dedicated to endow Catholic native women was annulled in 1702.[76] Intermarriage was no longer encouraged even if it was not yet banned. Official disillusion with intermarriage was partly due to the way the *coureurs de bois* used it to defy the colonial order. These men were often illegal traders who not only challenged trade monopolies but also disobeyed diplomatic order by entering the English colonies.[77] Colonial authorities kept complaining about the *coureurs de bois* for these reasons and because these young men were living for several years at a time among indigenous peoples, almost outside French social and religious frames.[78] Official attempts to regulate the fur trade and prevent more and more Frenchmen from being involved in the trade all failed and, in 1696, western trading posts were abandoned and traders ordered to return to the heart of the colony.[79] Neither general amnesty nor death threats convinced traders to give

[73] Stanley discusses the three essential factors for assimilation in "Policy of Francisation," 347.

[74] Governor Frontenac to Minister, November 1696, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 14, fol. 47; Governor Vaudreuil to Minister, September 16, 1714, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1947–48* (Québec, 1948), 268; Commandant Louvigny to Minister, 1724, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 46, fol. 307; Intendant Hocquart, "Mémoire," 1737, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 67, fol. 104; "Mémoire ou Journal sommaire du voyage de Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de Saint Pierre chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St Louis, capitaine d'une compagnie des troupes détachées de la Marine en Canada, chargé de la découverte de la mer de l'Ouest (1750–1752)," *Explorations du nord-ouest: Journal de La Vérendrye (1738–1739)*, 160, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Collection, 169.8, N8 L2; "Relation de Mr Poulariès envoyée à Mr le Marquis de Montcalm, 1757," *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1931–32* (Québec, 1932), 61.

[75] See Louise Tremblay, "La politique missionnaire des Sulpiciens au XVII^{e} et début du XVIII^{e} siècle" (M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1981); and Catherine M. Desbarats, "The Cost of Early Canada's Native Alliances: Reality and Scarcity's Rhetoric," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 52, no. 41 (1995): 619–20. Attempts to manipulate the natives should not, however, be interpreted as a sign of indifference to conversion. Even if Christianity was no longer at the heart of early modern nobiliary thought and culture, the de-Christianization of the French elites had not yet transpired. Jean Quéniart, *Les hommes, l'Église et Dieu dans la France du XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1978), 264.

[76] Since 1683, this money had already been used for other purposes like endowing Frenchwomen: see Governor General Joseph-Antoine Lefebvre de La Barre to Minister, November 4, 1683, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 6, fol. 140.

[77] Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII^{e} siècle* (1974; rpt. edn., Montreal, 1988), 173–76.

[78] Denonville to Minister, August 25, 1687, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 9, fol. 75.

[79] In the eighteenth century, furs represented seventy percent of exports from Canada and fifty percent of exports from New France. On the eve of the Seven Years' War, the fur trade still remained, despite a significant slowing, the most lucrative activity. Jean Hamelin *et al.*, *Histoire du Québec* (Toulouse, 1976), 20.

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up their lucrative commerce.[80] To maintain their activity and remain safely in the West despite the official ban, the *coureurs de bois* used intermarriage as a way to establish personal relations with Indians. When western posts reopened in the eighteenth century, officializing the expansion of the fur trade, intermarriage exploded—between 1698 and 1765, forty-eight percent of recorded marriages at Michilimackinac, the most important western post of Canada, were mixed marriages (Frenchmen with Amerindian/métis women).[81]

THE DEBATE ABOUT THE ISSUE OF MISCEGENATION reached its peak when the colony of Detroit was founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It opposed not only two men, namely the founder of Detroit, Antoine Lamothe Cadillac, and the governor general of New France, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil (1703–1725), but also opposed two visions, that of the seventeenth and that of the eighteenth centuries.[82] The establishment of Detroit started badly as very few colonists agreed to settle in the region. Lamothe Cadillac then followed the example of Champlain and advocated the integration of the numerous indigenous peoples into the French colony. Once again, this integration had to be pursued through assimilation, which was in turn inseparable from cohabitation with the French. Against a now skeptical French crown, Cadillac also argued that *francisation* was the only way to civilize natives and dominate them in a region where the French presence was almost nonexistent.

Intermarriage was also part of Cadillac's project of setting Detroit. Frenchmen could only marry native women who were converted to Catholicism and French-speaking; in other words, women who had virtually assimilated. Cadillac's idea of miscegenation, consistent with the original policy of French authorities, was not motivated by recognition and acceptance of native culture but rather by the desire to erase it and substitute a European society. On a practical level, Cadillac hoped that intermarriage would strengthen alliances and promote peace.[83]

It could be argued that for Cadillac, who was an opportunistic man, miscegenation was merely the rhetoric of his project. He cynically used the policy of *francisation* to give more power to his proposal. The project was no less serious, however, for its rhetoric. Indeed, cynicism reveals the boundaries of what constitutes a legitimate political argument.[84] Clearly, Cadillac judged that the policy of *francisation* would continue to have a place in French politics and, correspondingly, would be a moral force.

[80] On the life of illegal traders, see Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Career of Joseph La France, Coureur de Bois in the Upper Great Lakes," in Jennifer S. H. Brown, W. J. Eccles, and Donald P. Heldman, eds., *The Fur Trade Revisited* (East Lansing, Mich., 1994), 171–87.

[81] Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River," 42–45, 48; White, *Middle Ground*, 68.

[82] Historians quite often confuse Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, born in France in 1643 and governor general of New France from 1703 to 1725, with his son Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, born in Canada in 1698 and the last governor general of New France from 1755 to 1760.

[83] "Mémoire de Lamothe Cadillac au comte de Maurepas," 1698, AN, C^{11E}, vol. 14, fols. 35–36, 58.

[84] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 12–13; Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998), 105–06; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge, 2003), 19.

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The minister of the Marine's reply to Cadillac's proposal was quick and reflected growing royal indifference or even disenchantment concerning *francisation*. Every aspect of the project was refused with the exception of intermarriage.[85] This was in the end the only important issue in a region where Frenchmen could barely find partners outside the indigenous world. The practice of marrying native women *à la façon du pays*, which was strongly condemned by colonial authorities, was almost the norm. With the persistent lack of Frenchwomen in Detroit, Cadillac occasionally had to ask his minister's approval of intermarriages, which were forbidden by Governor General Vaudreuil.[86] What mattered, then, was no longer the question of miscegenation but simply the necessity of finding a woman for every soldier and settler. Following the change in these attitudes, native women would be sought solely for their sexual function.[87] The crown allowed these unions on the condition that "it does not force the Frenchmen to stay with the savages, which would cause a loss of men [in wartime]."[88]

Determined to make a decision on an issue so controversial in the colony, Secretary of State Jérôme Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain invited Governor Vaudreuil to justify his hostility to these marriages.[89] Vaudreuil first argued that intermarriage had resulted in the creation of divisions among the French: as husbands were integrated into their wives' clan, they were necessarily involved in intertribal feuds. This created two problems: they could be pitted against each other and they could involve French authorities in tribal disputes. More importantly, he claimed that:

> One should never mingle a bad blood with a good one. Our experience in this country shows that the French who married savage women have become dissolute, idle, and have an unbearable independence. And their children are as lazy as the savages themselves. This must prevent us from permitting such marriages . . . Every child from these unions seems to try constantly to do a lot of harm to the French.[90]

Thus the consequence of intermarriage was not only the acculturation of the French spouse, to the detriment of his own culture, but also the loss of the children to their native mother's clan. Pessimistic and distrustful, Vaudreuil claimed that he felt hostility from the offspring of mixed marriages toward French people. One might have thought that Vaudreuil's hostility to the métis was related to diplomatic problems encountered with métis leaders. I have found no evidence, however, of such a link. On the contrary, French commanders continued to use Frenchmen

[85] Minister to Cadillac, June 14, 1704, AN, C^{11E}, vol. 14, fols. 194–95.

[86] "Ordres de Vaudreuil à Lamothe Cadillac," June 20, 1706, AN, F^{3}, vol. 9, fol. 7; Governor Vaudreuil to Minister, April 28, 1706, October 30, 1706, November 1, 1706, and November 4, 1706 (this letter has four dates), *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1938–39* (Québec, 1939), 108; Cadillac to Minister, September 15, 1708, AN, C^{11E}, vol. 15, fol. 27.

[87] The reality, however, of the relations between settlers and natives ensured an important social and economic role for Amerindian women: see Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; and White, "Woman Who Married a Beaver."

[88] The comments of the naval secretary are written in the margin of Cadillac's letter, 1709, AN, C^{11E}, vol. 15, fol. 27.

[89] Pontchartrain to Governor Vaudreuil, July 6, 1709, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1942–43* (Québec, 1943), 406.

[90] Governor Vaudreuil and Intendant Jacques Raudot to Minister, November 14, 1709, *Rapport de l'archivste de la province de Québec pour 1942–43*, 420.

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married to native women and their children, *métis légitimes*, to maintain French influence among their allies and to secure loyalty toward Onontio, the French governor general.[91] Further, it has been shown that even if eighteenth-century officials believed that intermarriage meant the assimilation of the father and the children to native culture, numerous families were integrated into colonial society.[92]

Could Vaudreuil's harsh condemnation of miscegenation have been related to French diplomatic achievements at the beginning of the eighteenth century? Recent scholarship has shown that the French were the real winners of the Great Peace of Montreal of 1701 that ended fifty years of Iroquois wars.[93] Diplomatic success could have given the French more confidence toward their allies; it could also have provoked arrogance, but not pessimism. The pessimism Vaudreuil expressed arose from a larger disillusionment. That the métis might be considered to be the colony's enemies testified to the Europeans' cultural defeat, to their inability to supplant native culture. In seventeenth-century France, the word métis referred, in a disparaging way, to the children who were born of *mésalliances* (misalliances); these were unequal marriages bringing the stain of an inferior blood into a good lineage.[94] Vaudreuil then employed the language of biological nature to stigmatize the idea of intermarriage: the blend of French and Amerindian blood was not healthy for the colony.[95] He forbade these decadent unions in order to protect his people from the disaster of moral corruption.

Vaudreuil's condemnation of intermarriage must also be related to the French failure to assimilate Amerindian women who were held responsible for introducing bad blood. Even when they married Frenchmen, they chose to remain barbarous, indeed even dangerous as they kept their sexual freedom, divorced their husbands when they wanted to, and continued to observe their traditional values. Yet their acceptance of European gender models was the prerequisite for their successful union with Frenchmen.

It might be argued that Vaudreuil's words against miscegenation could be placed into the preexistent discourse of race as genealogy, but further analysis shows that he was using a different ideological approach to the intermarriage issue. The contrast between seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century official statements on intermarriage and the use of the word *sang* (blood) reveals this mutation. When Colbert advocated the creation of "one people and one blood," the word "blood" meant "kinship" and "lineage"—the mixture of indigenous and settler bloods would create kinship and lineage between both peoples.[96] By contrast, when Vaudreuil condemned the mixture of bloods, the word "blood" gained a biological

[91] White, *Middle Ground*, 214–15.

[92] Dickason, "From One Nation," 25–27.

[93] See Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott, trans. (Montreal, 2001).

[94] Jouanna, *L'idée de race en France*, 86–87.

[95] In Saint Domingue, métis were similarly stigmatized by the Spanish: see, for instance, Hugo Tolentino, *Origines du préjugé racial aux Amériques* (Paris, 1984), 86–93.

[96] Antoine Furetière, *Dictionaire universel, contenant generalement tous les mots françois, tant vieux que modernes, et les termes des sciences et des arts* (1610; rpt. edn., Paris, 1978). The statement, recently made by Aubert, "Blood of France," 453, that Colbert was using a "quasi-biological" language to conceptualize Amerindians remains unsubstantiated.

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meaning: a bad blood no longer meant just an inferior lineage; it had become more than that: it referred to an entire people. The expressions "good blood" and "bad blood" went beyond the complex problem of genealogy by referring to the biological nature of blood. The issue of good lineage changed dramatically when there started to be confusion between the meanings of blood, between the biological meaning and the social one. And the very confusion between the biological and the social is crucial to racial thinking.[97]

Furthermore, evidence found in other territories of New France also supports the proposal that Governor Vaudreuil was using a new language on the intermarriage question. In 1715, the same year that Vaudreuil condemned intermarriage, Louisiana administrator Jean-Baptiste du Bois Duclos de Montigny argued against intermarriage and wrote in a similar way that "Experience shows every day that the children that come from such marriages are of an extremely dark complexion . . . half-breeds who are naturally idlers, libertines and even more rascals."[98] Reference to color, absent under Vaudreuil's pen, appeared in the debate in a slave colony. From Canada to Louisiana, New France was developing racialized ideas about differences between the French and the Amerindians (and the Africans in Louisiana and in the French Caribbean[99]); and one of the first expressions of racial categorization was the stigmatization of mixed descendants.

The metropolitan reaction to racialized developments in the colonies was at first skeptical. Secretary of State Pontchartrain retorted to Canada's officials that intermarriage contributed to the maintenance of peace with the natives, and recommended that they authorize them. But Vaudreuil's arguments against these unions eventually prevailed. When he became governor of Louisiana, Lamothe Cadillac banned intermarriages. Cadillac's change of mind could be explained by his own promotion. When he was responsible for daily relations with the natives, he supported intermarriage to secure trading and military interests.[100] Once charged with the growth of Louisiana, which was based on the establishment of slavery and therefore a different economic relationship between settlers and Africans than prevailed between settlers and Amerindians, he used racial categorizations to codify social relations between the French, natives, and Africans.

Official opposition toward miscegenation and intermarriage in particular had several immediate expressions. In the West, colonial administrators restricted the rights of Amerindian widows to inherit their French husbands' property.[101] In 1722, the government of Canada prohibited the adoption of illegitimate French children by Amerindian families, even by native families who were Catholic and, according to the earlier policy of assimilation, would have been defined as French.[102]

[97] Hannaford, *Race*; Pritchard, *In Search of Empire*, 102, has claimed that Vaudreuil understood "blood" in terms of "class," by which he seems to refer to the question of genealogy, but he does not account for the changing meaning of the term "blood" in the eighteenth century.

[98] Duclos to Minister, December 25, 1715, quoted in Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 95.

[99] See also Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 95–96.

[100] On French commanders' acceptance of intermarriage, see Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River," 42–43, and White, *Middle Ground*, 69.

[101] Dickason, "From One Nation," 28.

[102] Michèle Marcadier, "Vision du Canada et de ses habitants au XVIII^{e} siècle" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Poitiers, 1981), 371. Canadian single mothers would sometimes give their children to native families who then adopted them: see Denys Delâge, "Les Iroquois chrétiens des 'réductions,'

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Although adoption was uncommon and illegal in early modern France, colonial officials perhaps tolerated it for the reason that it was impossible to remove the children from their native adoptive families given that French laws were not enforced in native villages.[103] In 1717, Sieur de Lino, the crown attorney of Quebec, challenged this practice by arguing to the Conseil de la Marine that adoption was opposed to royal interests: "Firstly, . . . the intention of Her Majesty has always been to Frenchify [*franciser*] the Savages and to familiarize them with our customs; and not to familiarize the French with savage customs." A further problem with the practice, Lino argued, was that it would allow the "Savages" to increase their population, threatening the safety of the colony. It would also encourage the French youth to fall into debauchery: "the Whites who are brought up by the Savages are more alcoholic and vicious than the Savages themselves."[104] Lino's arguments, supported by color categorizations, prevailed, and in 1722 colonial authorities had to reissue the edict of 1556 that threatened with death women who hid their pregnancy.[105] Given that colonial justice could not be applied to natives, this threat was the only means of preventing adoption. In spite, however, of official prohibition, illegitimate French children were still given to native Christian families in the 1750s.[106]

Discouraging intermarriage did not inhibit the *coureurs de bois*. The prevalence of intermarriage among them continued to put secular and religious authorities at odds throughout the eighteenth century: whereas officials condemned intermarriage but tolerated de facto relationships as they were considered temporary, missionaries thought intermarriage helped combat moral disorder.[107] The administrators complained that the missionaries thereby encouraged traders who were challenging royal power and a nascent colonial ideology based on racial categories.

In 1735, the same year that the Superior Council of Louisiana, which had ruled the Illinois country since 1717, issued a decree restricting intermarriage, the new secretary for the colonies, Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux de Maurepas, officially condemned intermarriage on the grounds that it was disgraceful for the French and perilous for the colony:

1667–1770, Part I: Migration et rapports avec les Français," *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 21, nos. 1–2 (1991): 64; and Yoland Bouchard, "Les 'enfants du roi' dans le gouvernement de Montréal," in Lachance, *Les marginaux, les exclus et l'Autre*, 84.

[103] On adoption in early modern France, see Jean-Pierre Gutton, *Histoire de l'adoption en France* (Paris, 1993); and Kristin Elizabeth Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties: Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). On native independence and French laws, see John A. Dickinson, "Native Sovereignty and French Justice in Early Canada," in Jim Phillips, Tina Loo, and Susan Lewthwaite, eds., *Crime and Criminal Justice* (Toronto, 1994), 17–40; and Jan Grabowski, "French Criminal Justice and Indians in Montreal, 1670–1760," *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 3 (1996): 405–29.

[104] "Sr de Lino, procureur du roi de Québec, au Conseil de la Marine," c. 1717, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 38, fol. 210.

[105] "Ordonnance de l'intendant Michel Bégon sur les femmes qui deviennent enceintes par voies illicites du 6 février 1722," in Pierre-Georges Roy, ed., *Inventaire des ordonnances des intendants de la Nouvelle-France conservées aux Archives Provinciales de Québec*, 4 vols. (Beauceville, Québec, 1919), 1: 216–17.

[106] Louis Franquet, *Voyages et mémoires sur le Canada* (Montreal, 1974), 107.

[107] Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 86. Blessing intermarriages did not mean that the missionaries promoted such unions: their hierarchy certainly did not as it required that the missionaries seek their bishop's approval, as well as the consent of the governor and the groom's family, before celebrating a mixed marriage. Jaenen, *Role of the Church*, 29.

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Marriages between Frenchmen and savage women become frequent in the Illinois [country], . . . such alliances are dishonorable for the nation, they can have very dangerous consequences for the colony's tranquility . . . [and] the children born from these unions are more libertine than the savages.[108]

Changing French attitudes to Amerindians show that intellectual discussion on the idea of civility and progress had no influence on policy makers. Important works like Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), Buffon's *Histoire naturelle de l'homme* (1749), and Jean-Jacque Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754) were published much too late to have any impact on French colonial policy. The shift to racial prejudice happened twenty years before Voltaire expressed his polygenist considerations on humans and more than forty years before Montesquieu, Rousseau, and others expressed their views on human nature.[109] Even the highly regarded *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* by the Jesuit historian Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1744) was published too late to influence policy makers. Changing French attitudes toward Amerindians owed much to the very experience of colonization. Royal acceptance of colonial change derived from the influence colonial administrators had on metropolitan minds and policies concerning the Amerindians. In the eighteenth century, the king and the secretaries of the Marine paid little attention to Canada other than for strategic purposes: Canada was a military fortress representing French imperialism but also a wall that would stop British expansion.[110] The ministers' interest, not to mention the king, rarely went further.[111] Behind the deceiving prose conventionally used by royal and colonial governments that seems to indicate that the crown was fully in charge of colonial matters and initiatives, colonial officials were the real policy makers.[112]

In the Ministry of the Marine, the *premiers commis* (chief clerks) were responsible for summarizing all the colonial correspondence and suggesting responses. After Colbert's death, these *premiers commis* became more important and the creation of the Bureau des Colonies (Office for the Colonies) in 1710 reinforced their power by institutionalizing the bureaucracy responsible for colonial affairs. *Premiers commis* knew more about the colonies than the king and his ministers who usually followed their advice without question. Our knowledge of the

[108] Comte de Maurepas to Governor General Charles de Beauharnois, 1735, AN, B, vol. 63, fol. 88.

[109] On the French Enlightenment, see Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières* (1971; rpt. edn., Paris, 1995); and Duchet, *Le partage des savoirs: Discours historique, discours ethnologique* (Paris, 1984); see also George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), chap. 1. Ironically, the model of civilization the philosophes established in the late eighteenth century to save the Amerindians from extinction owed very much to the policy of *francisation*: natives had to settle down and farm the land; they had to assimilate to European culture through intermarriage. Finally, the Europeans had to encourage the Amerindians to develop new needs in order to stimulate agriculture and commerce. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*, 209–26.

[110] La Galissonière and Silhouette, "Mémoire sur les colonies de la France dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," December 1750, AN, C^{11A}, vol. 96, fols. 265–70; William J. Eccles, "The Social, Economic, and Political Significance of the Military Establishment in New France," in *Essays on New France* (Toronto, 1987), 110–24.

[111] Compare with Maurice Filion, *La pensée et l'action coloniales de Maurepas vis-à-vis du Canada, 1723–1749: L'âge d'or de la colonie* (Ottawa, 1972).

[112] Guy Frégault, *Le XVIII^{e} siècle canadien: études* (Montreal, 1970), 179; Leslie Choquette, "Center and Periphery in French North America," in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820* (New York, 2002), 202.

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premiers commis is unfortunately too insufficient to make specific statements about them. We can nonetheless assume that, as years passed, they owed much of their understanding and visions of Amerindians to their colonial correspondents.

Royal acceptance of colonial change also reveals the development of the idea of race inside the metropolis. Scholarship on French racial ideology has shown that racism emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century partly because of the kingdom's increasing participation in the transatlantic slave trade and the increasing dependency on colonial products.[113] By claiming Africans' inferiority, racist ideology justified their enslavement and legitimized slave society, which was contrary to French notions of freedom. Thus racism in France was a compromise resolving the tension between colonial slavery and France's prerevolutionary principle of liberty as much as it was a result of other colonial influences, notably relations with Amerindians and Africans. The expression of racialized ideas in New France in the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is almost fifty years before their appearance in the metropolis, indicated that racial ideology first emerged in the colonies: in Canada, it was born out of the government's political failure to create a uniform colonial society that would include natives and settlers. The ideological transformation that took place in the colonies would be a significant factor in the formation of metropolitan attitudes.[114]

Fully to understand the strong rejection of miscegenation in the eighteenth century, demographic, political, and economic developments need to be recalled. Canada overcame the failure of the founding demographic project—the peopling of Canada by the descendants of French settlers and native women—through French immigration and especially natural population growth. Self-population growth and the development of the French colony diminished the interest that colonial authorities held for native people. Furthermore, the strengthening of the French-Algonquian alliance provided the French with slightly more freedom from their desire to dominate their partners. The changed economic focus promoted by the end of the seventeenth century—the official encouragement of a more diverse economy based no longer on the fur trade but on agriculture, commerce, and industry—also contributed to changing official attitudes to Amerindians. Trade-based colonies generally needed close relations with indigenous peoples to satisfy their economic goals—thus the need for miscegenation and intermarriage—whereas farming settlements even among indigenous nations, such as Detroit, did not create the need for intermarriage.[115] Once the government started challenging the centrality of trade in colonial activity, relations with natives changed as well.[116]

[113] Yvan Debbasch, *Couleur et liberté: Le jeu du critère ethnique dans un ordre juridique et esclavagiste*, vol. 1: *L'affranchi dans les possessions françaises de la Caraïbe (1635–1833)* (Paris, 1967); Pierre Boulle, "In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth-Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of Racist Ideology in France," in Frederick Krantz, ed., *History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology* (Oxford, 1988); Peabody, *"There Are No Slaves in France,"* chap. 4.

[114] Pierre Boulle, "La construction du concept de race dans la France d'ancien régime," *Outre-Mers: Revue d'histoire* 89, nos. 336–37 (2002): 155–75.

[115] Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River," 53; Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 96; William Wicken, "Re-examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations, 1635–1755," in Sylvie Dépatie *et al.*, *Habitants et marchands vingt ans après: Lectures de l'histoire des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles canadiens* (Montreal, 1998), 95–108.

[116] The British officially encouraged intermarriage in Acadia after the French strongly rejected it. Although intermarriage had been formally proscribed in the English colonies from the seventeenth

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But of greater importance in the changing French vision of natives was the failure of the assimilation policy. While a few indigenous groups, like the Hurons and the Abenakis, were effectively converted to Christianity, the failure of assimilation was beyond doubt by the beginning of the eighteenth century:

> It is surprising that, considering that there are so many nations, there is still none who takes our manners; and even by being among us and every day with the French, they still govern themselves the same way they did in the past . . . We would need infinite work and time to free those peoples and to be able to reduce them to take our ways and our customs . . . I assure you that this work will last several centuries.[117]

To explain the native rejection of assimilation, colonial authorities employed the idea of a native nature whereas earlier they had denounced native culture. French officers adopted the opinion of earlier Recollect and Jesuit missionaries according to whom Amerindian nature could not submit to the fundamental principle of obedience contained in Christian and European societies. The French thought the Amerindians rejected the truth they were offered because of their "independent nature," meaning their "pride."[118] The invocation of a perceived "independent nature" drew on the explanation of native behavior by nature. It was not the natives' nature but their moral code, founded on the principle of individual liberty, that hindered their acceptance of European codes. This emphasis on nature was of course crucial in the development of the idea of race: nature is marked by permanence; nature confines every individual to attitudes and behaviors from which she or he cannot escape.[119]

The savagery of Amerindians was now considered to be visceral. As a consequence, colonial authorities' fear of the "Savages" also increased. They believed the deep-rooted nature of their savagery would triumph over civilization, as the example of the métis had supposedly made abundantly clear. The risk posed by the possibility that settlers could become savage was all the more serious given that Amerindian progression was now deemed impossible. The fragility of European culture in a savage world led the authorities to limit the interpenetrations between

century for ideological reasons that were related to the development of the idea of race, in 1729 British authorities in Acadia offered material incentives to any British man who would marry a native woman. Their aim was to challenge the French-Abenaki alliance by establishing kinship between British settlers and indigenous peoples. On English rejection of intermarriage, see David D. Smits, "'We Are Not to Grow Wild': Seventeenth-Century New England's Repudiation of Anglo-Indian Intermarriage," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 11, no. 4 (1987): 1–32; and Smits, "'Abominable Mixture': Toward the Repudiation of Anglo-Indian Intermarriage in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1987): 157–92. On British promotion of intermarriage in Acadia, see Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, Misc. Docs., 2: 196, cited in Dickason, "From One Nation," 36 n. 64.

[117] Intendant Antoine-Denis Raudot [wrongly attributed to P. Antoine Silvy, S.J.], *Relation par lettres de l'Amérique Septentrionalle (années 1709 et 1710)* (Paris, 1904), letter 23, 61–62.

[118] Yet "pride and savagery were seen as inextricably intertwined." See Karen O. Kupperman, "Introduction," in Kupperman, *America in European Consciousness*, 10.

[119] Interestingly, the French change in perception of Amerindians can be compared to changing attitudes toward Andeans in New Spain a century earlier. There, too, Spanish failure to Christianize and assimilate Andeans generated deep skepticism in colonial minds, and the native refusal to renounce ancestral religious practices was blamed on their bodies whereas earlier deviance had been blamed on the devil. Cañizares-Esguerra, "New World, New Stars."

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settlers and natives and to reject anything that resembled a transgression of their social and religious norms—for fear of falling into inhumanity.[120]

Because the Amerindians could not become French subjects, with the social recognition this transformation would have implied, French authorities tried to find a new policy that would allow them to deal with their allies without sacrificing colonial interests. Indigenous reality was therefore pragmatically reconciled with French needs. Authorities would exploit what was exploitable: as most Amerindians practiced hunting and war, these male activities were married with colonial interests and were presented in the language of nature. Native bellicosity would come, especially during the Seven Years' War, to help the French against the British. As officer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville pointed out, "without them, the contest would be too unequal for us."[121] French generals always pushed native warriors to be as violent as possible to frighten the British; they would later claim to have no power over their allies if they had to answer for their actions.[122] When British authorities demanded that the French withdraw their support for the massacres perpetrated by their allies, French officials used native "nature" to justify themselves: the "Savages" were naturally ferocious and nothing could be done or said to stop them from acting in such a barbarous way.

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, French officials tried to create a colonial society in North America that would include national settlers as well as indigenous peoples. This new France would be ethnically mixed but culturally French as Amerindians were encouraged to assimilate to French religion and civility. It was a time when French officials did not think that intermarrying native women with Frenchmen would corrupt French blood; nor would it dishonor the French nation. Miscegenation was officially encouraged and financially funded. Despite French efforts, that policy was a total failure: Amerindians refused to assimilate, thus to integrate into French colonial society according to French terms. That failure provoked disillusion and pessimism among French officials. Political disillusionment had a dramatic outcome: namely, the racialization of Amerindians. Indeed, from the failure to include the natives in the colonial body emerged a disposition to divide people (colonial and Amerindian) in terms of nature. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, French administrators started articulating a new ideology that reconsidered the terms of membership in civil and political society: first, miscegenation was discouraged and intermarriage prohibited (at least discursively) for political and biological reasons—the confusion of both terms was a crucial step in the construc-

[120] On the fear of Amerindians shown by French officials, see Belmessous, "D'un préjugé culturel à un préjugé racial," 120–34. On the issue of "going native," see Frank Lestringant, "Le Français ensauvagé: Métissage et échec colonial en Amérique (XVI^{ème}-XVIII^{ème} siècles)," in Jean-Claude Marimoutou and Jean-Michel Racault, eds., *Métissages*, vol. 1: *Littérature-Histoire* (Saint-Denis and Paris, 1992), 214; and Owen White, "The Decivilizing Mission: Auguste Dupuis-Yakouba and French Timbuktu," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 541–68. See also Jean-Pierre Vernant, *La mort dans les yeux: Figures de l'Autre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1998), 17–18.

[121] Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, Journal, September 1757, *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1923–24* (Québec, 1924), 313.

[122] For an account of French maneuvering, see Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York, 1990).

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tion of the new ideology; second, native policy was now firmly grounded on exploitation. The construction of the *Sauvage* (Savage) as a hunter and a fierce warrior legitimized natives' instrumentalization.[123] Colonial context allowed the official expression of racialism. Colonial development decreased the French dependency on natives though their military support would remain vital. However, the increasing rivalry with British colonies made evangelization, which supposedly had a hold on the Amerindians, all the more necessary.

A local study on the emergence of racialism in Canada can tell us a lot about the colonial-metropolitan relationship. It shows that race was very much the fruit of colonialism; it arose directly out of the political experience of colonization. It seems that the first premise of racial theory—a difference between humans written in nature—has to be found in the colonies rather than in modern science. There are good reasons for placing the emergence of race in the context of post-Enlightenment scientific discourse. Nineteenth-century science had theorized race and given it the form that is recognizable today (and would not be recognizable to the premodern mind): namely, an emphasis on natural and physical differences between humans that have been subjected to "scientific" analysis. It is clear, however, that it was colonial experience rather than modern science that brought into practice the fundamental categories of race.[124] This first and fundamental shift in human understanding later received the support of the rapidly emerging empirical sciences. The progressive theory of history, a beacon of the Enlightenment's universal optimism, was destined to be confined within European boundaries—confined, that is, to European "progress"—even before it found its full expression.[125] The pessimism of race moved into the void and was evident as early as 1709 when Governor Vaudreuil argued "One should never mingle a bad blood with a good one."

Finally, it is striking to note the persistence of colonial ideas in different temporal and spatial spheres. From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, Europeans strongly promoted the assimilation of indigenous peoples before becoming deeply disillusioned by their failure. In the nineteenth century, when colonizing Africa, the French adopted assimilation as the basis of their colonial policy. In Australia, the English promoted a similar policy in their relations with the Aboriginals.[126] The idea of assimilation, far from emerging from the Enlightenment or the French Revolution as has been advanced, was very similar to that promoted in the seventeenth century. That the idiom of *francisation* continued in French colonial history right down to the beginning of the twentieth century does not mean that the shift of the early eighteenth century has been overstated. Rather, it shows

[123] Although exploitation, legitimized by racialization, was the new colonial policy toward Amerindians, the French never had the means to implement it; on the field, they had to recognize native agency and content themselves with a formal rather than real authority. See White, *Middle Ground*; Grabowski, "French Criminal Justice and Indians"; Belmessous, "D'un préjugé culturel à un préjugé racial," 404–07.

[124] Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy"; Cañizares-Esguerra, "New World, New Stars."

[125] Compare Burke, "America and the Rewriting of World History"; and Armitage, "The New World and British Historical Thought."

[126] See for comparison Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1998); and John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge, 2002), chap. 8.

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that the French failure to assimilate Amerindians did not challenge the idea of assimilation. Assimilation had not failed; the Amerindians had. Their failure to "improve" did not rebound on other peoples; nor did it question the relevance of assimilation as a political project. From monogenist views of humankind emerged the idea that "improvement" was a moral duty for colonized peoples as well as a political responsibility for the Europeans. Therefore, assimilation was promoted in Africa as well as in Australia. As in Canada, it failed because aboriginal peoples rejected it. These failures brought disillusionment and pessimism in European minds that did not question the prerequisites of that policy: that is, that native populations had to "improve" according to European terms.[127] Undoubtedly, we could get a better sense of the reasons racialism emerged if the ideas and policies that led to its construction could be diachronically understood; that is, the historical development of the idea of assimilation needs to be traced to provide a better historical framework for understanding the emergence of race.[128] Therefore a history of the idea of "human improvement" in the *longue durée*, whether we call it assimilation, *francisation*, or something else, has still to be written.

[127] In our postcolonial era, policies of "development" proposed for, even sometimes imposed on, a large number of countries seem to be the historical recipients of a premodern intellectual structure.
[128] Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference," 871.

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Notaries, Truth, and Consequences

KATHRYN BURNS

> Lawfulness (*lealtança*) is a quality that is good in all men. And especially in Notaries . . .
>
> *Las Siete Partidas* (Partida III, Título XIX)

When Christopher Columbus set foot on American soil, he launched the Castilian language on a new phase of the imperial career that Antonio de Nebrija had foreshadowed in the first Castilian grammar (*Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 1492): "Language has always been the companion of empire."[1] Legal templates were an essential part of this enterprise. No sooner did the admiral go ashore in October 1492 on the island "called Guanahani in the language of the Indians" than he called over his companions, including Rodrigo de Escobedo, his notary,

> and he said that they should be witnesses that, in the presence of all, he would take, as in fact he did take, possession of the said island for the king and for the queen his lords, making the declarations that were required, and which at more length are contained in the testimonials made there in writing.[2]

Warm thanks for their generous assistance to the directors and staff of the Archivo Regional del Cusco, especially Jorge Olivera; the Sala de Investigaciones of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima, and the Harvard Law School Rare Books Room, especially Mary Person and David Ferriss. Research in Peru in 1998–1999 was supported by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts. I am very grateful for the good advice of many friends, students, and colleagues, especially Carolyn Dean, Hortensia Muñoz, Margareth Najarro, Donato Amado, Sheryl Kroen, Jodi Bilinkoff, David Sartorius, Marikay McCabe, Karen Graubart, Kate Lowe, Brooke Larson, Rebecca Karl, Pete Sigal, Jocelyn Olcott, Rebecca J. Scott, Catherine Brown, Joanne Rappaport, Moshe Sluhovsky, the careful, thorough *AHR* reviewers, and the audiences who responded to versions presented at the University of Florida, the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Michigan, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[1] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Antonio Quilis, ed. (Madrid, 1980), 97. By implication, history is a companion of empire, too. Nebrija's famous opening line, addressed to his queen Isabel, situates him as a reader of texts about ancient empires—the Assyrians, Egyptians, and others—and traces an imperial arc from rise to fall: "Whenever I contemplate, my wise Queen, and put before my eyes the antiquity of all the things that for our recollection and memory were committed to writing, one thing I find and take as a most certain conclusion: that language was always the companion of empire, and so closely accompanied it that together they began, grew, and flourished, and later the two fell together." (Cuando bien comigo pienso, mui esclarecida Reina, i pongo delante los ojos el antigüedad de todas las cosas que para nuestra recordación y memoria quedaron escriptas, una cosa hállo y sáco por conclusión mui cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio; y de tal manera lo siguió, que junta mente començaron, crecieron y florecieron, y después junta fue la caida de entrambos.) Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

[2] Christopher Columbus, *The* Diario *of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493*, abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr., ed. and trans. (Norman, Okla., 1989), 65.

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Soon Guanahani and thousands of other places would be baptized with names like Salvador, Santa Fe, and Veracruz ("Savior," "Holy Faith," and "True Cross") and possessed according to Castilian norms of sovereignty, all certified in official writing ("the declarations that were required").[3] So began a long-term project that Walter Mignolo has called "the colonization of memory."[4] Mignolo, Angel Rama, and many others have stressed the importance of writing in this imperial project.[5] I want to call attention to *official* writing (*escritura pública*) and to its privileged agent, the notary.

Why the notary? When Theodore De Bry depicted the scene at Guanahani in his famous engraving, he left out this figure entirely.[6] Why care about him and the records he left, whether in Manila, Quito, Albany, Genoa, or Nantes? First, because extrajudicial notarial records are very particular (though rarely occasioned by acts as momentous as Columbus's); they suggest much about the texture of everyday life.[7] As Julie Hardwick puts it in her study of the notariate of early modern Nantes, "Notaries, in France as in large areas of the early modern West, from Italy to the newly founded European colonies, were crucial cogs, albeit at the lowest level, in the apparatus of the state and in the daily organization of people's lives."[8] They made legible countless transactions people might eventually want the state itself to see, judge, adjudicate—or that the state might want to see.[9] Notaries' records set

[3] To Iberians, the roots of property were ancient; on the Roman-law derivation of Castilian notarial legality, see José Bono, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979). See also Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1800* (New York, 2002), chap. 2.

[4] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995). The focus here is on the Americas; this colonization of memory had already been going on, and would continue, in the Iberian peninsula, the Philippines, and elsewhere. See, for example, Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

[5] Angel Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (Hanover, N.H., 1984); available in English as *The Lettered City*, John Charles Chasteen, ed. and trans. (Durham, N.C., 1996).

[6] But see the much-reproduced painting by John Vanderlyn (1775–1852), which figures on a U.S. postal stamp and in the U.S. Capitol: here the notary crouches down to write, at some remove from the central figure of Columbus, but still a salient figure.

[7] Notaries also handled the making of judicial documents, such as petitions and depositions, and early modern notarial manuals like Gabriel de Monterroso y Alvarado's influential *Pratica Civil, y Criminal, e Instruction de Scrivanos* (Valladolid, 1563) gave pride of place to notaries' judicial record-making responsibilities. Now, however, historians conventionally use "notarial records" to refer only to notaries' extrajudicial production, and it is that side of their job that I examine here. On notaries' judicial record-making powers, see Kathryn Burns, "Trial by Writing: Making Judicial Truth," unpublished manuscript.

[8] Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, Penn., 1998), 4. For a useful introduction to the work of medieval European notaries, see Kathryn L. Reyerson and Debra A. Salata, eds. and trans., *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327–1328 Register of Jean Holanie* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2004), 1–29.

[9] "Seeing like a state," to borrow James C. Scott's suggestive phrase in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), can be traced in many premodern legibility projects such as the work of notaries, both colonial and otherwise. Notaries provided "protection and gateways to the legal system," as Hardwick notes in *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 5; "they were the fingertips of royal authority" (18). Yet access to "public writing" was not open to just anyone. Castilian norms required notaries to keep their clients' records a professional secret. Whether they always did so is another matter, but see, for example, an interesting Lima case in Archivo General de la Nación, Real Audiencia (hereafter AGN/RA), Causas Civiles, legajo 33, cuaderno 200 (1717), in which a royal inspector investigating tax fraud was denied access to notaries' registers. The notaries protested that once a contract had been made, "not even the contracting parties are allowed to see the original" (fol. 21v.), but they might keep a copy for their records.

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down not only names and dates but the terms of labor contracts, sales, rentals, loans, marriages, dowries, divorces, testaments, and codicils. Second, for those of us writing premodern and colonial histories, these are often the richest, most abundant sources available. For the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Andes, for example, there are no newspapers or journals. Very few diaries survive, and personal letters generally turn up in archives only when they were adduced as legal proof. Parish records also survive but are often scattered, incomplete, and hard to access. Much of what we can locate and interpret thus comes from notarial archives.

Moreover, as Columbus's actions attest, notaries enjoyed a special relationship to the truth.[10] They were expected to witness noteworthy acts, from the spectacular—like Columbus's seizure of Guanahani—to the humble and mundane: the promise of a dowry, an apprenticeship, or a loan. It then fell to notaries to shape the messy specifics of each event into the proper form to be committed truthfully to the page.[11] Not just any written language would do. Manuals with specific itineraries of meaning were used in Europe and the colonial Americas to guide these men in straitening the endless diversity of people's actions and language into the approved formulae.[12] Notaries were thus truth's alchemists, mixing the singular into the formulaic in accordance with prescribed recipes to produce the written, duly witnessed, and certified truth. Their truth was recognizable not by its singularity but by its very regularity. It was truth by template—*la verdad hecha de molde*.[13]

The marks of this stylized, notarial truth are everywhere in the archives of Europe and the Americas, in documents that aggressively demand the reader's belief in the notary's word. Even the most routine transactions are full of formulaic professions of the notary's faithfulness and appeal to the notion that he was

[10] The Castilian predecessors of Spanish American notaries were charged by Alfonso X (d. 1284) to be able, trustworthy, and lawful when drawing up documents ("hábiles, fieles, legales"). *Escribanos*' basic job description, by the legal code attributed to Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas del Sabio Rey don Alfonso el nono, nueuamente Glosadas por el Licenciado Gregorio Lopez del Consejo Real de Indias de su Magestad*, 3 vols. (Salamanca, 1555), was as follows: "to make the Kings' records, or the others called public records, which are made in the cities, and in the towns . . . And the good that comes from them is very great when they perform their office well, and faithfully" (2: 121v.-122, citing Partida 3, Título XIX, Ley 1).

[11] "Truth" in this sense resided in legal formulae. As M.T. Clanchy writes with respect to medieval English records in *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), 305, "The fact that a document is signed by a notary does not mean that the statements in it are true in themselves, but that they are true in law." If records met the legal requirements of record making with respect to such things as signatures, the number of witnesses, and the proper wording of clauses, then they stood a good chance of holding up in court if challenged. On the complex medieval genealogy of "truth," see also Richard Firth Greene, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1999).

[12] See Donna Merwick, *Death of a Notary: Conquest and Change in Colonial New York* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 92, on Jacques Thuys's *Ars Notariatus*, an instruction manual that included "models for easy imitation and use in everyday practice." On the Iberian manuals used to shape notarial truth on both sides of the Atlantic, see Jorge Lujan Muñoz, "La literatura notarial en España e Hispanoamérica, 1500–1820," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 38 (1981): 101–116.

[13] Contrast the truth of gentlemanly scientific debate that Steven Shapin examines in *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994). Laurie Nussdorfer has also drawn on the alchemical analogy in her excellent analysis of the seventeenth-century Roman notariate's truth-recording powers, "Writing and the Power of Speech: Notaries and Artisans in Baroque Rome," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 111.

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there—present at the scene, a trustworthy eyewitness—properly equipped to register what mattered. To take a humble example, regarding the sale of a house in seventeenth-century Cuzco, Peru: "I, Martín López de Paredes, the notary of this contract and numerary notary public of this city, give faithful and true testimony of how the said María Panti received from the hand and possession of Licentiate Francisco de Allier a Quantity of Money in pieces of eight and *tostones* of four in a large cloth bag, and she took possession of them"[14] So potent and recognizable was this notarial truth-rhetoric that many early modern writers used it in their work. Among them were chroniclers of the Indies like the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, in whose work Roberto González Echevarría sees abundant evidence of a desire "to set the record straight . . . to get at a truth that is not only the historian's elegant verisimilitude but the judge's executive kind of verification and action."[15]

Yet writers on both sides of the Atlantic also vigorously contested the notion of the notary as upright bearer of truth. Early modern European writers made notaries stock figures of corruption and greed, eager to produce the best truth money would buy. In the works of Miguel de Cervantes, Mateo Alemán, and Francisco de Quevedo, for example, which circulated widely in the Americas, notarial writing appeared as the very opposite of what it should be: illegible, rather than clear; false, not truthful.[16] Numerous Spanish proverbs or *refranes* excoriated notaries for being on the take and perverting justice: *Mi pluma y mi tintero me valen lo que quiero* (My pen and inkwell are worth whatever [amount] I want); *Papel y tinta, y poca justicia* (Lots of paper and ink, but little justice).[17] And chroniclers as different as the Augustinian friar Antonio de Calancha and the Andean nobleman Felipe Guaman

[14] Archivo Regional del Cusco, Protocolos Notariales (hereafter, ARC/PN), Martín López de Paredes, protocolo 146 (1663), fols. 714v.-715, April 16, 1663. The contract continues, very precisely, "and Panti acknowledged receipt of said quantity [of coins] and because they were not counted in my presence she renounced any counting error. And she received them in coins [*moneda de colunas*]." As Nussdorfer observes in "Writing and the Power of Speech," "the one particular voice to which the notary paid close attention in his text was his own" (109).

[15] Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive*, 2nd edn. (Durham, N.C., 1998), 83. González Echevarría examines the broadly historical and the deeply personal contexts for Garcilaso's style, "sedulous in following the formulae of notarial rhetoric to establish the veracity of his text" (82). Early modern writers availed themselves of legal and notarial rhetoric's potency—whether to bolster particular claims to possess the truest "truth" of all, or to burlesque and to overthrow the rhetoric's truth-powers, as in the case of picaresque productions.

[16] Don Quijote instructs Sancho Panza to have a letter to Dulcinea copied onto paper in the first town he reaches, but not by a notary, because the devil himself cannot make out notarial handwriting (*letra procesada*): Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 2 vols. (1955; Barcelona, 1979), 1: 243. In the opening pages of Mateo Alemán's equally popular *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979), 112, a preacher delivers a lengthy sermon-rant against notaries: "they certify and write whatever they want, and for two coins or to please a friend or perhaps their girlfriend . . . they take away life, honor, and property, opening the door to innumerable sins." In one of his many barbed letrilles, Francisco de Quevedo, *Antología poética*, José María Barcells, ed (Bogatá, 1984), 105, satirizes notaries for being on the take and omitting whatever they are paid to suppress. On early modern French discomfort with notaries, see Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 22–24. The literary tradition of notary-bashing has much deeper roots; Reyerson and Salata note, in *Medieval Notaries and their Acts*, that Dante, Boccaccio, and Chaucer "all portrayed the medieval notary, invariably in a very negative light" (10).

[17] These are but two of those cited in Gonzalo Correas's 1627 collection of proverbs, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales (1627)*, Louis Combet, Robert Jammes, and Maite Mir-Andreu, eds. (Madrid, 2000). For the second saying, which also appears in Luis Martínez Kleiser's *Refranero general ideológico español* (Madrid, 1953), I have adapted Richard L. Kagan's translation in *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 3.

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Poma de Ayala drew similar portraits of Andean notaries. These men took bribes, they destroyed people, and then, according to Guaman Poma, they walked away laughing at what they had done.[18] Calancha tells of a shady notary of La Plata who, in the midst of drawing up a fraudulent contract, was struck down in his workshop by an earthquake: "As the entire building collapsed, a beam caught the scribe's head between the corner of the table on which he was writing and his hands, and sliced off his hands like a knife."[19]

What to make of such contradictions? Given the clear constructedness of the early modern notarial record, its cultural exclusivity, and the doubts contemporaries entertained about the status of what I am calling "notarial truth," when should we take Spanish American notaries—or for that matter, any notaries—at their word? The pitfalls of doing so will seem obvious to anyone who has relied on notarial registers to write history. To work with them even briefly is to recognize their intense regularity and how much they do *not* disclose, and perhaps to wonder about the forces and grids of meaning that shaped such records in the first place. (To read in a will for the first time of a deceased person leaving her spouse property "out of the love I bear him" is to wonder about the history of *mentalités*, of love and affection; to read this standard phrase for the fifth or sixth time is to wonder about the conditions of notarial production of wills.) Yet more often than not, we accept notaries' words without inquiring into the practices and relationships that shaped the records on which we rely.[20]

[18] "Y ellos se uan rreyendose." Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala [Waman Puma], *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, eds., 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1980), 2: 485, see also 2: 655–56, 677.

[19] Antonio de la Calancha, *Chronica moralizada del orden de S. Augustin en el Peru*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1638), 491. I am grateful to Karen Graubart for providing me this reference. As it happens, the oldest criminal lawsuit extant in the archives of Cuzco's city council was lodged against a gouging notary: ARC, Cabildo, Justicia Ordinaria, Causas Criminales, legajo 92 (1600–1697), lawsuit initiated in the town of Yucay on September 11, 1594, against the notary Francisco Jiménez for overcharging Indians while the local magistrate (*corregidor*) was away.

[20] Since James Lockhart's *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison, Wis., 1968), notarial records have had a strong methodological claim among scholars of colonial Spanish America. Lockhart's work on Nahuatl records provides a fascinating sense of the emergence of indigenous templates: see *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), 455–74. Yet the people and everyday practice behind the sources have rarely been examined. Important exceptions include Lockhart's *Spanish Peru*, 68–76; Jorge Luján Muñoz, *Los escribanos en las Indias Occidentales y en particular en el Reino de Guatemala*, 2nd edn. (Guatemala, 1977); María de los Angeles Guajardo-Fajardo Carmona, *Escribanos en Indias durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1995); and Tamar Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio: Los escribanos de Quito (siglo XVII)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996). See also Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins on colonial literacy, recordation, and ritual: "Between Images and Writing: The Ritual of the King's *Quillca*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 7–32; Rappaport and Cummins, "The Reconfiguration of Civic and Sacred Space: Architecture, Image, and Writing in the Colonial Andes," *Latin American Literary Review* 26, no. 52 (1998): 174–200. For important new work on Cuba, see Rebecca J. Scott, "The Provincial Archive as a Place of Memory: Confronting Oral and Written Sources on the Role of Former Slaves in the Cuban War of Independence (1895–98)," *NWIG [New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indesche Gids]* 76, no. 3 and 4 (2002): 191–209; Michael Zeuske and Orlando García Martínez, "Notarios y esclavos en Cuba (siglo XIX)," *Debate y Perspectivas* 4 (2004): 127–70. A large and growing historiography of European notaries, writing, and power exists; some recent examples are Pilar Ostos Salcedo and María Luisa Pardo Rodríguez, eds., *El Notariado Andaluz en el Tránsito de la Edad Media a la Edad Moderna: I Jornadas sobre el Notariado en Andalucía, del 23 al 25 de febrero de 1994* (Seville, 1995); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*; and Ian F. McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s-1820s* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003). Laurie Nussdorfer is unusually

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I will argue here that we need to look *at* our archives, not just through them.[21] Drawing on Andean records produced from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, I will propose that we imagine the notarized document itself as an historical artifact—a space where negotiations once took place, around the notarial template, leaving traces of understandings that often belie the wording of the text.[22] This approach makes salient an almost entirely unremarked arena of conflict and arbitration of meaning: the far-flung notarial workshops in which trained men produced for a fee the documents we now rely on to make our own sense of the past. Into these shops came men and women of all kinds interested in registering their business, and they had to play by the notarial rules to get their versions recorded. To interpret the results, I will argue, we must first understand the rules (both formal and informal) according to which people's truths collided and competed.[23]

For not just anyone could register the truth he or she wanted. And notaries were not disinterested bystanders. Getting one's version of events into—or out of—their registers required access to a notary, and usually involved money.[24] It might also involve a clandestine deal, perhaps a high-stakes struggle. Consider, for example, the 1714 deathbed declaration of Don Bernardo de Benavente, a long-time assistant (*oficial plumario*) to Joan de Saldaña, one of Cuzco's six "numerary"

attentive to the conditions of production of notarial writing; in addition to her "Writing and the Power of Speech," see "Lost Faith: A Roman Prosecutor Reflects on Notaries' Crimes," in *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine, and Duane J. Osheim, eds. (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 101–114.

[21] Historians often depict notarial records as a window on the past, e.g., Reyerson and Salata, in *Medieval Notaries and their Acts*: "Holanie's acts are a window on the world in Montpellier, presenting the historian with a cross-section of life in the second quarter of the fourteenth century" (15). Angel Canellas López uses the image of a mirror: "The notarial register is a faithful mirror that reflects the complex weave of the past"; see Canellas López, "El notariado en España hasta el siglo XIV: Estado de la cuestión," in *Notariado público y documento privado: De los orígenes al siglo XVI* (Valencia, 1989), 1: 138. My point: the complexity also lies in the notarial records themselves.

[22] Notarial forms were quite stable during this period, and so notarial archives' contents look much the same from Cuzco to Lima, Mexico City, Seville, and Madrid. The sample base of cases used in this piece comes from Cuzco's notarial archives, which hold only 30 *legajos* (document bundles, generally yearbooks) for the sixteenth century, 319 for the seventeenth century, and 310 for the eighteenth century (most of which lack indices to their contents). The documents cited here were located over several years' research on various projects, in the course of which I examined most comprehensively the notarial records from the years 1670–1720. I am grateful to Margareth Najarro, Donato Amado, Pedro Guibovich, and Gabriela Ramos for bringing several relevant documents to my attention.

[23] This is a bit different from the method James Lockhart discusses in his very useful, teachable "Between the Lines," in *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 229–80. Lockhart does not draw on period legal literature, which can provide crucial context on the making and manipulation of documents, and he filters out textual formulae and odd inconsistencies (e.g., blank pages with signatures, doodles, practice signatures) that can be taken as invitations to ask how scribes co-produced the record, along with their clients, copyists, draft-books, inkpots, and inside knowledge of legal ventriloquy. See Carolyn Dean, "Beyond the Notarial Template," unpublished manuscript.

[24] Spanish American notaries were not supposed to charge indigenous commoners the usual fees for their services and were to charge only half price to indigenous leaders (known as *caciques* or *curacas*) and communities: *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1791), 2: 150–151 (Libro V, Título VIII, Ley 25). That these royal orders were reissued several times between 1551 and 1619 suggests they were far from effective. A detailed list of fees for notaries' services (*arancel*), emended by order of Philip II, is reproduced in Diego de Ribera's manual, *Primera parte de escritvras, y orden de particion y cuenta, y de residencia judicial, ciuil y criminal, con vna instruccion a los escriuanos del Reyno al principio, y su aranzel* (Burgos, 1586), 105–111v.

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notaries public (*escribanos públicos y del número*).[25] In 1714, the dying Benavente declared that at some point decades earlier he had gone with Saldaña to the home of an indigenous nobleman named Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa Inca, "in the company of Don Agustín Jara the elder and Don Agustín Jara the younger, Doña Josefa de Valer his wife, and other gentlemen," to record the draft (*minuta*) of a notarized deal. The assembled "gentlemen" had gone

> to propose to said Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa that he sell the land called Chamancalla and its highlands, to which the said Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa said yes, whereupon [Benavente] began to write the draft dictated by Saldaña, and it was in the amount of five hundred pesos. Fifteen years after the said document was formalized, Don Lorenzo Carlos Inca told [Benavente] that the contract of sale had been in confidence, and that he should come forward to tell what he knew of the case because [Don Lorenzo] had started censure proceedings.[26]

Benavente went on to register more details of the encounter he had witnessed. Don Cristóbal had signed a blank page, approving the sale even though no one had paid him for the land. This was not "faithful," law-abiding procedure. But that did not bother the Jara clan, among Cuzco's most wealthy aristocrats. Benavente's confession suggests that the local elite might enlist a notary to represent things the way they wanted, even though their version was not what he saw.[27]

Sometimes people used one notary to protest something they might be forced to register before a different notary. Take the "exclamation" of Doña Mariana García

[25] Like Spanish cities, each Spanish American city had a fixed number of "numerary" notarial offices (*escribanos públicos y del número*). Cuzco by the late sixteenth century had six, a number that remained almost unchanged throughout the colonial period. In a 1778 survey of the city's official posts, in ARC, Cabildo, Administrativo, Edictos, legajo 108 (1596–1824), notary Juan Bautista Gamarra indicated that two notarial offices were vacant and five occupied, for a total of seven. He included the post of notary public for accounts and inspections (*escribano público de cuentas y residencias*), which seems to have been a late colonial addition. According to Paul Hoffman, "The Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla," *Bulletin of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 14 (January 1989): 29–32, early modern Seville had twenty-four notarial offices, four times as many as colonial Cuzco. Southern European cities, especially late medieval Italian cities, seem to have had many times more notaries; see Reyerson and Salata, *Medieval Notaries and their Acts*, 3–4.

[26] ARC/PN, Francisco de Unzueta, protocolo 257 (1713–1714), fol. 316–316v., January 13, 1714: "a proponerle al d[ic]ho D. Cristtoval paullo topa que le bendiese las tierras nombradas chamancalla y sus punas a que el d[ic]ho D. Christtoval paullo tupa [*sic*] dijo que si en cuia conformidad empezo a escrivir la minuta dictado por d[ic]ho Joan de Saldaña y que fue en quinienttos pesos; y que despues de quinse años de averse ottorgado d[ic]ha escriptura le dijo a este Don Lorenzo Carlos inga q[ue] d[ic]ha escrip[tur]a de Venta avia sido en confianza y que asimesmo le dijo que declarase lo que en el caso savia porq[ue] [316v.] avia sacado Censuras gen[erales]."

[27] A key question here, to which I will return at the end of this piece, is whether clans like the Jaras bullied and bossed Inca nobles like Don Cristóbal or struck deals (perhaps mutually beneficial ones) with them. The Chamancalla sale with parties' signatures is in ARC/PN, Joan de Saldaña, protocolo 296 (1685), fols. 139–43v., March 8, 1685. In it, Saldaña certifies that he saw Don Cristóbal receive cash payment of 450 pesos, with 50 pesos more to be delivered to him later. Getting people to sign blank pages was unlawful but hardly unusual, at least in the Andes, despite the risks it posed to contracting parties. Herzog writes in *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*, 55, that in Quito "the practice proliferated." Notaries received the parties' signatures first and filled in the contents later, "making the two things (text and signature) appear contemporaneous even though they were not." My forthcoming study of Peruvian notarial practice will analyze the usefulness and risks of deals made "in confidence" (which might include bogus contracts). Notaries were not necessarily aware of secret terms struck beforehand between their clients. Along these lines, see the important contribution of Victoria Hennessey Cummins, "The Church and Business Practices in Late Sixteenth Century Mexico," *Americas* 44, no. 4 (April 1988): 421–40. James Lockhart, in *Nahuas after the Conquest*, 185, 218, cites intriguing literary and archival evidence that suggests some Nahua notaries participated in "sharp practices" as well.

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del Corral, who in 1684 documented her refusal to bend before her husband and his friend the *corregidor* (Cuzco's highest Spanish authority). Her husband, according to this record, had sued to force her to join him in seeking formal legitimation of a boy named Joseph who had been abandoned on the couple's doorstep. She loved the boy, "having raised him from a very early age," but did not want Joseph legitimated.[28] In the words certified by notary Pedro de Cáceres,

> for that she has had to put up with an increasing amount of insults and unpleasantness, and her husband has threatened her to force her to make the said [legal] declaration, and because of his close friendship with the general Don Pedro Balbín, Corregidor and Superior Justice of the said City, she fears that the Corregidor may cause her difficulties by arresting her or mistreating her in words or deeds, on account of her husband's suit against her.[29]

The notary went on to register that Doña Mariana's husband had gone to the extreme of throwing Joseph out of the house, to pressure her to go along with him. She commissioned her version in September 1684 so that if she ever made any notarized declarations to the contrary, it would be clear that she had made them under duress and that they were not legally valid.[30]

Such unusual cases disclose a different view of notarial truth than the one the text represents. Record making was a highly collaborative process, involving "secret agents" like Benavente. It might also be very partial and interested—involving not just writing and rewriting but preemptive counterwriting, revocation, and cancellation, always with an eye to the future. The archive starts to feel like a chessboard, and notarial "public writing" much less like a window on the Spanish American past or a tape recorder recording voices.[31] (many contemporaries knew how the game was played , and, as we will see, went to great lengths to get notaries on their side.) What were the rules of this chess played through the hands of others and with an eye always looking ahead to other parties' possible moves? Here I will consider the rules, the said and the unsaid, and the stakes—both for Andeans and for those of us using notaries' archives to write histories.

Al principio fue el notario, polvoriento y sin prisa, que inventó el inventario.	In the beginning was the notary, dust-covered and in no hurry, inventor of the inventory.

—Nicolás Guillén, *El diario que a diario*[32]

[28] She did not register her reasons, so we can only speculate as to what they might have been. Perhaps Joseph was her husband's illegitimate child. She might also have been trying to protect the inheritance rights of other children (or, if she was childless, a projected religious endowment).

[29] ARC/PN, Pedro de Cáceres, legajo 28 (1684), fol. 558, September 6, 1684.

[30] For more on exclamations, see below; also Kathryn Burns, "Forms of Authority: Women's Legal Representations in Mid-Colonial Cuzco," in *Women, Text, and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, Marta V. Vicente and Luis R. Corteguera, eds. (Burlington, Vt., 2003), 149–63.

[31] The archives' contents can be seen as "intertexts," to follow William F. Hanks: "object[s] whose meaning potential was realized in the context of other texts, under certain discursive conditions." See Hanks, *Intertexts: Writings on Language, Utterance, and Context* (New York, 2000), 13.

[32] Nicolás Guillén, *El diario que a diario* (Havana, 1972); Guillén, *The Daily Daily*, Vera Kutzinski, trans. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 3. Both versions are cited in González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive*, 84.

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WELL MIGHT GUILLÉN WRITE THIS PASSAGE, for the violent invasions that followed Columbus's 1492 acts were remarkably well attended by notaries. Hernán Cortés, who led the 1519 invasion of central Mexico, had experience as a notary; so too did one of Hispaniola's earliest Spanish authorities, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, whose best-selling history of the Indies relied on his eyewitness status.[33] The Iberian notaries who reached the Americas were quick to lay down their grids of meaning, to have their versions committed to writing and to extend the long paper trail over which the dust of centuries would settle. But were they actually inventing anything? Yes and no. A look at Castilian antecedents indicates they brought with them extensive training and scripts. But notaries were always also "inventing." American people and activities brought pressure on the old molds, and these had to change and let meaning go in new directions. To see when and where, however, we first have to examine the scripts from which they were departing and the practices that had developed around their use.

It makes sense that numerous notaries were among the first Iberians to reach American shores. By the time Iberians were invading various parts of the Americas, career options for *escribanos* were multiplying rapidly, and had been doing so for some time.[34] In the wake of Alfonso X's thirteenth-century formalization of notarial practice, a creative tension between the monarchy and Castilian cities had led to the proliferation of types of notarial offices, as kings created theirs (*escribanos del rey*) and cities theirs (*escribanos públicos del número*), each type with its own scope and qualifications.[35] At the same time, however, Castilian notaries were reaching a kind of professional nadir.[36] The rapid expansion of their ranks had been marked by widespread corruption, generating many grievances. At the 1469 Cortes at Ocaña, for example, King Enrique IV received a complaint that "many false documents are drawn up by the many notaries that in recent years your lordship has created and authorized; here many children and men who do not know how to write hold titles to the office of notary that they purchased in blank."[37]

Like so much else, this situation attracted the reforming energies of the monarchs Fernando and Isabel, who set about disciplining refractory Castilian notaries and imposing stricter criteria for the exercise of notarial offices. Tighter

[33] J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 29–30; on Oviedo's history, see Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 56–68.

[34] This was part of the rapid expansion of the Spanish legal profession that was then taking place; see Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants*.

[35] On the fourteenth and fifteenth-century "maturation" process, marked by tension between the monarchy and "the communal power of the cities," see Bono, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, 2: 143–155. Note that my analysis focuses on *escribanos públicos y del número*. There were, in addition, ecclesiastical notaries; notaries who served particular bureaucracies, such as high viceregal courts; provincial notaries, and *escribanos de Su Magestad* (the latter two types unattached to particular towns or cities).

[36] Bono, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, describes this as a "notarial crisis" (2: 289–90).

[37] Antonio Rodríguez Adrados, "El derecho notarial castellano trasplantado a Indias," in *Escribanos y protocolos notariales en el descubrimiento de América* (Madrid, 1993), 59, cites this passage: "Otrosi muy poderoso sennor, sepa vuestra alteza que en vuestros rreynos se fazen muchos males e dannos e se fabrican muchas escrituras falsas por los muchos escriuanos que de poco tiempo acá vuestra sennoria a criado e fecho por vuestras cartas, ca muchos ninnos e omes que no saben leer tienen cartas de escriuanias quelas conpraron en blanco."

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royal control over examinations was instituted, for one thing.[38] Thereafter an aspiring notary had to demonstrate familiarity with routine transactions such as sales, rentals, and proxies; thus manuals to guide practice began to proliferate by mid-sixteenth century. Some, like Hernando Díaz de Valdepeñas's *Suma de notas copiosas muy sustanciales y compendiosas* (1544), contained little more than forms without preamble, legal background, or orientation as to each contract's proper usage.[39] Others were more didactic and ambitious, less slim, and presumably more expensive, like Gabriel Monterroso y Alvarado's *Pratica Civil, y Criminal, e Instruction de Scrivanos* (1563), explicitly designed to help notarial candidates pass their exams with more than a smattering of the *ars notariae*. Monterroso was not above shaming his readers as a motivational tool. He laments bitterly that "in many parts of these kingdoms it is customary that with no work or study, notaries use their offices any way they please. This causes all manner of clumsiness and barbarity (in contrast to foreign kingdoms, in which notaries have Latin and a good education)."[40]

These Iberian manuals—the notarial template of their day—circulated widely from the sixteenth century on, and were a formative element of notarial practice. It is important to note that they were not unanimous in their opinions. Rather, authors sought to make their manuals distinctive and necessary by taking on each other's perceived flaws and weaknesses. Some tailored their manuals to concentrate on particular areas or audiences, like Juan de la Ripia's manual on the making of wills, *Practica de testamentos y modos de subceder*, and Thomas de Mercado's influential *Tratos y contratos de mercaderes y tratantes*, on the proper recording of merchants' practices.[41] Many authors established their authority by citing their own notarial experiences, and not a few lamented the ignorance and malpractice they saw in their fellows. Antonio de Arguello's prologue to his *Tratado de escrituras y contratos publicos* is typical. After remarking on the shortcomings of two popular manuals, Monterroso's and Diego de Ribera's, Arguello goes on to decry those who make out contracts "so imperfectly, and with such prolixity and verbosity of reasons, that the reasoning is confused and some parts conflict with others, from which many doubts and lawsuits result, as we see daily."[42] Manuals' authors promised to help the aspiring notary not only pass his exam but avoid endangering his salvation through grievous error.

Yet the most important part of a notary's training remained practical: his apprenticeship. Typically, an aspiring Castilian notary spent a few years training to exercise his "art" by serving as a copyist (*escribiente*) and working his way up in a

[38] See Bono, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, 2: 293–94.

[39] Hernando Díaz de Valdepeñas, *Suma de notas copiosas muy sustanciales y compendiosas* (Toledo, 1544).

[40] Monterroso, *Pratica Civil*, 7: "en muchas partes destos Reynos se acostumbra, que sin trabajar, ni estudiar, vsan los escriuanos a rienda suelta los tales officios. De donde esta sembrada toda torpeza, y barbaria (al contrario de otros reynos estraños, donde los escriuanos son latinos, leydos, y curiosos)."

[41] Juan de la Ripia, *Practica de testamentos y modos de subceder* (Cuenca, 1676); Thomas de Mercado, *Tratos y contratos de mercaderes y tratantes* (Salamanca, 1569). Mercado soon published a second edition, *Summa de tratos y contratos de mercaderes* (Seville, 1571), detailing among other things the controversial credit instrument known as the *censo al quitar*.

[42] Antonio de Arguello, *Tratado de escrituras y contratos publicos, con sus anotaciones* (Madrid, 1651), iv verso.

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notary's workplace (*escribanía*). In the case of apprentices to notaries public, this meant accompanying the notary on his rounds—to the bedsides of dying testators, for example—to receive his dictation of the *minuta* (or *nota*), the draft of a document (*instrumento*). Afterward, the parties would be read the contents and, upon hearing and consenting to them, would affix their signatures along with the notary's. This constituted a legally authoritative, matrix copy of the transaction. Back in the notarial workshop, copyists would then copy this document out for the parties involved.[43] The matrix copies of documents would remain in the notary's care and at the end of the year would be indexed, sewn together, and bound into a volume (*protocolo*) by his assistants for future consultation as needed.[44]

Such, at least, were the formal requirements—the guidelines within which Castilian notaries public were supposed to operate, resisting the temptation to innovate, mix up, or otherwise corrupt or falsify their records. Here it is crucial to note that the very structure of Castilian notarial practice assured variation between one person's version of what mattered and another's. This was why people sought notaries in the first place: to render the colloquial into state-sanctioned, "official" writing.[45] Making documents typically involved at least two moments of writing (that of drafting the *minuta* and that of copying out the final product), and several people played a part in shaping and authorizing the contents. Thus, even in the case of the simplest, most clearly scripted transaction and in the absence of bad faith on anyone's part, slippage could occur: one copyist might misread another's abbreviations, for example.[46] And room existed in this system of truth-production for more interested kinds of slippage, due to bribery or other inducements.[47]

[43] When signed by the notary, these copies (*escrituras signadas*) also gained legal validity and might be adduced in court in lawsuits. For a careful discussion of Castilian legal norms regarding the making and archiving of notarial records, see Guajardo-Fajardo Carmona, *Escribanos en Indias*, 1: 139–97. In practice, however, many of the rules were bent. Notaries might have assistants take down only the basics in the initial moment of drafting, then have clients sign a blank page in the register where the fully developed *minuta* would later be inserted (a clear violation of the spirit of the 1503 reform). For a diplomatic reading of the traces of such notarial shortcuts, see María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, "Diplomática Notarial en Granada en los Inícios de la Modernidad (1505–1520)," in Ostos Salcedo and Pardo Rodríguez, *El Notariado Andaluz*, 75–125; also David González Cruz, *Escribanos y Notarios en Huelva durante el Antiguo Régimen (1701–1800): La historia onubense en sus protocolos natariales* (Huelva, 1991), 50. On Andean notarial practice and its shortcuts see Kathryn Burns, "Materiality and Meaning: Inside Writing in Midcolonial Cuzco," unpublished manuscript, and Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*.

[44] The 1503 Castilian reform known as the Pragmática de Alcalá is particularly important for understanding notarial practice thereafter. It regulated practice right down to "the material, writing, lines, and words"; see Guajardo-Fajardo Carmona, *Escribanos en Indias*, 1: 142. See also Antonio Rodríguez Adrados, "La Pragmática de Alcalá, entre Las Partidas y la Ley del Notariado," in *Homenaje a Juan Berchmans Vallet de Goytisolo*, 8 vols. (Madrid, 1988), 7: 517–813.

[45] Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*, 4–5, emphasizes that notaries were never mere transcribers: "they not only gave a different character—new and 'public'—to writings, but modified their language, style, and contents" Their discursive productions made them necessary figures in colonial society; "they were not mere writers, but creators of a new reality."

[46] The drafting process in colonial Peru both did and did not resemble that of late thirteenth-century Pisa as described by David Herlihy in *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 2–9. According to Herlihy, "the redaction of a notarial contract was a complicated affair involving as many as three drafts" (2), but each was handled by the notary himself rather than entrusted to an assistant. Herlihy does speculate about the possibility that another writer might have done the early drafts (8).

[47] Spaniards' discontent with their notaries seems only to have grown as the Iberian legal system expanded. Perhaps Spanish archives contain lawsuits like one in Lima's national archive in which a

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Spain's monarchs tried various measures to ensure that notarial indiscipline would not spread to the Americas.[48] Spanish American notaries were, by royal decree, to be given title to their offices only by their monarch, through the Council of the Indies.[49] However, Spain's sixteenth-century monarchs had a much more pressing concern on their minds: royal bankruptcy. The urgent need for royal income took precedence over much else that the crown wanted to accomplish, including the establishment of a well-trained notarial corps in the "New World." As early as 1522, royal decrees went out specifying which kinds of overseas royal appointments might be sold; most were varieties of notarial office. The crown would receive revenue at each sale. The *Recopilación de Indias* records the crown's insistence that purchasers be "able" people ("hábiles, y suficientes"), confirmed in their offices, and so forth.[50]

Whether or not American notaries were qualified or "able" is another matter. Almost from the beginning of overseas colonization, Spain's monarchs worried that across the Atlantic there was dangerous slippage in the production of notarial truth. In 1564, Philip II noted that his viceroys and judges had taken the liberty of "naming people to write, and take part in visitations, inspections, and other business, and draw up contracts, wills, and other public instruments, as though they were our Royal Scribes,"

> which has resulted in documents and inquiries with notable errors, and [the people in question] should be trained and capable, as is fitting for the exercise of their office, and verifiable through examination, since the security and good form of their records and registers, which they do not keep with the necessary care, is so important. And from this [failure to keep good records] follows confusion, and variance in the facts of the truth, because sometimes petitions and documents are lost, and with them an accurate account.[51]

Dominican friar sues a Lima notary in 1732 for falsifying his formal renunciation of assets (*renuncia*) between the drafting stage and final copy, alleging that the notary did so after reaching an understanding with the friar's brother-in-law: AGN/RA, Causas Civiles, legajo 70, cuaderno 541, (1732).

[48] In general, they were not eager to see the Americas become ridden with legal contention, and so (famously) outlawed lawyers—a measure that seems to have had very little overseas impact. Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953–1962), 1: 72–73, 128–29.

[49] No one was supposed to do a notary's work without having first received the royal stamp of approval, "because that is an act of jurisdiction, and part of our royal prerogative" (porque esto es acto de jurisdiccion, y parte de nuestro Señorío Real): *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1791), 2: 144, citing a royal decree of 1564, repeated several times thereafter between 1568 and 1681, the year the *Recopilación* was first published. This compilation of royal orders (including *cédulas*, which I translate as "decrees"; provisions or *provisiones*, and decisions or *acuerdos*) does not distinguish one kind from another.

[50] See the *Recopilación de Indias*, 2: 146; confirmation was to take place through examination by the high courts (*Reales Audiencias*). *Escribanías* were sold across Spanish America and raised money for the royal treasury, although exactly how much got into royal coffers is hard to say: see J. H. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953), 1–20; Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *La venta de oficios en Indias (1492–1606)* (Madrid, 1972). On the auctioning of a Cuzco *escribanía*, see Kathryn Burns and Margareth Najarro, "Parentesco, escritura y poder: Los Gamarra y la escritura pública en el Cuzco," *Revista del Archivo Regional del Cusco* 16 (2004).

[51] *Recopilación de Indias*, 2: 144: "de que ha resultado venir los autos, pesquisas, y averiguaciones con notables yerros, y nulidades, y debiendo concurrir en ellos la suficiencia y pericia, que tanto conviene a su exercicio, y se reconoce por el examen, siendo tan conveniente la seguridad, y buena forma de los registros, y protocolos que no tienen, ni guardan con la custodia necessaria, de que se

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The king ordered that no one exercise Spanish American notarial office without having first obtained title from the crown, an order repeated many times by his successors. In 1569, he decreed that Gabriel Monterroso should enjoy the exclusive right to print and sell his notarial manual in the Indies for a period of twenty years.[52] And in 1576, Philip II began to limn a category of "prohibited" notarial persons, adding to his many decrees his insistence that "neither mestizos, nor mulattoes be Notaries."[53]

Over the years, Philip's successors and the agents of their overseas rule would fashion many more norms to discipline notarial practice. Notaries were to be legitimate, of pure blood; they were to collect only the fees specified in the official *arancel*; fees in the Philippines were to be the same as those in New Spain—and so forth.[54] The intention of all of this notarial norming was to make colonial notaries as Castilian as possible. Antonio de Nebrija would have been pleased; the written language was getting its due as a crucial instrument of conquest. This was not to be a trumpeted conquest, but a bureaucratic feat, achieved without fanfare.[55] To guide "New World" notarial practice, manuals for scribes circulated through the Spanish American capitals, provinces, and towns: not only Monterroso's *Pratica* but also popular manuals by Ribera, Arguello, Diego González Villarroel, and Pedro de Siguenza.[56] By 1605, a rare American-made manual was available: the *Política de Escrituras*, published in Mexico City by Nicolás de Yrolo Calar.[57] It contained some distinctively American forms: how to empower an agent to travel to Spain and obtain credit or to collect tribute from one's indigenous tributaries (*encomienda*).[58]

Knowing what to write was a necessary but not a sufficient condition for

sigue confusion, y variedad en el hecho de la verdad, porque algunas veces se pierden los autos y escrituras, y con ellos la relacion de lo cierto."

[52] Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 221, 353 n. 12, citing the February 5, 1569 decree reproduced in an appendix by José Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América* (Buenos Aires, 1940), xxi-xxii.

[53] *Recopilación de Indias*, 2: 153. Some early Mesoamerican notaries were accused of descent from people classed as Indians, mulattoes, and blacks, according to Luján Muñoz, who concludes that "cases of mestizo and pardo [African-American] notaries were probably more abundant than the documentation reveals" (*Los escribanos en las Indias Occidentales*, 27). Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*, 59–60, finds that in midcolonial Quito the requirement that offices not be given to mulattoes or mestizos was not strictly enforced; raising income from the sale of offices mattered more. Notaries not of "pure" Spanish descent quickly became American lightening rods for the kind of criticism once aimed indiscriminately at all notaries. Stereotypes of corrupt, conniving mestizos armed with legal knowledge and bilingual capabilities have since flourished in elite and official discourse in the Andes—particularly when elites' state-making projects have faced serious threats. See, for example, Brooke Larson's discussion of the nineteenth-century *tinterillo* (country lawyer or notary) in *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910* (New York, 2004), 129–30.

[54] The *Recopilación de Indias* carries these and more: for example, the royal insistence that notaries be examined at the highest viceregal courts (2: 146). Perhaps most curious is the royal injunction that notaries write without using abbreviations (2: 150), which seems not to have troubled anyone.

[55] See Rama, *The Lettered City*.

[56] See Luján Muñoz, "La literatura notarial."

[57] See the recent facsimile edition: Nicolás de Yrolo Calar, *La Política de Escrituras*, María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano, ed. (Mexico City, 1996).

[58] Yrolo, *La Política de Escrituras*, 66–70, 75–77. Juan de Hevia Bolaños's *Curia Philippica* (Lima, 1603) and *Labyrintho de comercio terrestre y naval* (Lima, 1617) were enormously successful in Spain and the Americas; the two volumes were often published together and remained in print well into the nineteenth century. Guillermo Lohmann Villena argues that the manuals were composed in Spain by a different author and published under the name of a *limeño*: "En torno de Juan de Hevia Bolaño," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 31 (1961): 121–61.

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producing notarial truth, however. For a notary's practice to function, in Spanish America as in Spain, several people besides the notary had to be involved—witnesses, copyists, and higher-level assistants (*oficiales plumarios*; *oficiales mayores*), as well as translators. The notary dictated the proper form and eventually affixed his authenticating marks, but he did not write the documents in question himself. His staff did that for him.[59] Thus notarial practice was a highly mediated affair. It was often a family affair, too, since notaries tended to train junior relatives to succeed in their posts.[60]

Where did the indigenous languages of the Americas fit into this Castilian notarial system? The norms instituted for American notarial practice have very little to say about those on the receiving end of this linguistic invasion.[61] Yet indigenous, culturally ambidextrous notaries seem to have become common in many parts of the Americas by the second half of the sixteenth century. In the Andes, where the paper trail they left is now scattered and fragmentary, most seem to have written in Spanish.[62] (See Figure 1.) By contrast, Mexican archives contain a relative abundance of records by indigenous notaries, not only in Spanish but in

[59] Lockhart notes, in *Spanish Peru*, that "the notary did not do the bulk of the writing himself" (70), and that "one or two aides carried much of the burden of work in the notary's office, from which he was often absent" (73–74). According to Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*, 47, "the *oficial mayor* [highest-ranking assistant] tended to be the only one who knew the archive, who knew where certain papers were located and handled the protocols."

[60] Burns and Najarro, "Parentesco, escritura y poder," on the Gamarras of eighteenth-century Cuzco. On family ties among the notaries of Seville, see Hoffman, "The Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla."

[61] Thomas de Ballesteros, ed., *Tomo Primero de las Ordenanzas del Peru* (Lima, 1685), prefaced by poetry in honor of "great Toledo . . . Restorer of light in the West," contains this viceroy's 1575 orders (*ordenanzas de indios*) mandating indigenous officials, among them "a Notary, or Quipocamayo, who shall serve for as long as he commands the requisite skills and ability to do so" (vn Escriuano, o Quipocamayo, que este ha de estar perpetuo en tanto que tuuiere habilidad, y suficiencia para ello) (125v.). Toledo ordered that *khipu* recordation on elaborately knotted cords be "reduced" to writing (135v.) and provided a detailed Spanish template for the making of a will (130v.-132). Fragmentary records indicate that indigenous scribes were producing Spanish records in the Cuzco area by the late sixteenth century (see ARC/PN, Miguel de Contreras, protocolo 5 [1596–1597], fols. 37–48). But the khipu system of recordation continued, albeit as a subordinated literacy: see Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, eds., *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu* (Austin, 2002); and Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham, N.C., 2004).

[62] A variety of colonial writings in Quechua have been located, including letters: see César Itier, "Lengua general y comunicación escrita: Cinco cartas en Quechua de Cotahuasi, 1616," *Revista Andina* 9, no. 1 (1991): 65–107. A useful summary of known colonial Quechua documents made for private or administrative purposes may be found in Alan Durston, "La escritura del quechua por indígenas en el siglo XVII: Nuevas evidencias en el Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (estudio preliminar y edición de textos)," *Revista Andina* 37, no. 2 (2003): 207–36. While the bulk of known colonial Quechua writings was penned by creole priests (*ibid.*, 208), the work of Guaman Poma and the origin stories contained in the famous Huarochirí manuscript constitute famous exceptions. For an English translation of the latter, see Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, 1991). According to Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies*, there is "every reason to think that a large mundane Quechua documentation existed in the seventeenth century and perhaps earlier and later" (207, see also 221 n. 7). My own archival findings so far do not support Lockhart's optimism on this point. However, in the Cuzco region, indigenous notaries known as *escribanos de cabildo* did leave Spanish notarial records, and a substantial indigenous archive in Spanish may once have existed in the region, particularly in the urban indigenous parishes. One example is the sales contract Doña María Asa petitioned to have copied into a Cuzco notary's records. Drawn up in the Cuzco parish of San Sebastián on August 14, 1704, by *escribano de cabildo* Don Nicolás Quispe Amaro and signed by three noble indigenous witnesses, it competently follows a Castilian template. ARC, Cabildo, Justicia Ordinaria, legajo 14 (1700–1704), expediente 431, cuaderno 25. See Kathryn Burns, "Making Indigenous Archives," unpublished manuscript.

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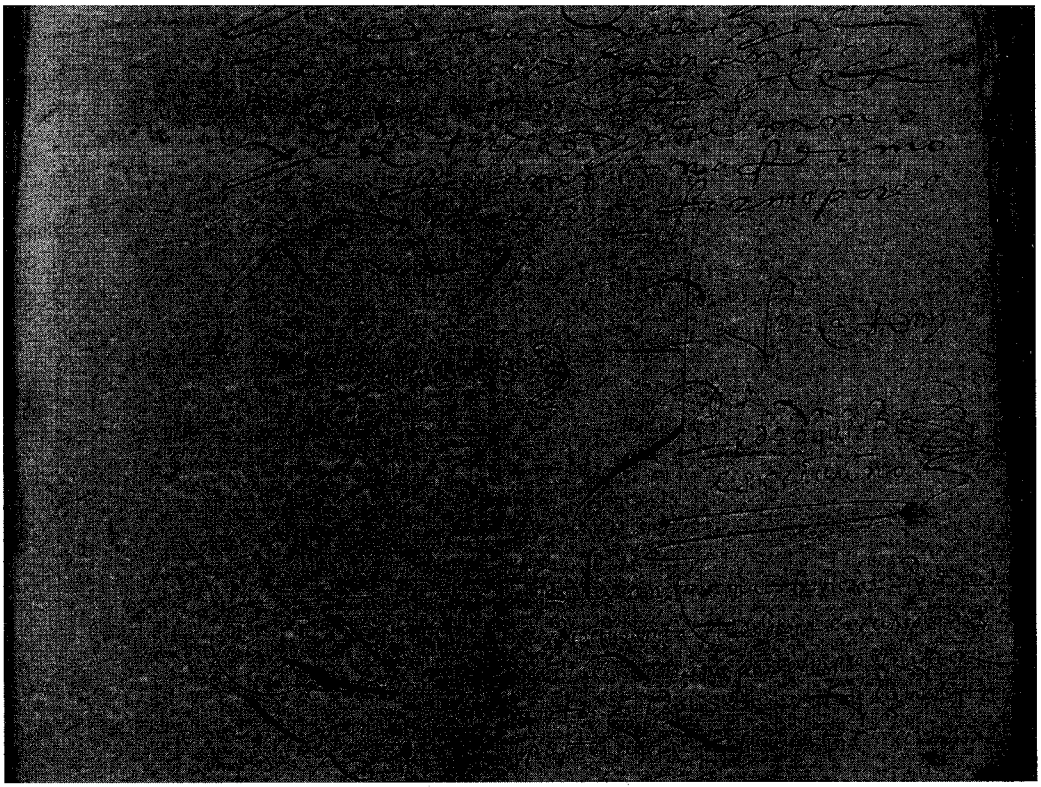


FIGURE 1: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts an Andean notary—labeled in both Spanish and Quechua, as *escribano de cabildo* and *quilcay camayoc*—in the process of writing a will in Spanish. Reproduction with kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, from manuscript GKS 2232 4°, "El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615/1616)." A facsimile edition of the entire manuscript is available on line (http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/).

Nahuatl, Yucatec Maya, Mixtec, and other languages.[63] Scholars are actively debating the meanings and historical implications of these sources, and of

[63] As Lockhart points out in *Nahuas after the Conquest*, "Preconquest Mexico . . . knew the official writer, the *amatlacuilo* or 'painter on paper,' and the role was associated with nobility" (40). From the 1530s, Spanish missionaries and noble indigenous learner-informants taught one another and developed alphabetic writing standards for indigenous languages, most famously in the short-lived but influential *colegio* or school of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, founded in what is now central Mexico City in 1536. From the 1540s on, according to Lockhart, "documents of many types, in many styles, were produced, as alphabetic writing in Nahuatl spread with great rapidity" (330). Indigenous notaries began working in alphabetic Nahuatl, Yucatec Maya, Mixtec, and other languages, including Spanish. The history and politics of indigenous record-making in sixteenth-century Peru were very different. There, official recordation before the Spanish invasion had involved knotted cords, not paper. Around midcentury, Spanish missionaries and Andeans did create alphabetic Quechua, and Andeans as well as Spaniards did thereafter use it (see the preceding footnote). However, the turbulent political context of sixteenth-century Peru was considerably different from the Mexican context following the fall of Tenochtitlán. By the time indigenous notaries established themselves in the late sixteenth century, alphabetic Quechua does not seem to have spread among them with rapidity. These differences go some way toward explaining the notable contrast between Mexican archives' relative abundance of alphabetic records in indigenous languages and the scarcity of such records in Peruvian archives. On the "new philology" that builds on previous Mesoamerican scholarship using notarial sources in indigenous languages to study indigenous peoples, see Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies*; and Matthew Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 113–34.

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"alternative literacies" like the knotted cords of the Andean *khipu*.[64] Were indigenous notaries faithful mirrors of their communities' wishes? How exactly did they work and on behalf of whom?

Case studies of indigenous notaries are still few but tend to portray these men as relatively powerful, prestigious members of their communities.[65] Yet their records are depicted as distinctively "communal" in nature. According to Matthew Restall, for example, "a Maya document such as a will involved the entire community, either directly as witnesses or indirectly through cabildo participation."[66] Historians of the colonial Andes have had comparatively little to say about indigenous notaries. However, Andeanists repeatedly make the point that indigenous elites' interests, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, might diverge markedly from those of commoners and be attained very much at their communities' expense.[67] Juxtaposing Mesoamerican and Andean ethnohistory thus raises intriguing questions. If indigenous notaries were nobles or high-ranking local authorities (or both), aligned with the interests of a local elite, their record-keeping practice may have been less representative of a collective, communal will than is often supposed.

Whatever the case, it seems that native Andeans who had their business affairs notarized in cities sought to have them recorded in Spanish, whether before indigenous, parish-level notaries or not. This meant an additional layer of mediation: translation from "the general language of the natives" to Spanish, either by the notary or by an interpreter. Additionally, the presence of an official "protector of the natives" was required when indigenous people transacted business before a city's notaries. These men, who appear over and over in the Andean colonial record, generally had Spanish names, as did most of the notaries running accredited notarial workshops in major cities and towns. Probably most were creoles—the American-born descendents of Spaniards—and bilingual to at least some extent. Certainly in places like Cuzco, many colonial creoles had learned Quechua, and examples can be found of notaries who were intensely proud of their

[64] See the work of Gary Urton, including most recently *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (Austin, 2003); and Salomon, *The Cord Keepers*.

[65] See Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, 41, on early Tlaxcalan notaries; Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacán: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519–1650* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 63–65, on the Nahua notaries of Coyoacán; and Robert Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1991), 110–11, 130, on those of Cuernavaca; Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 54, 66–68, on Yucatec Maya notaries; Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 193–94, on Mixtec or *Ñudzahui* notaries. My own work on Andean notaries thus far confirms this. Of some three dozen indigenous notaries in the Cuzco region who certified the announcement of a 1596 inspection visit (*visita*), roughly half signed themselves with the honorific "don" used by members of the indigenous nobility. ARC/PN, Miguel de Contreras, protocolo 5 (1596–1597), fols. 37–48.

[66] Restall, *Maya World*, 57; he continues, "An integral part of the oral-notarial record-keeping dialectic was thus its communal nature, expressed in the multiple authorship of the document and the role of the audience." Indigenous Mesoamerican notaries are often portrayed as conduits for the written expression of communally ratified decisions. Spanish templates are evident in their record-keeping (Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, 372), but its perceived indigenous features—from vocabulary to forms of legitimation—are what historians have stressed most.

[67] A large international literature exists on this point; landmark works in English include Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1984); and Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Madison, Wis., 1982).

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noble Andean ancestry—like Lorenzo de Messa Andueza of Cuzco, who claimed descent from Inca rulers Huayna Cápac and Túpac Yupanqui.[68]

The production of notarial truth in the Andes thus provided ample room for notaries and those working with them to introduce variations in their clients' understandings of what had happened. This was actually what clients expected their notary to do for them: impose his professional template on the messy specifics of a transaction and discipline its details into legally valid form.[69] So it went from Madrid to Manila, wherever notaries were hired to practice the *ars notariae*. We have seen that structurally the Castilian system of notarial production left a lot of room for play between the draft of a document and its final version. Socially and culturally, even more room for variance can be imagined: room for notaries to bring pressure on their clients and copyists, for copyists to embarrass their notaries, for clients to bring pressure on notaries, copyists, and other clients (recall the case of Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa Inca). Of course, clients themselves did not always come before their notaries with their disagreements neatly resolved. They might use the space of the notarial document as one more arena for their disputes (as with Doña Mariana García del Corral and her husband).

The clearest sign that colonial Spanish Americans themselves saw the production of notarial truth in this way—as something that might reflect particular interests and not simply happen by the book—is the lengths to which they would go to get notaries on their side. From the early history of Iberian settlement in the Americas, Spaniards did what they could to get a notary in their back pocket. Viceroys and high judges were admonished in 1559 to stop plying their notaries with free Indian labor, because of the "inconveniences" (as good a period equivalent for "conflict of interest" as any) that resulted.[70] Three decades later, Philip II was seeking to pry notarial offices out of the grasp of *encomenderos* (holders of valuable *encomiendas*, indigenous labor grants), requiring that they "choose to be either a notary or an *encomendero*."[71] The crown also supported notaries' local efforts to nurture high professional standards and esprit de corps. By 1573, Mexico City notaries had founded a religious brotherhood (*cofradía*) named for the Four Sainted Evangelists (*los Cuatro Santos Evangelistas*) and based in the Mexico City monastery of San Agustín. Exclusively for local notaries, its members contributed time, energy, and funds with the expectation that they and their families would be supported in times of need. Centuries later, it would become the basis for the founding of the first American school for notaries, the Real Colegio de Escribanos de México (founded in 1792).[72]

[68] I am grateful to Donato Amado for reference to Messa Andueza's will: Archivo Arzobispal del Cusco, Parroquia del Sagrario, Libro de Defunciones (April 4, 1669 to July 9, 1693), fols. 110v.-111v., November 20, 1686. In it, the notary is described as the descendant of both Alonso de Mesa, "one of the first conquistadors and discoverers and settlers of these Kingdoms of Peru," and of the Inca rulers Huayna Cápac and Topa [Túpac] Yupanqui.

[69] On the notary as imposer of discipline, see Dean, "Beyond the Notarial Template."

[70] Konetzke, *Colección*, 1: 367. See the similar decree of 1590, directed for enforcement purposes to the high court of Quito (1: 604); this decree is much more explicit about the "favors" and damage done.

[71] Konetzke, *Colección*, 1: 606–607, decree of 1590.

[72] Manuel Andrino Hernández, "Las raíces madrileñas del Colegio de Escribanos de México," in *Escribanos y protocolos notariales en el descubrimiento de América* (Madrid, 1993), 128, 134–40; see also María Elena Chico Borja, *Historia del Colegio de Notarios* (Mexico City, 1987).

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Yet for all the crown's best efforts to make notaries a body of neutral, disinterested professionals, local practice produced and supported a different scheme of things. If something important was at stake, one notary was not just as good as another. The most trusted notary, the one who had become practically part of the family, was the clear, logical choice. In colonial Cuzco, across generations, both families and institutions spent time and effort cultivating good relations with a particular notary (and his family). Having close relations with one's notary meant getting an inside track on valuable business, perhaps getting a loan ahead of anyone else.[73] Small wonder that so many Castilian maxims urged special care for these relationships and the painful consequences of neglecting them: *Cuerdo es quien redime su daño con lo que ha de dar al escribano* (Wise is he who redeems/ransoms his troubles by giving something to the notary). *Tintero y escribanía, lanza y dardo* (Inkpot and desk [or notary's shop], lance and dart).[74] Quechua and Aymara sayings might have figuratively shafted the notariate too.[75]

If we look at notarial archives with the above things in mind, recognizing that the crafting of a document's final content might have involved considerable negotiation and a large gap between what was written and what was performed, then their contents become all the more meaningful. All notaries fabricated truth-effects, and the results of their word-fixing carried a charge.[76] Even after it was indexed and archived, a document might still generate lively conflict: it might (if the stakes were high enough) be mutilated, hidden, stolen, miscopied, misauthorized, or mislaid. As we will see, a close reading of the notarial record—especially where it breaks down, disclosing people's conflicts over meaning and veracity—can make seemingly tedious *protocolos* disclose colonial relationships and power plays.

BETTER THAN ALMOST ANYTHING ELSE IN THE NOTARIAL REPERTOIRE, exclamations—formalized outbursts of protest like Doña Mariana García del Corral's—reveal the limits and ambiguity of the notarial record. To come across one is relatively rare, and startling, since notarial records overwhelmingly represent parties' accord. They confront the reader with aporia in the archives, hinting at all that was not

[73] Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 33, finds that the sixteenth and seventeenth-century notaries of Nantes "spent relatively little time devoted to preparing acts for clients . . . and considerable time counting money and brokering credit to generate business." For details of this notarial brokerage, most of them elided in the final written record, see *ibid.*, 34–41. See also Philip Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism," *AHR* 104, no. 1 (1999): 69–94.

[74] Luis Martínez Kleiser, *Refranero general ideológico español* (Madrid, 1953).

[75] E.g., what the *curaca* Don Gerónimo Cacyamarca must have said when he received the note from Cuzco notary Pedro Carrillo de Guzmán informing him that if he wanted a copy of a lawsuit to appeal the decision to Lima, he would have to pay 300 pesos up front: Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Apelaciones de Cuzco, legajo 24, expediente 7 (1674).

[76] Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech," 111, also notes that notaries created "charged texts" to attest to clients' wishes. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), on "fabrication" and "fiction" in the archival record.

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registered, and perhaps could not be, by the parties to the notarial action.[77] Here, for example, is an exclamation registered in Cuzco in 1623 by Doña Jacinta Ramírez de Quiñones, who went before notary Cristóbal de Luzero to denounce her husband. According to Doña Jacinta's November 8 protest, certified by Luzero and stitched into his registers, her husband Don Sancho Niño de Valenzuela had been threatening her:

> [F]or several days now he has been persuading, forcing, and coercing her to enter with him into a contractual obligation to pay Juan López Aguas, muleteer, the amount of 3,000 pesos corrientes, 2,500 pesos of which Don Sancho has already agreed in writing that he owes Juan López, and 500 pesos of which Juan López now wants to give him in clothing and other goods . . . Once he put a naked sword to her breast, and at other times a dagger, and he has laid hands on her and beaten her and mistreated her and otherwise done her harm, forcing her to enter into the said contract for the said amount of 3,000 pesos.[78]

The root of the conflict, according to this version, was Doña Jacinta's resistance to her husband's plan to secure the 3,000-peso writ: he wanted to put up her dowry goods as collateral, but she had refused. Without her consent he could not close the deal and obtain the additional 500 pesos' worth of goods from Juan López.

Literally forms of protest, such documents throw into new perspective the countless routinized agreements in which people gave each other permission to transact business of various kinds. Men had to get formal permission to pledge their wives' dowry goods. Women had to get their husband's or tutor's or guardian's or religious superior's permission to do business at all. Women and men speaking Quechua had to have their words sieved and translated. Was the granting of such permission as flat and routine as it appears on the notary's page? In many cases it probably was—but Doña Jacinta's protest serves as a reminder that we cannot simply assume deals were always transacted precisely in accordance with notarial formulae. Coercion might have been part of the process, a part papered over in the form language of joint legal action (*mancomunidad*).[79]

More commonly, people protested the legitimacy of the documents they had signed well after the moment of signature, once controversy overtook them. See, for example, the 1638–1639 case of Cuzco parish priest Cristóbal de Vargas Carvajal, who was aggressively pursued by Don Diego Gutiérrez de los Ríos over indigenous

[77] On recordation and epistemic violence, gender, and colonial subject making, see Gayatri Spivak's reading of the figure of the Rani of Sirmur, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 198–311.

[78] ARC/PN, Cristóbal de Luzero, 1623–24, fols. 498–498v., November 8, 1623. She might have had Luzero and his assistants come to her house to write a first draft. The alternative was to go to the *portal de los escribanos*, located next to Cuzco's city council (*cabildo*) on the Plaza del Regocijo. This arrangement seems to have been common in Spanish American cities. Regarding the *portal de escribanos* in Potosí, see Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, eds., 2 vols., (Providence, R.I., 1965), 1: 150. Arzáns de Orsúa sprinkles his seventeenth-century chronicle with anecdotal evidence of "the lies, self-interest, trickery, and tyranny of bad notaries" (la mentira, interés, engaño y tiranía de los malos escribanos), 1: 284.

[79] See, for example, the case of Francisco Gómez de la Rocha in Peter Bakewell's *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The Life and Times of Antonio López de Quiroga* (Dallas, 1988): "even his wife had refused his request, in mid-September 1649, to become a co-guarantor of his debts" (42). Citing an *exclamación* by Gómez de la Rocha's wife (195–96 n. 99), Bakewell notes that "[t]he possibility cannot be discounted, of course, that her refusal to take any legal responsibility for what her husband owed was a device to safeguard family possessions." I consider other possible interpretations in "Forms of Authority."

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tribute that Gutiérrez claimed the priest was obliged to deliver to him but never did. The priest declared that he had been forced by Don Diego and the local *corregidor* to sign a blank contract of obligation, and that the completed document did not reflect the terms to which he had agreed.[80] His argument failed to convince, and the suit went to Lima on appeal. The same documents contain a chilling reminder that the duly executed, authorized page was literally a matter of life and death in colonial Peru. At issue between the two contenders, the priest and the *encomendero*, was how much tribute could be collected from the indigenous tributaries formally enrolled in Vargas Carvajal's parish. Their assessment had been raised because they had been unable to prove conclusively, by adducing acceptable documentation, that many of their fellow tributaries had died and been buried in Potosí.[81]

More alleged pressure tactics turn up in the case of a 1785 foreclosure on the Cuzco residence of Don Ramón Vicente Tronconis, who had stopped making his annual payments on a 3,000-peso note payable to the convent of Santa Catalina in Cuzco. The daughter of the indebted Don Ramón came forward in his defense, declaring that the 1779 document her father had signed recognizing his obligation to pay the nuns 150 pesos a year had been signed "when he was gravely ill, and very agitated by the [convent's] Administrator . . . who took him by surprise, and to avoid the foreclosure with which he was threatened, and relieve the suffering that oppressed him, he hastily agreed [to the contract]. Motives which truly render insufficient the Document."[82]

Such cases suggest that one might get a notary on one's side, firmly enough to countenance pressure tactics and then, in his certified document, conceal them. Cuzqueños alleged pressures of this nature, but seldom brought formal charges against notaries for warping notarial procedure.[83] Yet such cases do exist. Occasionally a Cuzco notary was jailed for malpractice. Don Alejo González de Peñalosa, for example, was charged with "falsehood" in 1742 and imprisoned for having drawn up a power of attorney for Doña Francisca Calvo, who, prosecutors claimed, was in her death throes and thoroughly incapacitated at the time.[84]

[80] Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Apelaciones del Cuzco, legajo 4 (1634–1639), expediente 14, fol. 26v.

[81] *Ibid.*, fol. 10v. On the enormous impact of the labor draft on Potosí, see Ann M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The* Forasteros *of Cuzco, 1520–1720* (Durham, N.C., 1990).

[82] ARC, Intendencia, Causas Ordinarias, legajo 5, expediente 14 (1785), fol. 7: "en circunstancia de estar gravemte. enfermo, y bien agitado pr. el Administrador [de Santa Catalina] . . . qe. lo sorprendió, y por evadirse de la execuzn. con que le amenazaba, y templar la dolencia qe. le oprimian condecendió ligeramte. en el reconocimto. Motibos a la verdad qe. hazen insuficiente a la Escriptura."

[83] The 1704 will of a Cuzco *beata*, Doña Clara de Montoya, contains an embedded exclamation charging that her father confessor, with notary Pedro López de la Cerda present, pressured her to donate property in 1701 against her will: ARC/PN, Gregorio Básquez Serrano, protocolo 51 (1704), fols. 100v.-101. Perhaps she did not feel safe taking on a powerful clergyman until he was out of the way. By 1704, he had ascended to the cathedral chapter of La Plata. Nothing about the 1701 donation indicates that it was later contested, or that Doña Clara succeeded in undoing it: ARC/PN, Pedro López de la Cerda, protocolo 193 (1701), fols. 1024–26v., December 1, 1701. The donation is made in the first person and reads "I want and it is my will to make a donation" (quiero y es mi boluntad el haser Donacion) (1024v.).

[84] ARC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, legajo 34 (1742), expediente 720, cuaderno 6, fol. 6. González de Peñalosa defended himself, saying he had asked Doña Francisca if she wanted to make a power of attorney or her will, and that she had answered him "in a clear voice" and in the presence of witnesses. His predecessor Alejo Fernández Escudero had a much harder time; see Lima, AGN/RA,

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It was especially vital for large institutions like convents and monasteries to cultivate good relations with their notaries. They had a great deal of property and capital at stake in the local economy and were constantly drawing up contractual instruments to deploy it with one or another local borrower, renter, or merchant. Large religious houses tended to center their business on one or two local notaries with whom they forged close ties over the years. The nuns of Cuzco did this in a variety of ways: by accepting a notary's daughters in their cloisters; by extending him credit from the convent's dowry fund; by giving him favorable payment terms on the rental of local property, and so forth. Among the notaries with whom the Dominican nuns of Santa Catalina created such relations was Martín López de Paredes. A 1661 document details the terms of their arrangement: the notary had agreed to serve the nuns as a labor broker at a time when Santa Catalina was undertaking a construction project. Prioress Doña María de Sena Arias Dávila expressed that

> for this project they needed materials and Indians, for which they spent a large sum of pesos, yet still they have lacked enough Indian peons because in this city they cannot be found for hire, and thus . . . they have turned to Martín López de Paredes, notary public . . . to rent them some Indians from the province of Quispicanche, which he has done and with which assistance they have carried on the project until now . . . And in gratitude for the above, and for all that he has done for the said monastery in seeing to the collection of payments owed to it and the drawing up of all its documents . . . without having received any salary or interest whatsoever but only because he has two daughters as novices in the monastery where, God willing, they will profess as nuns of the black veil, and so that they may have a place to live . . . I want to sell him two second-floor cells.[85]

So it was that the nuns' trusted notary obtained choice spaces in the newly made second cloister of Santa Catalina for two of his children.

The resulting relationships might be cozy indeed. Cuzco notary Pedro de Cáceres was so thoroughly trusted by the nuns of Santa Clara, for example, that they did not discover until years after his death that he and his assistants had failed to record convent business in his registers. Several empty pages, graced with the nuns' signatures, may still be found stitched into the volumes of Cáceres's transactions for the years 1696–1697. The nuns had assumed their notary would have his copyists fill these pages with the relevant language of a standard loan. Interestingly, no one seemed to mind too much when the abbesses of Santa Clara discovered this bit of notarial malpractice. The abbesses simply went about obtaining retroactive authorization of the deals in question (with the help of a different notary, and the permission of city authorities). The new notary acceded to the task of ghostwriting the clauses of thirty-year-old loans, with such form language as "I saw them hand over and count the coins," etc.[86]

As long as times were good, it might not matter whether or not notaries had

Causas Criminales, legajo 3 (1727), cuaderno 21. Accused, suspended from office, and jailed in 1726 for certifying witness depositions he did not attend, the fifty-five-year-old notary tried to excuse his conduct as local custom, without success. Friends and relatives helped him escape from prison and take refuge in the Mercedarian monastery, where he died shortly thereafter.

[85] ARC/PN, Lorenzo de Messa Andueza, legajo 194 (1661), fols. 1412–1413v., August 13, 1661.

[86] ARC/PN, Pedro de Cáceres, 1696, fols. 403–4v.; 1697, fols. 441–57v. For more on convents,

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followed basic rules for registering their clients' business. But lean times were different. By the early 1800s, the financially desperate Spanish crown had started finding ways to seize and otherwise divert church assets to the royal treasury. One result, according to a middling Spanish official in Cuzco in 1806, was that local convents and monasteries had initiated the "criminal and reprehensible" practice of loaning out all the resources in their coffers, "so that it might not pass into the hands of the Sovereign." He went on the offensive, requisitioning monastic records. Then he singled out an unusually large loan, in the amount of 19,000 pesos, which he insisted the nuns of Santa Clara had made (fraudulently) to their *mayordomo*, Don Martín Valer. There it was, in records of notary Bernardo Joseph Gamarra: a contract reflecting that the loan had happened in Gamarra's presence. No, explained Abbess Francisca del Carmen Zamora. Valer had indeed requested the loan,

> but after awhile, and, moreover, after the corresponding document had been drawn up, he changed his mind, and so he did not make use of the document. In keeping with the practice of the Monastery, [had he wanted the loan,] he would have taken a copy of the said document [to the convent] so that in the presence of the Scribe he might receive the money, with the Superintendent, the Abbess, and the Council Mothers present, since the four keys to the Safe are distributed among these Persons; after which the transaction would necessarily have been inscribed in the book of the convent's Safe, which has been presented to the Superior Junta in accordance with your order.[87]

Former abbess Asencia del Espiritu Santo y Valer ratified this description of the nuns' way of doing business in her testimony: "Even though a Contract was drawn up indicating that the loan had been made, this was only because it is the custom of this Monastery in such dealings always to draw up the Contract before the delivery of the money." The actual loan would only "truly" happen ("verdaderamente") once the would-be borrower appeared at the convent with the notary and the preexisting document in tow. Because Valer had not actually received 19,000 pesos from the nuns' coffers, she patiently explained, the notarial record of the loan had been formally canceled—not because Valer had repaid the money (as the document declared), but because he had never taken it out in the first place! Empty-handed, and furious at having discovered what notaries did out of bounds in the service of "custom," the incensed members of the local Junta de Consolidación took out their frustration on the notary Gamarra, warning him "that even if in that Monastery there is custom to the contrary, he should exercise his office with greater care." Any further instances of malpractice would bring fines down upon him. (We can only wonder how many other seemingly solid contracts in the archival record were the result of such customary sleight of hand.)

These are hardly the only instances of notarial records being drawn up before or after the fact. Nor were the parties in question always large institutional actors like convents. The registers of Cuzco notary Lorenzo de Messa Andueza record, for

propertied *cuzqueños*, and their densely woven, productive relations, see Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999), 141–42.

[87] ARC, Asuntos Eclesiásticos, Junta de Consolidación, legajo 86 (1806–1807), expediente 9, June 18, 1806.

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example, the purchase of a young African-American woman named Ana by a southern Andean *curaca* named Don Ambrosio Clemente Tupa. Three years after the 1668 purchase, Don Ambrosio formally declared that he had purchased Ana with money that had been given him for that purpose by another *curaca*, Don Bartolomé Tupa Hallicalla. After purchasing Ana for 700 pesos in the city of La Plata and returning to the two men's hometown of Asillo, Don Ambrosio indicated, he "had given her [to Don Bartolomé] and by an oversight he did not make a formal declaration but only handed over [to Don Bartolomé] a copy of the record of the purchase, and now that he finds himself in this city [of Cuzco] he has been asked by said Captain Don Bartolomé to have the said declaration drawn up." Don Ambrosio did so, and the two indigenous noblemen's signatures may be found on the record drawn up for Messa Andueza's rubric.[88] They considered their business transaction important enough to register but not so urgent that it could not wait until the next time they went into town.

The picture that begins to emerge from all this is one of great strategic flexibility and acquiescence (or connivance, depending on one's perspective) between clients and their notaries. Understanding this means taking into account the way contemporaries regarded the notarial record. As the cases I have cited suggest, contemporaries were looking for legally valid cover—a paper trail to which they might have recourse should the occasion arise. They were not interested in leaving a unique record of their business. Rather, they were interested in being able to prove, should it become necessary, that they had the right to enforce certain terms: to collect on a loan, or a promise of dowry, or a rental contract.[89] If they could not adduce the relevant papers at the proper moment, they might lose what they were due. Clients thus wanted from their notary well-made records that could withstand the pressures of eventual lawsuits. Notarial records are in this sense always in implicit dialogue with an imagined litigious future.[90]

One final question that we can usefully consider here: what did notaries want? Certainly an income. And not, to go by the Andean notarial paper trail, simply to obey the letter of their manuals and their sovereign's decrees. Like virtually any Spanish American officeholder, notaries obeyed other criteria and responded to other pressures as well. Notaries in places like Cuzco—large, important cities at some distance from the viceregal court and its judges—in all likelihood fit in diverse ways into what Steve J. Stern has called "power groups," variegated collections of local "notables" and functionaries who, over centuries, forged blood and business ties of many kinds.[91] In Cuzco, a creole elite of interlocking families like the

[88] ARC/PN, Lorenzo de Messa Andueza, legajo 211 (1671), fols. 377–378v., April 4, 1671.

[89] Clients wanted records that were "true in law," as Clanchy writes in *From Memory to Written Record*, 305. See also above, n. 10.

[90] As González Echevarría points out in *Myth and Archive*, 59, "[n]o utterance can occur in legal proceedings without assuming a question or a response, in short, a dialogue of texts. This is no theoretical dialogue, however, but one that is part of legal rhetoric itself; truth, existence in the civil sense, propriety, all emerge from such a confrontation."

[91] Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 92–102. Seventeenth-century notarial wills in Cuzco's archives indicate that many of the city's notaries diversified their sources of income. For example, Pedro de la Carrera Ron invested with business partners in Cuzco's booming coca-leaf trade (ARC/PN, Francisco de Hurtado, protocolo 116 [1617], fols. 516–25); Alonso Calvo owned a mule train and hired a *mayordomo* (steward or foreman) to haul freight between Lima and Cuzco (ARC/PN, Alonso Beltrán Lucero, protocolo 4 [1636–1637], 1047–54), and Joseph Herrera bought the right to sell playing cards

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Esquiveles, Costillas, Valverdes, and Jara de la Cerdas had captured a tremendous number of local offices and resources by the late seventeenth century and managed to become a law unto themselves. Such families, like large religious houses, may well have cultivated particular members of the local corps of notaries.[92]

But notaries might also forge close ties among themselves. If in Cuzco they did not create their own religious brotherhood, they nevertheless did each other many favors, as their yearly registers and their wills amply attest. The relatively prosperous Pedro de la Carrera Ron, for example, noted in his 1617 will that he had lent his fellow notary Alonso Herrero 50 pesos to assist with his wife's funeral expenses. He also registered a much larger sum, 6,500 pesos, that Cuzco notary Francisco de Hurtado owed him.[93] Even when competition pitted them against each other, notaries might provide each other assistance. Tomás Cárdenas, a Cuzco notary who had bid vigorously against Juan Bautista Gamarra for title to an office in the early 1700s, later went out of his way to help Gamarra recover stolen records.[94] To the extent they were able to establish a corporate bond and identity, Cuzco's notaries may have been able to achieve some degree of autonomy for the activities they supervised from their posts in the Portal de los Escribanos.[95]

HERE I HAVE INSISTED THAT NOTARIES PRODUCED a particular kind of truth. Drawing on the many manuals that circulated in the Atlantic colonial world, they imposed rather tight scripts on their clients' language, narrative structures, and expressed desires. Clients, for their part, might shape and crop their own versions of their business beforehand, deciding (perhaps in mutually agreeable terms, but perhaps in decisions forced by one party on another) to change crucial specifics or conceal them from their notary altogether. Both clients and notaries maneuvered within the

in Cuzco for ten years (ARC/PN, Joseph Calvo, protocolo 50 [1643], fols. 80–88v., regarding the *estanco de naipes*). Not everyone prospered. Cristóbal de Bustamante's will ends in a lament about his "impoverished resources," barely enough to allow him to eat and pay his rent (ARC/PN, Gregorio Básquez Serrano, protocolo 51 [1704], fols. 163–69v.). Yet the career of Martín López de Paredes, a Cuzco notary public from the 1640s to the mid-1670s, suggests notaries might exploit their connections to locally powerful officeholders to build themselves valuable rural estates. Two lawsuits were brought against López de Paredes charging him with usurping land while his brother was *alguacil mayor*, or head constable, in Quispicanchis, south of Cuzco. However, most Cuzco notaries, like those of early modern Nantes, seem to have been "members of the middling ranks" of urban professionals (Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 6).

[92] For a sense of the power the notoriously proud, arrogant Esquivel clan could exert by the early eighteenth century, see Bernard Lavallé, *El mercader y el marques: Las luchas de poder en el Cusco, 1700–1730* (Lima, 1988).

[93] De la Carrera Ron did not ask to be repaid in the first case; he did in the second, which involved a formal writ of obligation: ARC/PN, Francisco de Hurtado, protocolo 116 (1617), fols. 517v., 519v.

[94] See Burns and Najarro, "Parentesco, escritura y poder."

[95] Documents from the 1760s and 1770s indicate that in earlier, more prosperous times, Cuzco's notaries had sponsored the annual building of an altar for the city's Corpus Christi festivities. This custom fell into disuse as the city's economic position deteriorated in the 1700s. See ARC, Corregimiento, legajo 56 (1775–1777), expediente 1273 (1775), cuaderno 5. Throughout the colonial period, however, Cuzco notaries' offices seem to have been centrally located, alongside the town council building (*cabildo*). Evidence from archives and chronicles suggest this was the case in many Spanish American cities. Cuzco's "Portal de los Escribanos" fronted the plaza known as Regocijo (see n. 78 above); notaries either owned or rented property there. Their dwellings might be elsewhere; some of the Gamarras, for example, lived in the parish of San Cristóbal.

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bounds not only of local power relations but of accepted legal "custom"—a realm about which we need to learn much more. "Custom" in the colonial Andes encompassed such seemingly unlikely practices as clients' routine signing of blank pages in notaries' registers. In early modern Nantes, it seems to have been customary for notaries to broker credit deals for their clients, certifying that the clients met face to face, although "lending and borrowing parties did not necessarily—perhaps not normally—meet."[96] As notaries and clients created extensive textual fictions of agency, how much across the Atlantic world was shared custom? When and how might it change? How far did it diverge from by-the-book prescription, and how are we to interpret the differences?[97]

My point is not to vitiate notarial archives as sources. The point is to historicize them—the conditions in which they were made, and the people who produced them—for critical acuity about the kind of truth they offer. This can to some extent be done as one reads the notarial record itself. The reading I have been carrying out is one that looks for revealing gaps and contradictions, which tell us a great deal about what the notaries' molds were made to contain and the pressures they were built to withstand.[98] Of course we do not rely on notarial records alone, and I would guess that many historians gain a critical sense of the notarial archive's peculiarities the way I did, by coming across sources that seemed to contradict what a notary had affirmed was true. Take, for example, the donation that *curaca* Don Francisco Mayontopa made in the late 1550s to the nuns of Santa Clara in Cuzco of some forty-eight hectares of his community's best land: according to its terms, Mayontopa donated the land "of his free and spontaneous will." Once convent records turned up, however, I read that Mayontopa's notarized move followed a long legal wrangle he had had with the convent and was probably anything but a cheerful, voluntary act.[99]

Historicizing the archive is thus a necessary step in understanding *voluntad* (will) and agency.[100] Consider the case of Andean nobleman Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa

[96] Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 37. Hardwick's fascinating discussion of notarial credit brokerage and its textual fictions of agency certainly rings true for the Andes. The practices she describes may well have been part of notarial "custom" on both sides of the Atlantic during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and beyond. If so, her conclusion about the notaries of Nantes—that their activities involved them in many potential conflicts of interest and compromised "the objectivity that their public office was supposed to embody" (41)—has much broader implications.

[97] The signing of a blank page, for example, can be interpreted in radically different ways: did it constitute an expression of the signer's great trust in the notary, or an expression of his or her extreme subjection to another party (perhaps with the notary's knowledge, perhaps not)?

[98] The inspirations for this approach are many, as I hope will be clear from these footnotes. I am especially grateful to Natalie Zemon Davis for *Fiction in the Archives*, to Carolyn Dean for her insights into notarial doodles and Cuzco power relations, and to Dennis Tedlock for suggesting we question "the epistemological assumption that truth can be separated from the methods used to obtain it." See Tedlock, "Torture in the Archives: Mayans Meet Europeans," *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 1 (1993): 139. I have also been influenced by the work of the Subaltern Studies collective and its inspirations, from Karl Marx to Antonio Gramsci to Michel Foucault; likewise those interested in "archive fever," from Jacques Derrida to Carolyn Steedman.

[99] I began to unravel the story by pursuing a lead in Luis Miguel Glave and María Isabel Remy, *Estructura agraria y vida rural en una región andina: Ollantaytambo entre los siglos XVI y XIX* (Cusco, 1983), 81; for the details, see Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 48–61.

[100] On this point, see the questions and comments of Cornelia Hughes Dayton in a recent *AHR* forum, "Rethinking Agency, Recovering Voices," *AHR* 109, no. 3 (June 2004): 830–35; the thoughtful questions posed by a piece Dayton cites, Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–25; and Eric Van Young's stimulating comments on the place of culture and

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with which I began. The 1685 contract he signed for the sale of Chamancalla could be taken as evidence of his express will, and indicative of Andean nobles' "agency." But what of Benavente's 1714 deathbed declaration, which seems to indicate that Don Cristóbal was made to act against his will in 1685 and sign a blank page to acknowledge receipt of money he did not receive? It, too, has to be interpreted in historical context—specifically, that of relationships between Cuzco's indigenous and creole elites circa 1700, and that of notarial custom in that place and time. We still know precious little about the first of these. But using what we know about accepted notarial practice in the region, two very different interpretive possibilities emerge. Don Cristóbal might indeed have been forced to act against his will by a bullying creole clan. Alternatively, he might have been on cozy enough terms with the Jara de la Cerdas to strike a confidential, intra-elite deal with them (albeit one that later fell through, causing his relative Don Lorenzo Carlos to bring suit). To historicize the archive thus opens up intriguing possibilities for interpretation.[101]

A crucial first step in historicizing notarized sources is to recognize the agonistic principle and the templates according to which they were made.[102] The manuals that guided notarial practice are fascinating sources themselves. Many contain not only formulae, but the author's pithy opinions about the ills of his day. Bartolomé de Albornoz, for example, is obsessed in his 1573 manual with illicit contractual "mixtures" (*commixtiones particulares*), a preoccupation that dovetails precisely with the concern about "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*) that was reaching new heights in colonial America as Spanish settlers battled their monarch over the inheritance of *encomiendas*.[103] Until recently, notrial manuals were available only in rare book collections, but that is rapidly changing. The publication in Spain of Thomas de Mercado's *Summa de tratos y contratos* puts into wider circulation one of the most influential such manuals, aimed by its Dominican author (a veteran of the Indies) at steering merchants' transactions into papally approved channels. And the recent Mexican facsimile edition of Nicolás de Yrolo's work makes available a

"romanticized notions of agency" in "The New Cultural History Comes to Old Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 243–45.

[101] Likewise, exclamations (registered mainly by women in colonial Peru) can be read in very different ways, raising important questions about women's activities, allegiances, and exercise of will. These records explicitly point to their signers' extreme subjection to the will of other, more powerful parties. Doña Mariana García del Corral's 1684 exclamation provides an unusually detailed example. But to take a cue from Bakewell, *Silver and Entrepreneurship*, 195–96 n. 99, we should be open to the possibility that some exclamations were "device[s] to safeguard family possessions," perhaps entered into by women in complicity with trusted notaries who knew the whole business was a ruse to shelter assets. I have long wondered whether an exclamation was ever successfully used before a judge to undo a contractual obligation (something I have yet to see in archival records).

[102] Castilian form language such as that found in the preambles of wills may appear to be, in Lockhart's apt phrase, "a frozen zone of orthodox expression" (*Of Things of the Indies*, 271), but to filter it out entirely is to miss additional interpretive possibilities. Why did it vary somewhat from one record to another, and change over time (as manuscripts and manuals indicate)? What gaps might have existed between written words, spoken words, and actions? Did parties actually perform some of the steps described in their contracts' scripts, counting out coins, walking the boundaries of freshly exchanged land while breaking sticks and moving clods of earth about, and so forth?

[103] Mixture, according to Albornoz, was what gave rise to proscribed contracts and all manner of fraud (*Arte de los contractos*, 1). The contractual mixture that most exercised him was the *censo al quitar*, a credit instrument that was still new in his day and considered usurious by Albornoz (107v-117r). For more on this instrument's use in colonial Cuzco, see Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 64–67, 160–67.

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more all-purpose manual for notaries. Having this important notarial literature at hand means being able to see where American notaries and their clients innovated, stretched, and cracked the bounds of the "proper."

From there, of course, we can go much further: toward the histories of the relationships in which notaries were enmeshed, and the complex, specific interests that swirled around them.[104] Using the records left by the notaries public of Cuzco, Peru, I have suggested that notaries' activities and records might be far from neutral, and far from complete. It is to be hoped that historians will locate more records by the indigenous notaries of the Andes, as James Lockhart and others have managed to piece together an extensive record by indigenous Mexican notaries. Likewise, it is to be hoped that Mesoamerican archives will be read in terms of notaries' status and local relationships, with attention to documents' materiality and their uses in and beyond indigenous communities.[105] Mesoamerican archives have much richer holdings than Andean ones for getting at the details of native notaries' go-between status, so important future work seems to lie this way.[106]

I would like to conclude with some additional methodological points—first, concerning the extent to which notarial records obscure historians' access to people's "voices" and narrative structures. Some extrajudicial transactions involved much more mediation than others, and just about any notarial volume contains a range from tightly scripted to more loosely scripted kinds. Powers of attorney are a good example of the former: generally brief, they contain few particulars other than the names of people involved. At the opposite end of the spectrum we might place declarations like Benavente's and petitions like *rebajas*, requests for a break in payment terms on one's contractual obligations. Here the notary seems to have stepped aside and let the petitioner formulate pleas for relief in the terms she or he thought most effective. The results recall the sixteenth-century French pardon tales Natalie Zemon Davis has analyzed. The petitioners' terms come forward, their structure of meaning taking precedence over that of the notary. Take one wealthy Cuzco widow's 1714 request for a grace period: it describes the floods that ruined her hacienda's irrigation system, then indicates "I have rebuilt it completely"—representing what must have been a crew of indigenous workers' labor as her own.[107] Whatever the extent of mediation, though (and first person rather than third person is not a reliable gauge of it), every document obeyed a template and was co-produced through scribal mediation. Yet the very discipline of this format

[104] For an eighteenth-century analysis of one scribal dynasty, that of the Gamarras of Cuzco, see Burns and Najarro, "Parentesco, escritura y poder."

[105] As Eric Van Young has recently noted of the important work by Lockhart and his students on Mesoamerican notarial records, "the axis is philology rather than power. There is an inclination, in fact, to feel that the work is done when the philology is done." Van Young, "The New Cultural History," 234. Can assymetries of power be traced in colonial indigenous-language records, as they can in Spanish-language records?

[106] Karen Spalding depicts Andean ethnic lords (known as caciques or *curacas*) as a powerful double-edged sword in *Huarochirí*, 210, and Guaman Poma likewise saw *curacas* as capable of doing great harm to their people as well as great good. Inga Clendinnen's portrayal of Maya sacristans in *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (New York, 1987) is similar. It seems important to ask whether a native notary—also "standardly a noble," according to Lockhart (*Of Things of the Indies*, 106)—was not likewise a kind of double-edged sword.

[107] Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*. The petition of Doña Bárbara Antonia de Carrión y Mogrovejo is in ARC/PN, Francisco de Unzueta (1713–1714), fol. 418v., April 12, 1714.

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fomented counter-writing.[108] Agreements had no room for disagreement, but notaries' archives did. Thus documents like Don Cristóbal Paullo Topa's 1685 land sale might have scattered, documented consequences, like Benavente's 1714 declaration. Let the reader be aware: individual documents may bear no marks that they were later revised or otherwise revisited, but they may be far from the last word.[109]

Second, it is important to read beyond the words: to attend carefully to their spacial arrangement. Reading margins is crucial; there even the most seemingly airtight deals could be undone. Endpapers of the notebooks (*cuadernos* or *registros*) bound inside an annual volume also convey a great deal—often with revealing irreverence.[110] (See Figure 2.) And the arrangement of these notebooks matters as well, for it discloses criteria of difference and hierarchy used to order the documents. Notaries were supposed to charge their clients different rates, giving Indians the biggest break, and perhaps for this reason Cuzco notaries tended by mid-seventeenth century to segregate Indian records at the back in notebooks marked as "Indian registers," *registros de indios*. *Curacas* and indigenous communities were supposed to get half price. The contractual parties with indigenous surnames who appear earlier in the record (i.e., not segregated at the end of an annual volume) appear in many cases to have been more hispanized or *ladino*.[111]

Finally, it is important to consider what the parties commissioning the documents were after—what they probably wanted and thought they were getting. These valuable documents overwhelmingly recorded people's "business" in a broad sense, as opposed to "justice," "governance" (although information about these and many other things comes out along the way). They bothered to have their business recorded so that they could adduce the relevant documentation to enforce and defend their interests at a later date. Looking at notarial registers is the closest we can come to standing in a colonial Peruvian *plaza de armas* and watching as people went about their routines of selling, buying, collecting rent, shipping freight to Potosí, and so forth. But notarial records are also about people's family and religious life, inextricably interwoven with "business"—their marriages, their religious professions, their wills, and the goods that served as tokens of their ties of

[108] And more, as Carolyn Dean details in "Beyond the Notarial Template," including drawings and other marks that burlesqued and contested the templated page's contents.

[109] Saldaña's 1685 record of the sale of Chamancalla has some marks in a different color of ink that signal a later, careful going-over: underlining and asterisks highlight certain passages (including the textual indication that Don Cristóbal was paid). Often, though, documents' consequences are not marked on them in any way. For example, the note over which the priest Cristóbal de Vargas Carvajal was sued at great length carries no indication that it later proved controversial: ARC/PN, Luis Diez de Morales, protocolo 78 (1633), fols. 1379–80v., *obligación* dated July 20, 1633. Even wills might not be last words. They might be revised in codicils or rewritten altogether; some people were moved to leave several. Giovanna Benadusi notes in her study of seventeenth-century Tuscany, "Investing the Riches of the Poor: Servant Women and Their Last Wills," *AHR* 109, no. 3 (June 2004): 805–26, that "provincial women from all social classes drafted at least one will and often two or more during their lifetime" (806).

[110] On these matters, see Dean, "Beyond the Notarial Template."

[111] Further, see the descriptions notaries appended to parties' names: curious phrases like "mestiza (or mestizo) dressed like an Indian" (*mestiza/o en hábitos de india*). Such annotations raise complex questions about self-presentation and notaries' perceptions of difference; see Karen Graubart, "Hybrid Thinking: Bringing Postcolonial Theory to Colonial Latin American Economic History," in *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*, Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin and S. Charusheela, eds. (New York, 2004).

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FIGURE 2: Assistants to Cuzco notary Ambrocio Arias de Lira used the endpapers of notarial registers to lampoon the man who oversaw their labors, *official mayor* Antonio de Porroa y Sánchez. In this doodle, ARC/PN, Ambrocio Arias de Lira, protocolo 41 (1784–85), "Porroitas" is derided as a pretentious dandy in an old frock coat and a "viejecito maldito orejudo"—a big-eared, wicked little old man. Reproduction with kind permission of the Archivo Regional del Cusco.

friendship, kinship, and blood. The notarial archives are extraordinarily rich, and often moving, because they suggest how people meshed parts of their lives we now separate, like business and worship. The challenge is to take what may look like a hodgepodge and imagine its internal logic, its connections, its screaming silences and exclusions—and then try to imagine the colonial habitus in which these people, activities, silences, and exclusions sorted together "naturally."[112] The challenge, in other words, is to see what Philip II lamented but was powerless to prevent across

[112] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (New York, 1977), 78–87.

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Spanish America: the luxuriant growth of a notarial garden of forking paths, full of lush "variance in the facts of the truth."[113]

[113] "[V]ariedad en el hecho de la verdad," *Recopilación de Indias*, 2: 144; Jorge Luis Borges, "The Garden of Forking Paths," in *Ficciones* (New York, 1962).

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Indolence and Regeneration: Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism

SILVANA PATRIARCA

IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY, the historiography of the Italian Risorgimento, operating within a conventional understanding of political thought, has usually emphasized the differences between the more conservative liberals or "moderates," who until 1848 favored a confederation of states under the leadership of one of the established rulers, and the democrats, who favored instead the creation of a unitary or federal state under a republican constitution.[1] The focus on the political currents of the Risorgimento has overshadowed, as a recent study has pointed out,[2] the fact that patriots of different stripes shared common sentiments and cultural conceptions about that obscure object of desire, the nation, starting with the common use

I would like to express my gratitude to the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University for awarding me the fellowship that made this study possible. Several people provided much valued feedback at various stages. I would like to thank John A. Davis, the Comparative Europe Seminar in New York City (particularly Jeffrey Freedman, Myriam Maayan, Dennis McEnnerney, Bryant T. Ragan, George Robb, Susan Rogers, Randolph Trumbach), and the Faculty Seminar of the History Department at Fordham University (particularly Richard Gyug, David Myers, Daniel L. Smail, Kirsten Swinth, Rosemary Wakeman) for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. Thanks also to the audience of the History Program Speaker Series of the CUNY Graduate Center where part of this work was presented. I am greatly indebted to the editors and the anonymous reviewers of the *AHR* for their very pointed criticisms and suggestions that helped me to improve the essay, to Maura O'Connor for her insightful comments on a later version of the essay, and to William V. Harris, who did his best to discipline my Italian inclination to write long sentences. The usual disclaimer holds.

[1] For a comprehensive account of Risorgimento political currents in this mode, see Giorgio Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, Vol. 2, *Dalla Restaurazione alla rivoluzione nazionale* (Milan, 1958). There is a wealth of research on the individual political currents (see, for example, the studies on the moderates by Sergio La Salvia and Umberto Carpi and the studies on the democrats by Franco Della Peruta). Denis Mack Smith has also strongly emphasized conflict: see his *Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860: A Study in Political Conflict* (Cambridge, 1954). For a recent overview informed by wider concerns, see Adrian Lyttelton, "The National Question in Italy," in *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, Mikulás Teich and Roy Porter, eds. (New York, 1993), 63–105. The influence of Gramscian preoccupations and categories on postwar historiography (such as the issue of the moderates' hegemony) is partly responsible for this emphasis. Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* which contained his reflections on the Risorgimento were published in 1948–1951. An English version of some of his writings on the Risorgimento is in Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York, 1971), 52–120. For a critical review of the historiography on the Risorgimento, particularly in the post-1945 period, see Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification* (New York, 1994).

[2] Alberto M. Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento: Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin, 2000), 53. Banti's innovative study has shown the presence of similar cultural symbols and an ethnic conception of the nation across the political divide, but the author has focused his analysis exclusively on *Italian* texts without considering the significant role played also by other Europeans in the construction of Italy.

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of the very words "Risorgimento" and "regeneration"[3] to indicate the enterprise in which they were involved and their common aspiration. It has also overshadowed, I will add, the fact that supporters (and critics) of the Italian nation extended beyond national boundaries.[4] Indeed, in the early nineteenth century, individuals with different ideological convictions and different national origins participated intensely in a discourse on Italy and on the "national character" of the Italians. Largely shaped by Enlightenment preoccupations, the discourse of national character was everywhere a discourse of "virtues" and "vices,"[5] but it characterized Italian patriotism in its own distinctive, although not unique, fashion. This Italian discourse of national character, a formation endowed with remarkable endurance, deserves more attention than it has received so far[6] if we want to understand better Italian patriotism and nationalism, especially today when, due to the vast domestic and international political changes of the past fifteen years, they are back in fashion.[7]

In the following pages, I take on the task of examining some important but neglected characteristics of this discourse during the central years of the Risorgimento (c. 1815–1861). About three decades ago, literary historian Giulio Bollati in a justly famous and often reprinted essay pointed out that an enduring feature of Italian history was "the simultaneity of primacy and decadence, of objective

[3] "Regeneration" was the term most commonly used during the "revolutionary triennium" (1796–1799) when the influence of French republicanism was at its strongest. The two terms coexisted in the first half of the nineteenth century, but "Risorgimento" became the favorite term in the second half of the century: see Erasmo Leso, *Lingua e rivoluzione: Ricerche sul vocabolario politico italiano nel triennio rivoluzionario 1796–1799* (Venice, 1991), 153–54.

[4] For a recent innovative account of this sympathy among the British middle class, see Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York, 1998).

[5] For an analysis of the very important presence of this construct in European political thought, see Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (Cambridge, 2002).

[6] Exceptions are Giulio Bollati (who was, not by accident, a literary historian), "L'Italiano," in *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. 1, *I caratteri originali* (Turin, 1972), 949–1022, now in Bollati, *L'Italiano: Il carattere nazionale come storia e come invenzione* 2nd edn. (1983, Turin, 1996), 34–123; and Giovanni Aliberti, *La resa di Cavour: Il carattere nazionale italiano tra mito e cronaca, 1820–1976* (Florence, 2000), whose analysis, however, is not as conceptually rigorous and systematic as one would like it to be. Emilio Gentile, *La Grande Italia: Ascesa e declino del mito della nazione nel ventesimo secolo* (Milan, 1997), refers to the importance of national character, but does not analyze it in a systematic way. Ideas of national character are still very common fare in contemporary Italian journalism and popular culture: I have examined this issue in "National Identity or National Character? Old Paradigms and New Vocabularies," in *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, Albert R. Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, eds. (New York, 2001), 299–319; and in "Italian Neo-Patriotism: Debating National Identity in the 1990s," *Modern Italy* 6, no. 1 (2001): 21–34. For both political and scholarly reasons Italian research on Italian nationalism and national identity was very limited in the post-1945 period. It resumed vigorously in the 1990s, but with few exceptions (notably Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*; and Alberto M. Banti and Roberto Bizzocchi, eds., *Immagini della nazione nell'Italia del Risorgimento* [Rome, 2002]) it has been concerned primarily with the period after unification and with issues of nation building and memory: see, for example, Simonetta Soldani and Gabriele Turi, eds., *Fare gli italiani: Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna, 1993); Giovanni Spadolini, ed., *Nazione e nazionalità in Italia: Dall'alba del secolo ai giorni nostri* (Rome, 1994); Mario Isnenghi, ed., *I luoghi della memoria*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1996–1997).

[7] I have examined some features of this return in "Italian Neo-Patriotism." Throughout this essay, when I refer to Risorgimento nationalism I will be generally using the term patriotism in order to be faithful to the vocabulary of the period and not because of an intrinsic difference between patriotism and nationalism. Some have argued that patriotism as conditional "love of country" historically preceded nationalism, which claims unconditional identification with the national entity. See, for example, Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1995).

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inferiority overcompensated by an invincible sense of superiority." The exaggerated claims of cultural superiority that nineteenth-century Italian intellectuals, imbued with a strong classical culture, made in a situation of "objective inferiority" would have generated a "pathological form of consciousness," which had not yet completely disappeared from Italian history. Bollati pointed out the pattern of continuous confrontation between the "pitiless perseverance of foreigners in considering Italy as a country of ruins and memories and the incessant confutations that responded to it."[8] Working within a linear and Marxist view of historical development and convinced that the "Italian character" was mainly an elite invention obeying certain ideological and political interests, Bollati concentrated his analysis on these ideological aspects and abandoned his other suggestive intuition on the discursive dynamics that stood behind the formation of an Italian "consciousness."[9]

Without adopting the problematic categories of consciousness and pathology, it is worth pursuing further Bollati's intuition about the dynamics that historically have generated Italians' self-representations and particularly about the role that the "mirrors" offered by foreign observers had in the constitution of Italian patriotic discourse. As I will try to show, a set of highly symptomatic (although in no way exclusively Italian) metaphors informed the discourse of Risorgimento patriotism. While eager to proclaim the cultural uniqueness and even superiority of their nation in order to claim their historical right to statehood, Italian patriots had to account for the present state of decline of Italy (which in the mid-1820s Alphonse de Lamartine described as a land where "everything is asleep"), not to mention the rather limited enthusiasm that the inhabitants of the peninsula exhibited toward the national cause. Hence, the often hyperbolic praise of Italian civilization was rarely disjoined from a denunciation of the many "vices" that needed to be eradicated among the actual Italians in order for Italy to reacquire its legitimate place in Europe. The lofty Italy of the patriotic imaginary sharply contrasted with the sobering reality of its "degenerate" people.

The way this people was described depended only in part on the existence of attitudes and ways of life that conflicted with the ideals of the patriots. Even more important was the patriots' partial acceptance or internalization[10] of certain stereotypes of Italy's inhabitants that had been circulating in Europe at least since the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Italy was constituted as a nation in a Europe-wide dialogue between unequal partners,[11] if not in a kind of metaphorical "contact zone."[12] By this I do not mean to imply that

[8] Bollati, *L'Italiano* (1996), 41.

[9] I have offered a more detailed analysis of Bollati's views in my essay "National Identity or National Character?"

[10] I am borrowing Sander L. Gilman's term: see his *Jewish Self-Hatred: Antisemitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, 1986). I am not, of course, assuming an equivalence between the two cases but only using the term for heuristic purposes. On the internalization of stereotypes, see also Seamus Deane's introduction to Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Edward W. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis, 1990), 3–19.

[11] Nelson Moe has helped me think about this transnational dynamic in the cultural creation of Italy: see Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), chap. 1.

[12] The expression comes from Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, 1992), 6, who uses it to refer to the "space of colonial encounter" or "colonial frontier."

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Italy was a colonial space, but only to point out that Italian patriots intensely felt the burden of outsiders' representations and often spoke within parameters that were not of their own making.[13] They actively engaged these representations and yet at the same time they participated in their reproduction. From this conversation came in part the construction of southern Italy as the internal Other, which, as recent studies have shown, the "modern" Italy of the patriotic imaginary could not contain and recognize fully as its own.[14] But another major outcome of this unequal dialogue was a process of "self-Othering," an absorption and redeployment of negative stereotypes relating to the Italian people as a whole (especially the indolent southerner stereotype) and coexisting with the patriotic denunciation of the foreigners' misrepresentations of Italy. It is this outcome and its lasting consequences that will be the object of my analysis in the following pages, part of a larger attempt to recast the study of Italian patriotism and nationalism as discursive formation.[15]

New approaches to the analysis of representations[16] and to the study of modern nationalism[17] offer important tools for this analytical enterprise and make the recasting of the study of Italian nationalism decidedly overdue. This recasting

[13] It should be clear that I am not constructing a Saidian argument here even though my terminology and my attention to representations have been inspired by Edward Said's fundamental contribution to the study of the representation of the Other. No Italians and arguably no other European peoples were subjected to the type of colonialism that Westerners reserved to peoples overseas, nor did the discourses on them have such an immediate political relevance as those of Orientalists. Some would argue that certain European peoples were "ideologically colonized" (see, for example, Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford, Calif., 1996). Jane Schneider has pointed to Italy's weak player position in nineteenth-century Europe as providing the basis for the establishment of a kind of "neo-orientalist" discourse on the peninsula that has persisted to this day. See "Introduction: The Dynamics of Neo-Orientalism in Italy (1848–1995)," in *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country*, Jane Schneider, ed. (New York, 1998), 1–23. In this essay, I avoid broad generalizations that may run the risk of generating a new binary and focus my analysis on the complex uses that "insiders" make of images that have often an "outside" origin. Michael Herzfeld has explored this dynamic extensively in the case of Greece: see especially his *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (New York, 1997); and "Performing Comparisons: Ethnography, Globetrotting, and the Spaces of Social Knowledge," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57, no. 3 (2001): 259–76.

[14] For this conceptualization, see in particular John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860–1900* (New York, 1999); and Moe, *View from Vesuvius*. See also Marta Petrusewicz, *Come il Meridione divenne una questione: Rappresentazioni del Sud prima e dopo il Quarantotto* (Soveria Mannelli, 1998).

[15] This essay is based on the first chapter of a book that I am currently writing on the discourse of Italian character tentatively titled *Italian Vices: The Discourse of National Character from the Risorgimento to the Present, c. 1815–2000*.

[16] The work of Roger Chartier (see especially *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* [Oxford, 1988]) has provided some important guidelines for my understanding of representations as an integral part of the social fabric, along with the work of feminist scholars such as Mary Poovey, who sees representations as vehicles of ideology but also sites of contestation (*Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* [Chicago, 1988]); and Joan W. Scott, who maintains, after Michel Foucault, the constitutive power of discourse (*Gender and the Politics of History* [New York, 1988]). With regard to this conception, however, see the judicious remarks by Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (1994), 368–404.

[17] The literature on nationalism has grown vastly in the last twenty years. Probably the most influential book in renovating the study of nationalism in a cultural direction has been Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; London, 1991). For a useful collection of essays that includes both theoretical analyses and empirical studies, see Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds. *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), in particular the essay by Prasenjit Duara that contests the modernist assumptions of Anderson ("Historicizing

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requires shifting the focus from the exclusive analysis of themes and ideas, to which the subject of nationalist ideology has been confined so far in conventional histories of political thought and thinkers, to an analysis of dominant tropes and narratives in the patriotic discursive formation, and in particular to the way in which the discourse of national character *figured* the current state of Italy and the Italians. Today the importance of figuration in the analysis of discursive formations does not seem in need of a novel defense. Many historians would agree with students of linguistics and rhetoric that metaphors do not simply embellish our language, but structure our thought and have crucial conceptual functions.[18] By stressing the importance of language, I am not implying that actors and speakers are mere tools of a language that speaks through them, or, to use a different metaphor, helpless fishes in a dangerous sea of discourse. As the essay should make clear, I believe that concrete historical individuals perform rather complex operations with the language/s available to them, while at the same time their thinking is limited by the dominant metaphors and vocabularies.[19]

Recasting the study of Risorgimento discourse requires also an explicit engagement with the issue of gender, a subject to which recent studies of nationalism have devoted considerable attention in other national cases, but whose analysis in the case of Italy awaits a much fuller treatment.[20] The foreigners' representations of

National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When," 151–77). I will refer to studies of nationalism in single countries in some of the notes below.

[18] The best and most approachable text (by linguists) that makes the case for this role of metaphors is George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980). Since the onset of what is called the "linguistic turn," historians have been paying more attention to the role of narratives and tropes in discourse: the pioneer in this field has been of course Hayden White. See especially his *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978). One, however, does not have to follow White all the way (especially in his troubling relativistic conclusions, which I do not subscribe to) to recognize the importance of rhetoric in patterns of thought. For a discussion of the linguistic turn, see the relatively old, but still useful essay by John Toews, "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience," *AHR* 92, no. 4 (1987): 879–97; for a more recent introduction, see Susan A. Crane, "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought," in *Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, eds. (London, 2002), 319–36.

[19] By language here I have in mind both the general meaning of the term (system of signs) and the more specific notion of language as elaborated by J. G. A. Pocock in his studies of political thought: see in particular Pocock, "Introduction: The State of the Art," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 1–34. I have, however, some reservations about the excessive insistence on the recovery of authorial intention and the radical contextualism of this approach.

[20] Feminist historians of Italy have called attention to the issue of gender for some time, but they focused at first mainly on the political exclusion of women in post-unification Italy (see, for example, Judith Jeffrey Howard, "Patriot Mothers in the Post-Risorgimento: Women after the Italian Revolution," in *Women, War, and Revolution*, Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, eds. [New York, 1980], 237–58) and more recently on women's participation in the Risorgimento: see Christiane Veauvy and Laura Pisano, *Paroles oubliées: Les femmes et la construction de l'Etat-nation en France et en Italie (1789–1860)* (Paris, 1997); Simonetta Soldani, "Donne e nazione nella rivoluzione italiana del 1848," *Passato e presente* 17 (1999): 75–102; and the first issue of *Genesis: Rivista della Società italiana delle storiche* 1 (2002) devoted to this topic. Banti applies a gender perspective to the analysis of narratives and symbols (see *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 83–102), as do Lucy Riall with the figure of Garibaldi ("Storie d'amore, di libertà e d'avventura: La costruzione del mito garibaldino intorno al 1848–49," in Banti and Bizzocchi, *Immagini della nazione*, 157–74) and Steven C. Hughes with the theme of dueling ("Deadly Play: Napoleon, Dueling and the Rearmament of Honor in Italy," *Rivista Napoleonica, Revue Napoléonienne, Napoleonic Review: RNR* 2 [2001]: 27–58). For relevant studies on other countries, see in particular the issue of *Feminist Review* devoted to "Gender, Nationalisms, and National Identities,"

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Italy that Italian patriots engaged were profoundly gendered and so were their responses. Indeed, the European discourse of national character was replete with gendered metaphors.[21] Thus, as we will see, to the historical "degeneration" of the Italians conceived as a process of almost literal feminization, patriots opposed a national "regeneration" conceived as a process of almost literal re-virilization of the people. The presence and legacies of these images should prompt us to reconsider the linkages that Risorgimento patriotism has with subsequent inflections of nationalism in the peninsula.

Italy was certainly not a unique case in Europe. Recent studies on the representations of the "margins" of Europe, from Ireland to the Balkans, have pointed out the process of Othering that these lands went through since the eighteenth century in connection with Europe's attempts to define its identity and the rise of nationalism.[22] Greece offers the best case for comparison with Italy as it too emerged as "cultural construct" before its political constitution, was "burdened" by its classical past, and exhibited traits that were at the same time familiar and exotic to other Europeans.[23] Perhaps even more than the Italians, the Greeks too were seen as "degenerate descendants" of vastly more illustrious ancestors.[24] The spokespersons for the Greek nation claimed not just any great past but the foundational grounds of European civilization, and conceived of their patriotic endeavors as regeneration and particularly as reassertion of their "European" identity.[25] Finally, both Italian and Greek patriots enjoyed international support, although the movement for Greek independence had a more accentuated transnational character as Philhellenism provided not only intellectual but also concrete institutional backing as well as interference.[26]

no. 44 (1993); and Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and the Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2000). References to other studies can be found in several of the notes below.

[21] This is ignored, however, by Romani, *National Character*, and by the scholarship on Italian national character mentioned in note 6. For a work that takes gender into consideration, see David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), chap. 5.

[22] On representations of Ireland, see C. L. Innes, "Virgin Territories and Motherlands: Colonial and Nationalist Representations of Africa and Ireland," *Feminist Review*, no. 47 (1994): 1–14; Roberto Romani, "British Views on Irish National Character, 1800–1846: An Intellectual History," *History of European Ideas* 23 (1997): 193–219. On Eastern Europe and the Balkans, see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997); Dušan J. Bjelić and Obied Savić, eds., *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002). For a lucid review of the literature on the Balkans, which has relevant implications also for thinking about other cases, see K. E. Fleming, "*Orientalism*, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography," *AHR* 105, no. 4 (2000): 1218–33.

[23] On the "purification" of the Greek classical heritage to fit the European image of Greece, see Effie F. Athanassopoulou, "An 'Ancient' Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20, no. 2 (2002): 273–305.

[24] On the images of the Greeks around the time of the war of independence, see Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival: British Travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth-Century Greece* (New York, 1990); Thomas Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002), chap. 2. The greater "degeneration" of the Greeks was conceived as deriving from the long-term contact with the Turkish rulers and thus from an "oriental contamination."

[25] See Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis, 1991), and Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*.

[26] On Philhellenism, see C. M. Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes* (1969; Rutherford, N.J., 1971).

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Surprisingly, the comparison between Italy and Greece is not common in historiographical discourse:[27] Italy is more often compared with northwestern Europe rather than to other Mediterranean countries—except when the question being studied is political corruption, which is often still seen as an almost exclusively "southern" pathology. This essay, however, will not undertake the task of comparing Italy and Greece on the subject of nation making, even though it recognizes the comparison as inspirational. Its main interest is to rethink Italian nationalism by taking into consideration the specific location of Italy in the imaginary map of nineteenth-century Italian patriots in their conversation with their northern European critics and supporters. It aims to make the Italian case relevant to both specialists of Italian history and nonspecialists by showing the need to go beyond the frontiers of the nation when studying nationalist discursive formations, particularly among the peoples that occupy, at any particular historical time, a rather "peripheral" or "semi-peripheral" position.[28] If all national identities are relational,[29] each one is relational in its own fashion.

NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES OF THE ITALIANS have been widely circulating in Europe at least since the late Middle Ages.[30] While in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they often translated the enmity between Protestants and Catholics, in subsequent times they reflected also the diffusion of environmentalist ideas of human behavior and political institutions. In these representations, Italy and the Italians fared poorly in comparison to northern countries: a character morally corrupted by Catholic superstition and Jesuitism was aggravated by the laziness and effeminacy "typical" of peoples living in a southern climate. The vast literature of the Grand Tour also contributed to the consolidation of its own set of unflattering images of the Italians: notwithstanding the pleasures that travelers often found in some of these very characteristics, they often described the inhabitants of the peninsula as indolent, morally and sexually lax, and easy to resort to fights and arms.[31]

[27] There are, however, some works that examine the relationships between the Italian and the Greek national movements: see, for example, Antonis Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana e la Grande Idea: Ideologia e azione dei movimenti nazionali in Italia e in Grecia, 1859–1871* (Florence, 1995).

[28] These terms are connected in particular to the work of Immanuel Wallerstein. For their application to Southern Europe, see his "The Relevance of the Concept of Semiperiphery to Southern Europe," in *Semiperipheral Developments: The Politics of Southern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, Giovanni Arrighi, ed. (Beverly Hills, 1985), 31–39.

[29] On the relational nature of identity, see especially the essays collected in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1996). For the importance of the relation to an "Other" in the constitution of national identity, see Ulf Hedetoft, *Signs of Nations: Studies in the Political Semiotics of Self and Other in Contemporary European Nationalism* (Aldershot, 1995), chaps. 2 and 3. Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), makes a strong case for the relational construction of British identity in the eighteenth century during the confrontation with the French.

[30] For early examples of negative representations of Italians, see John Peter Colella, "Anti-Italian Attitudes in Medieval and Renaissance England" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1989); and Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto, 2003). I do not intend to imply that all negative representations were stereotypes, nor that stereotypes were all negative. For a useful analysis of the notion of stereotype especially in terms of its relation to the concept of the Other, see Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (New York, 2001).

[31] For a comprehensive account of European views of Italy and the Italians in a variety of writings—including diplomatic dispatches, travel literature, and historical accounts—from the end of

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Romanticism then added yet another layer to this complex edifice by insisting on the passionate nature of the Italian people.[32]

Although the parameters of the discourse of Italian character may have been first set by foreigners (Cesare de Seta claims that it was in the "mirror of the Grand Tour" that Italians acquired a consciousness of themselves),[33] Italians very soon eagerly joined in. It was in particular intellectuals imbued with Enlightenment ideas and frustrated by the conservatism of Italian rulers who developed very critical accounts of the Italian people: in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, for example, Giuseppe Palmieri complained in the 1780s about "the 'inertia,' the 'deadly torpor,' the atmosphere of 'negligence' and 'indolence' which hung over the whole country."[34] Palmieri was speaking here of the southern kingdom, but around the same time, in more northern lands, Carlantonio Pilati, while denouncing the Catholic clergy as the main cause of the ruin of Italy, pointed his finger also to the southern climate that made people "lazy, timid, full of vices, and inclined to superstition."[35] These views did not preclude, however, a strong belief in the changeability of things, and they coexisted with the more "solar" side of the Italian stereotype[36]: for example, in the *Nuova descrizione storica e geografica dell'Italia* (*New Historical and Geographic Description of Italy*, 1782) by another Neapolitan reformer, Giuseppe Maria Galanti, Italians were described as a mild and artistic people, who loved music and enjoyed life.[37] Moreover, in the same period, some men of letters, often committed Catholics but not only, began rediscovering the cultural "primacy" of Italy: Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico was the most famous of these, followed by the great Mantuan erudite Antonio Muratori. While

the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, see Franco Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," in *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. 3, *Dal primo Settecento all'Unità* (Turin, 1973), 985–1481. For a more specific focus on travelogues, see Carlo Bernari *et al*, *L'Italia dei grandi viaggiatori*, Franco Paloscia, ed. (Rome, 1986); and Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), which focuses on the private correspondence of British grand tourists. For an analysis of specific stereotypes, see Andrew Canepa, "From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Literature," *English Miscellany* 22 (1971): 107–46; and Joseph Luzzi, "Italy without Italians: Literary Origins of a Romantic Myth," *MLN* 117 no. 1 (2002): 48–83. I refer to other relevant works throughout my notes.

[32] On English romantic views of the Italians, see the old study of C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), chap. 1. For a more recent and much more sophisticated treatment see O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, esp. chap. 2, which also analyzes some French views.

[33] Cesare de Seta, "L'Italia nello specchio del 'Grand Tour,'" in *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 5, *Il paesaggio*, de Seta, ed. (Turin, 1982), 135.

[34] Cited in Franco Venturi, "The Enlightenment in Southern Italy," in *Italy and the Enlightenment: Studies in a Cosmopolitan Century*, Stuart Woolf, ed. (London, 1972), 209.

[35] Carlantonio Pilati, *Di una riforma d'Italia ossia dei mezzi di riformare i più cattivi costumi e le più perniciose leggi d'Italia*, 2nd edn. (Villafranca, 1770), in *Illuministi italiani*, Vol. 3, *Riformatori lombardi, piemontesi, e toscani*, Franco Venturi, ed. (Milan-Naples, 1958), 587. Pilati's book was translated into French and German and had various Italian editions. According to Franco Venturi, partly due to the diffusion of Enlightenment ideas among the intelligentsia of the peninsula, the reaction against foreigners' harsh portrayal of Italian character did not translate into a chauvinist rejection: see Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 999. On Italian Enlightenment intellectuals as intransigent critics of national customs (albeit within the problematic of the "public spirit" and not of the nation), see also Massimo Rosati *Il patriottismo italiano: Culture politiche e identità nazionale* (Rome, 2000), 109.

[36] I borrow the notion of the "solar" pole of the stereotype from Bollati, "*L'Italiano*," 34.

[37] Giuseppe Maria Galanti, *Nuova descrizione storica e geografica dell'Italia*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1782), now partly in *Illuministi italiani*, Vol. 5, *Riformatori napoletani*, Franco Venturi, ed. (Milan-Naples, 1962). All translations are mine.

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Vico in *De antiquissima italorum sapientia* (*On the Very Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, 1710) emphasized the existence of an ancient pre-Roman culture in the peninsula, Muratori in various collections of medieval documents contributed to the reevaluation of the Italian civilization of the Middle Ages and to an awareness of its links with classical antiquity.

In Italy as in other parts of Europe, the cultural and cosmopolitan patriotism of the eighteenth century gave way to a national and more political type of patriotism at the time of the French occupation, when intellectuals linked to the Napoleonic regimes who called themselves patriots pitted Italy's vile present against the great past accomplishments of the Italians in the arts and sciences and argued for the patriotic duty to bring the nation up to the level reached in these better times.[38] In his *Platone in Italia* (*Plato in Italy*, 1804–1806), Vincenzo Cuoco, one of the most active of these intellectuals, articulated the idea of an Italian primacy by elaborating Vico's representation of the peninsula as the site of a very ancient and very wise civilization, older than the Greek one. In this archeological-epistolary narrative of an imaginary trip that the Greek philosopher would have taken in southern Italy in the company of his young friend Cleobolo, Cuoco explicitly invited the Italians to have a better opinion of themselves and to abandon the habit of self-denigration: "a moderate and reasonable opinion of oneself is the true principle of national energy."[39] As director of the *Giornale italiano* (*Italian Journal*, 1803–1806), he saw his task as exactly one of "regenerating" the nation, an enterprise, he observed, more difficult than that of creating it.[40]

The text that gave this older theme of primacy the most elaborate articulation and rhetorical amplification during the central years of the Risorgimento was the Piedmontese abbé Vincenzo Gioberti's *Del primato morale e civile degli italiani* (*On the Moral and Civil Primacy of Italians*), published in Brussels, where the author was in exile, in 1843. In spite of its prolix and often convoluted prose, it enjoyed a vast audience at the time and became the most read political tract of the Risorgimento in the whole peninsula.[41] Following in the steps of Vico and Cuoco, Gioberti proclaimed the superiority of Italian civilization, a superiority that had an ethnic basis (the Italians being the "most illustrious" branch of the mythic "Pelasgic" people) and was dependent on Catholicism, the "most perfect"[42] religion whose head, not by accident, resided in the peninsula. Italy's primacy stretched from action (its outstanding creativity in particular with regard to the arts, politics, and religion) to thought (from scientific to aesthetic), and Gioberti went as far as proclaiming Italy "mother nation of mankind."

[38] Stefano Nutini, " 'Rigenerare' e 'rigenerazione': Alcune linee interpretative," in *Idee e parole nel giacobinismo italiano*, Eluggero Pii, ed. (Florence, 1990), 49–63. See also Leso, *Lingua e rivoluzione*.

[39] Vincenzo Cuoco, *Platone in Italia*, Fausto Nicolini, ed. (1804–1806; Bari, 1928), 259.

[40] *Giornale italiano*, no. 164 (1805), review of *Le vite de' famosi capitani d'Italia*.

[41] In his preface to Vincenzo Gioberti, *Del primato morale e civile degli italiani* (Milan, 1938), ix, Ugo Redanò claims that "it reached" 80,000 copies, but does not specify the exact time period. S. J. Woolf points to the many reprints that followed the first edition (Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London, 1979), 343.

[42] Vincenzo Gioberti, *Del primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, Giuseppe Balsamo-Crivelli, ed., 3 vols. (Turin, 1920), 2: 147. This edition is based on the second revised edition published in 1844 (the original edition was published in Brussels by Meline in 1843). I will be citing from the 1920 edition. No recent critical edition is available.

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A former Mazzinian who had an extensive knowledge of both classical and contemporary authors, from Cicero to Machiavelli, from Rousseau to Madame de Staël, from Malthus to Sismondi, and spent the 1830s and 1840s in exile in Paris and Brussels, the abbé knew how to deploy his eloquence to maximum effect.[43] His emphasis on the greatness of Italian civilization and its universal values was supposed to dignify the Italians and help them recover from the state of abjection in which they lay. The lavish praise that for hundreds of pages Gioberti poured on Italian civilization is certainly the most striking feature of the text (and certainly the most foreign to a contemporary ear), and historians and critics have focused primarily on this feature.[44] Other features of the text have received little or no attention, such as the author's conclusion of his long-winded eulogy with a section entitled "Invective against Italian *Ozio* [Indolence]" in which he denounced the principal vices of the contemporary inhabitants of the peninsula, and of its privileged classes in particular: "The greatest evil of Italy, I repeat, is the voluntary decline of national genius, the weakening of patriotic spirits, the excessive love of money and pleasure, the frivolity of customs, the slavery of intellects, the imitation of foreign things, the bad ordering of education, of public and private discipline . . . Who impedes the nobility and the wealthy from studying and writing? . . . Who obliges young gentlemen to *infemminire* [become effeminate] in their *ozio*?"[45] The passage is remarkable for bringing together two major figures to which Risorgimento writers often resorted to represent the current state of decline and deficiency of the Italians: indolence and effeminacy. The main Italian disease was an affliction of the will,[46] a moral sickness that had emasculated and feminized a previously highly endowed people.

Metaphors of feminization were of course not unique to the Italians. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has observed, "figurations of gender, themselves asymmetrical, mark asymmetrical flows of power. Power is associated with virility, its absence with emasculation and the feminine."[47] Following in the steps of Machiavelli, the rhetoric of republican political discourse distinguished sharply between manly virtue and female corruption.[48] The critique of the "degenerate, effeminate French," for example, was a central component of the French republican discourse of the late eighteenth century: French national character, allegedly corrupted by aristocrats and women's excessive power, was blamed for France's problems.[49] However, in the case of some peoples, effeminacy was not just a temporary deviation from a manly norm. Enlightenment political theorists such as Montes-

[43] On Gioberti's life, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. Gioberti, Vincenzo; and Giorgio Rumi, *Gioberti* (Bologna, 1999).

[44] As noticed by Bollati, "*L'Italiano*," 106–108.

[45] Gioberti, *Primato*, 3: 200–201.

[46] I would like to thank Jeffrey Freedman for helping me understand the meaning of "voluntary decline."

[47] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Political Camp or the Ambiguous Engendering of the American Republic," in Blom, Hagemann, and Hall, *Gendered Nations*, 271.

[48] For a gendered analysis of Machiavelli's work, see Hanna F. Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); and Wendy Brown, *Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Reading in Political Theory* (Totowa, N.J., 1988). On the gendered discourse of French Republicanism, see Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

[49] Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, chap. 5.

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quieu, who believed in the role of climate in shaping human attitudes and institutions, spatialized the male-female binary by attributing traits traditionally associated with the female to "Orientals" and southerners.[50] Italy certainly fit in this latter category.

By the early nineteenth century, these gendered images and metaphors, strengthened as they were by a more than century-long process of demilitarization of Italian society,[51] profoundly informed all sorts of discourses about the Italians. In French-occupied Italy, the letters of the agents of Napoleon in the peninsula warned that Italians could not be trusted because they had acquired "the same character, the same habits of women, the subjected sex" while at the same time harboring in their heart some strong male passions—a dangerous combination if seen from the standpoint of an occupying force.[52] And in one of the most influential texts of early romanticism, *Corinne, or Italy* (1807), that fierce opponent of Napoleon, Madame de Staël, while personifying the plight of Italy in the tragic destiny of the eponymous heroine, painted the Italians as an effeminate and indolent people: "In Italy, the men are worth much less than the women, for they have women's faults as well as their own"[53] declares the male protagonist, the Englishman Lord Nelvil. The half-Italian Corinne, while defending her compatriots, states that "Italians are as indolent as orientals in their daily lives . . . Life is nothing more than a dream-filled sleep under a beautiful sky."[54]

Resorting to the image of a feminine Italy to indicate its state of inferiority and subjection could of course also serve to draw sympathy for the country and its people. Indeed, as Maura O'Connor has recently argued, the feminized Italy of Madame de Staël and Lord Byron, as well as of a host of Victorian travelers who read their books and followed in their steps, helped draw members of the English

[50] Moe has recently called attention to the north-south axis in Montesquieu that is at times conflated with the more notorious Europe versus Asia opposition (*View from Vesuvius*, 23–27). He also points out that by the nineteenth century Montesquieu's name became almost synonymous with the climatic theory. And this in spite of the fact, we should add, that Montesquieu's writings contained a rather more complex view of the factors shaping human institutions and the character of peoples: on this complexity, see Jean-Patrice Courtois, "L'Europe et son autre dans *L'Esprit des Lois*," in *L'Europe de Montesquieu: Actes du Colloque de Gênes (26–29 mai 1993)*, Alberto Postigliola and Maria Grazia Bottaro Palumbo, eds. (Naples, 1995), 309–28.

[51] On this process, see Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560–1800* (New York, 1998). According to the author, Piedmont was the only exception to this trend.

[52] Cited in Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 1128; on the French views of the Italians as effeminate, see also M. G. Broers, "Noble Romans and Regenerated Citizens: The Morality of Conscription in Napoleonic Italy, 1800–1814," *War in History* 8 no. 3 (2001): 249–70. The lack of a military ethos in the nobility and the influence of the Catholic Church were seen as the main roots of the trait.

[53] Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, Sylvia Raphael, trans. (Oxford, 1998), 97. It is worth recalling that this text was used as a guidebook by many European travelers to Italy in the early nineteenth century. Even more damning observations on the Italians can be found in de Staël's essay *De la litérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800; Paris, 1998), chap. 10. On the impact of de Staël among Italian Romantics (liberal and patriotic almost by definition), see John C. Isbell, "The Italian Romantics and Madame de Staël: Art, Society and Nationhood," *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate*, n.s., 50 (1997): 355–69. De Staël is also given credit for the indirect diffusion of Montesquieu's ideas at a time when his thought received less attention than in the eighteenth century: see Domenico Felice, *Modération et justice: Lectures de Montesquieu en Italie* (Bologna, 1995), 93. On the gender aspects of *Corinne*, see also O'Connor, *Romance of Italy*, 27–32; and Glenda Sluga, "Gender and the Nation: Madame de Staël or Italy," *Women's Writing* 10, no. 2 (2003): 241–51.

[54] De Staël, *Corinne*, 102.

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middle class to support the Italian national cause.[55] But sympathy for the country did not necessarily imply embracing also its people, and opinions about Italians were often at variance with the image of Italy as the "fair maiden." Travelers who raved about the beauty and heritage of the country had harsher words for the Italians: some saw them as wasting their time "in the daily parades of the Corso" or "in weak if not wicked gallantry."[56] If they lived in a state of "contented slavery," they were mostly to blame for their sorry condition. A similar pattern characterized the representation of Italy and its people among Italian patriots. While artists represented Italy as a young woman in tears or holding a sad and meditative expression[57] (See Figure 1), and poets lamented her unhappy fate (most famously in Giacomo Leopardi's 1818 poem "All'Italia"),[58] the effeminacy of the Italian people stood for an unredeemed state of moral and political decline, a condition that attracted the strongest condemnation.

We will return to the trope of effeminacy later when we examine how contemporaries analyzed the origins of that condition. Let us now consider the other trope that was closely intertwined with effeminacy, that is, *ozio* (indolence). A complex term with both a positive and a negative meaning and a history of "upward mobility" from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, in Italian patriotic discourse *ozio* was inflected in an exclusively negative manner to indicate not just idleness but a mode of being characterized by self-indulgent inactivity.[59] Indeed *ozio* evoked a state of passivity and moral weakness fitting to describe a people that had lost its independence and fallen into a state of degrading subjection that some compared to slavery. So, far from being simply a private sin, *ozio*, as another prominent Piedmontese patriot, Cesare Balbo, claimed, was a dangerous "*vizio di Stato*" (state vice).[60] This use of the notion of *ozio* resembled Machiavelli's: for the Florentine secretary *ozio* was the opposite of *virtù* and functioned as "a label for all those characteristics which he regard[ed] as harmful for civic life."[61] Yet in the case of nineteenth-century moderate patriots, the republican concern for civic life had been displaced by a concern for the autonomous existence of the nation. For these thinkers, *ozio* had less to do with Machiavelli (with whom, as Catholics and monarchists, they had not much affinity) than with Montesquieu's and de

[55] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, esp. chap. 2.

[56] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 47.

[57] See Fernando Mazzocca, "L'iconografia della patria tra l'età delle riforme e l'Unità," in Banti and Bizzocchi, *Immagini della nazione*, 89–111.

[58] See Giacomo Leopardi, *Canti*, Niccoló Gallo and Cesare Garboli, eds. (Turin, 1993), 3–10.

[59] For a discussion of the growing importance and changing meanings of the notion of indolence from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, see Willard Spiegelman, *Majestic Indolence: English Romantic Poetry and the Work of Art* (New York, 1995). Steven C. Hughes has also noticed the mostly negative meanings of the term in nineteenth-century Italy: see "The Theory and Practice of Ozio in Italian Policing: Bologna and Beyond," *Criminal Justice History: An International Annual* 6 (1985): 89–103.

[60] Cesare Balbo, *Pensieri ed esempi* (Florence, 1854), 347–78.

[61] See Heather Ingman, "Machiavelli's 'ozio' and Montaigne's 'oysiveté,'" *French Studies Bulletin* 30 (1989): 7. At the very beginning of the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius*, Machiavelli lashed out at the "evils caused by the proud indolence which prevails in most of the Christian States" (I am quoting from *The Prince and the Discourses*, Christian E. Detmold, trans. [New York, 1950], 104) and reserved very harsh words of condemnation for the "effeminizing" influence of the Christian religion "interpreted according to the promptings of indolence rather than those of virtue" (see esp. book 2, chap. 2, 285–86).

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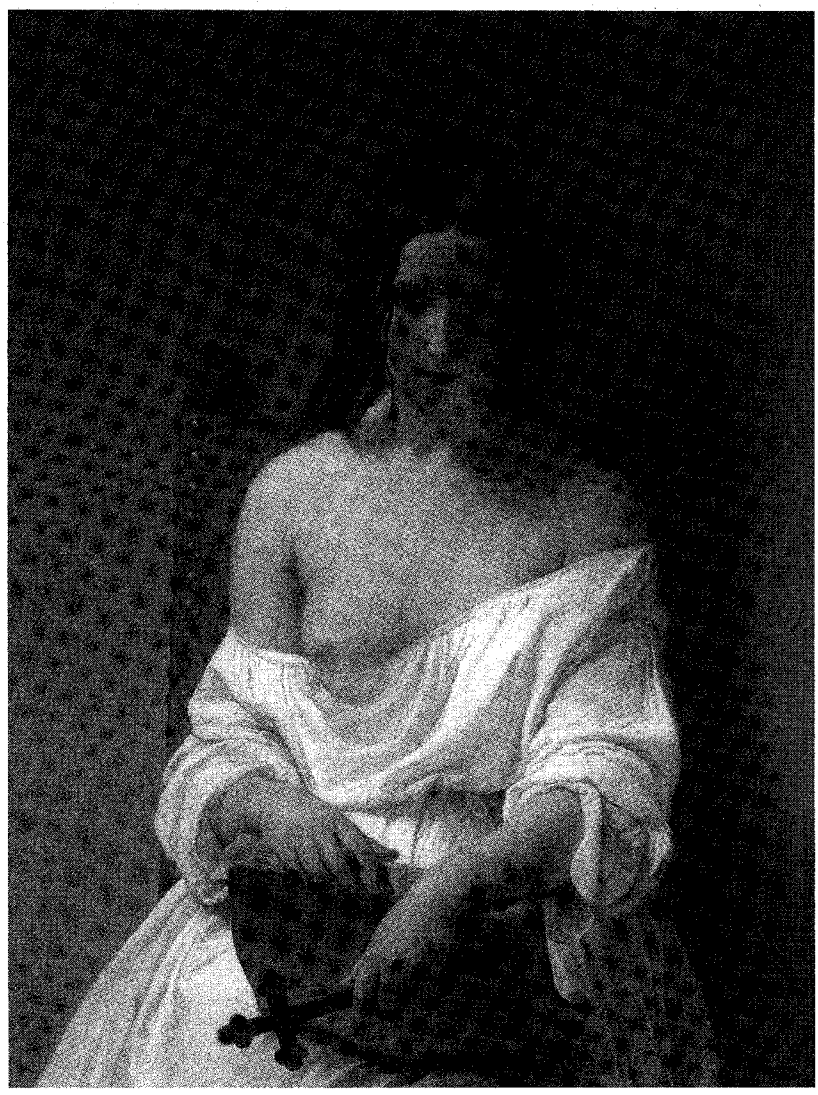


FIGURE 1: Francesco Hayez, *La Meditazione (Italy in 1848)*, 1851. Reproduced with kind permission of Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Verona.

Staël's notion of *paresse* (indolence or laziness) as a defining attribute of southern peoples and "Orientals" alike, albeit in different ways and degrees.

The writings of Cesare Balbo, an admirer of Montesquieu and the author of *Delle speranze d'Italia* (*On the Hopes of Italy*, 1844), another founding text of moderate liberalism, provide a wealth of evidence on this connection. His denunciation of *ozio* as the preeminent vice of the Italian people was revealing: "The essential vice of our fatherland is *ozio* . . . Indolence, *beato far niente* [blessed doing nothing], or even (as I heard from an Italian statesman who was being self-critical) *beatissimo far niente*; the saying that the world runs by itself, are the major Italian vices. . . It is not a native, natural vice since we were the most industrious nation of the world; but it is by now an old, national vice . . . *It is not an Oriental vice* [my

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emphasis], but it is still an anti-Christian vice."[62] In this passage, the telling equation between *ozio* and "*beato far niente*" and the reference to the Orient lead us back not to Machiavelli but to the gaze of foreign travelers and observers—both Montesquieu and de Staël were among them—who described again and again the inhabitants of the peninsula as an indolent and morally loose people and who were often explicitly evoked in Balbo's patriotic reflections.[63]

Balbo's writings point clearly to the dynamic often at the origin of Italian patriotic discourse, namely, on the one hand, the acceptance and internalization of negative stereotypes such as the "indolent southerners" image, and, on the other, the effort to respond to and to qualify these representations. While indicting Italians for their indolence, Balbo was eager to stress the historicity and thus temporary nature of Italian *ozio*: for this reason, he underlined that it was not an "Oriental" vice, meaning it was not an innate attribute of the Italians—an implicit correction of Montesquieu's climatic theory that tended to naturalize character and to draw southern Europe dangerously close to the region of the world defined as Europe's Other. For Balbo, as for other Italian patriots, national resurgence and regeneration meant a full recovery of the legitimate place of Italy in Christian and industrious Europe and thus the end of any possible association of the Italians with the "Orientals" and their "abject" features. This is also why Balbo defined Italian *ozio* as "anti-Christian": in his view it stood inherently opposed to his idea of the driving logic of Western civilization in which Christianity, economic development, and the development of liberal political institutions went side by side and constituted a single whole. Since the development of Christian Europe contrasted historically with the lack of development of the "despotic" and non-Christian Orient, Italy in its current state was a denial of its own authentic, Christian and European identity.[64]

In contrast to Gioberti, Balbo rejected the idea of a perennial primacy of Italy, which, if justifiable as the expression of a patriotic sentiment, was blatantly denied by the present state of the country vis-à-vis other powerful European states. If a contest for primacy were to take place at the time, there was no doubt for the Anglophile Balbo that England was going to win: with its industriousness and liberal institutions, England was the champion of *ozio*'s opposite, *operositá* (industriousness), and provided the model to contemporary nations and peoples who wanted to achieve nationhood. But another thing was also certain: if Italy's present state was one of extreme degradation, things had not always been that way. In fact there had been a time when Italians were the very opposite of *oziosi*. We will examine later the issue of the historical origins of Italian *ozio* for these authors. Here let us further point out that as a figure of Italian degeneration, *ozio* was a very *gendered* category: for Gioberti, as we have seen earlier, *ozio* made the youth

[62] Cesare Balbo, *Le Speranze d'Italia*, Achille Corbelli, ed. (Paris, 1844; Turin, 1925), 205. On Balbo's admiration for Montesquieu, see Felice, *Modération et justice*, 99–100; and Maria Fubini Leuzzi, "Introduzione," in Cesare Balbo, *Storia d'Italia e altri scritti editi e inediti*, Maria Fubini Leuzzi, ed. (Turin, 1984), 15.

[63] See for an example of this conversation the dialogue entitled "Lo straniero" (The foreigner) in Balbo, *Pensieri ed esempi*, 347–78; and Balbo, *Pensieri sulla storia d'Italia: Studi* (Florence, 1858), 549–54. Both works were published posthumously but were written before *Delle speranze d'Italia*.

[64] Francesco Traniello, "Incunaboli d'imperialismo europeo: Cesare Balbo, l'Occidente e il Mediterraneo," *Contemporanea: Rivista di storia dell'800 e del'900* 1 (1998): 263–79.

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effeminate, for Balbo, it was at the origin of the disappearance of military virtue and of a contemptuous *mollezza* (a combination of love of luxury and sexual laxity conjuring up effeminacy).[65]

Although both Gioberti and Balbo seemingly imputed *ozio* to the whole Italian population, in fact they had in mind less the popular classes (as would usually be the case after unification) than the elites. For these moderates, the elites bore the main burden in the work of national regeneration. While in England gentlemen were always busy in some activities even in their leisure, in Italy, according to Balbo, "the little count [*Contino*] and the little seigneur [*Signorino*] are from their infancy raised into softness, laziness, insignificance."[66] This type of education was not going to produce the leadership needed to bring about Italian regeneration. Let us not forget that these criticisms came often from within the very social groups that were supposed to provide this leadership. While Gioberti came from a modest petty bourgeois family, Balbo was a nobleman who had spent time in Paris and elsewhere in the service of Napoleon (of whom he had grown increasingly critical) and then in exile. He knew well both the habits of the nobility and the republican language that criticized those habits and the negative influence they had on society. In his youth, he and his closest friends loved to read Jean-Jacques Rousseau and shared a passion for playwright Vittorio Alfieri's anti-tyrant writings and his "*culto del forte sentire*" (cult of strong feelings). During the Restoration, the political culture of these liberal noblemen combined elements of French republicanism with more conservative beliefs such as adherence to Catholicism (although often imbued with aspirations of spiritual renewal).[67] Their desire to redeem the Italian *patria* was often cast in the language of the recovery of manly honor, a value that, as Alberto M. Banti has recently pointed out, had a particular resonance in the world of the aristocracy.[68] This recovery undoubtedly required the abandonment of an indolent lifestyle.

Without reaching the level of elaboration that Balbo gave to the whole problematic of *ozio* in many of his works, preoccupations about the indolence and effeminacy of the Italians surfaced in many Risorgimento writings. In his political-military essay of 1846 entitled *Della nazionalità italiana* (*On Italian Nationality*), another Piedmontese moderate, colonel Giacomo Durando pointed out that the Italian character had lost its primacy in industriousness and was "very relaxed" due to an "intentionally emasculating" education.[69] As they never had a "true flag" around which to gather and face invasions, the Italian people had lost faith and the sentiment of their dignity. The same language was to be found in the periodicals that sprang up in the Italian states in the second half of the 1840s during the period of enthusiasm generated by the reforming attitudes adopted by some of the rulers and most notably by Pope Pius IX. Writing in *L'Italiano*, a liberal journal published in Bologna between the spring of 1847 and the spring of 1848, Augusto Aglebert represented the recovery of nationhood as a moral self-conquest, a reform of the self and of its old habits: "Our achievement is of an entirely moral kind, it is our civil

[65] Cesare Balbo, *Pensieri sulla storia d'Italia*, 513.
[66] Balbo, *Pensieri ed esempi*, 106.
[67] See Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves, *La giovinezza di Cesare Balbo* (Florence, 1940), 55–62.
[68] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 139–48.
[69] Giacomo Durando, *Della nazionalità italiana: Saggio politico-militare* (Paris, 1846), 249.

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existence—to try to make it better, by strengthening our virtues, by fleeing vice, by abhorring indolence, inertia and *mollezza* as the three most formidable enemies that can be thrown against us."[70]

If *ozio* constituted the most damning vice for the moderates, democrats like Giuseppe Mazzini seemed to be more concerned with other troublesome sides in the Italian character. In one of his early writings in the journal *Giovine Italia* (*Young Italy*), he called individualism the "first" Italian vice. By individualism he actually meant municipalism or exclusive attachment to the "*piccola patria*," the city or village where one was born, a tendency, he claimed, fostered by oppressive foreign governments, not a natural inclination. Besides this there were other attitudes shared by all Italians: "no other people has perhaps more obstacles to overcome [than the Italians]—nor is it good to hide them. We have enemies within . . . We have the provincial divisions that the many centuries of common disgrace have weakened, but not destroyed. We have, and this is our mortal plague, the lack of faith in ourselves, and in our forces, so that many among the Italians feel impotent in action . . . We have the inexperience in the arts of war, the innate distrust of leaders, and the perennial suspicion of betrayals, which events have produced in us."[71]

In this passage, Mazzini did not refer to *ozio* explicitly, and he was not concerned with the lack of industriousness that preoccupied moderates like Balbo and Durando, yet the configuration of attitudes he described amounted to a mixture of impotence, lack of self-confidence and trust in others that certainly resembled political *ozio* in its effects since—most troubling for those who aspired to radical change—it made any sustained revolutionary action very difficult. Mazzini's insistence on the notion of "duty" could also be read in light of this fight against indolence and resignation. Other democrats were more explicit: Giuseppe Montanelli, a Tuscan critic of the moderates, attributed the degeneration of Tuscan character to the "*politica eviratrice*" (emasculating politics) of their absolute rulers,[72] and called the "*infingardaggine*" (sloth) of the Italians "[their] biggest obstacle to regeneration."[73]

BUT WHAT OF THE SOUTH WITHIN THE SOUTH, namely, southern Italy? Did it occupy a distinct place in this literature? Were southern Italians unfavorably contrasted to the rest of Italy? Not really, even though most of the writers we have mentioned so far were Piedmontese, or, in any event, northern, as it was northerners who took the lead in the debate on the Italian question in the 1830s and 1840s. As the internal diversity of Italy constituted an irresistible argument in favor of the confederate solution to the national question advocated by most moderates in the pre-1848 period, differences were certainly examined, but, far from being contrasted and

[70] Augusto Aglebert, "Italiani!" *L'Italiano* (April 20, 1847).

[71] Giuseppe Mazzini, "D'alcune cause che impedirono finora lo sviluppo della libertà in Italia. Articolo 2," in *Interessi e principii*, Michele Rago, ed. (Milan, 1944) 77 (orig. in *La Giovine Italia*, 1832).

[72] Giuseppe Montanelli, *Memorie sull'Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana dal 1814 al 1850*, in *Opere politiche 1847–1862*, Paolo Bagnoli, ed., vol. 2, part 1 (Yuri, 1853; Florence, 1997), 13.

[73] Montanelli, *Memorie*, 29.

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emphasized as they will be in a later period, they were de-emphasized and reconciled.

In the concluding sections of the *Primato*, after arguing that the internal diversity of Italy constituted a veritable synthesis and mirror of Europe and one of the reasons of its superiority, Gioberti provided some outlines of what he called a "moral geography" of the country. In a few pages, he described the characteristics of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia, Liguria, Tuscany and Latium, Naples and Sicily, and praised the two cities of Florence and Rome, which he considered the best expression of the "Italian genius." He placed the "true heart" of the country in the center of the peninsula, in Tuscany and Latium, with their capital cities Florence and Rome, "the two undivided centers of language, civilization, religion" not only of Italy but also of Europe and the world.[74] In contrast, the Piedmontese and the Neapolitans were two extremes in terms of character traits, and in a sense they compensated for each other: "The Neapolitans are the opposite of the Piedmontese, and they err by excess, as the latter err by lack: in the former the imagination, the courage, the passionate enthusiasm, the mobility, the luxuriant thought, affect, and style are present in great quantity and are even too abundant, in the latter they are often missing or scarce . . . in such peoples military value is not rare, even though the French maintain the opposite."[75] The great artistic and scientific achievements of the Neapolitans from antiquity to more recent times were the spontaneous result of their "genius," more than of their "discipline," and one could only imagine what even greater achievements they would be capable of if they only learned this "northern" virtue. Thus while consolidating certain commonplaces about the south, Gioberti's descriptive strategies also valorized, as Nelson Moe has observed, some aspects of southern-ness, which may in part account for the success of the *Primato*.[76]

When Cesare Balbo referred to the vices and virtues of the Italians in his *Speranze*, he did not make much of regional distinctions either, even though he too stressed that Italy gathered "provinces and peoples almost as different from one another as . . . the most northern and southern peoples of Europe"[77] (and therefore a confederation of states was the best solution to the Italian question). In other writings, however, he spent some time outlining the specificities of the Piedmontese character, which he considered as partly exempt from the bad influences under which Italians had been raised for generations. The history of Piedmont-Sardinia differed from the rest in one most important way. While most of the peninsula lay under foreign control, the Savoyard dynasty had been able to preserve its independence. As a consequence, military valor had not disappeared and trust between rulers and the ruled had strengthened. Moreover, "corrupt" customs had not developed there as much as in the rest of Italy: in particular *cicisbei*—namely, gallants, who, as we will see, were the epitome of Italian degeneration—were fewer, women were more moral, and the youth less lazy.[78] Less passionate and less

[74] Gioberti, *Primato*, 3: 168.
[75] Gioberti, *Primato*, 3: 182–84.
[76] Moe, *View from Vesuvius*, 119.
[77] Balbo, *Speranze*, 34.
[78] Cesare Balbo, "Della società in Italia," in *Lettere di politica e letteratura: edite e inedited; Precedute da un discorso sulle rivoluzioni* (1823; Florence, 1855).

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ferocious, but more loyal and militarily predisposed: this was the Piedmontese subject, a type that projected more solidity than vivacity.[79]

BALBO'S REFLECTIONS ON PIEDMONTESE CHARACTER placed him solidly in the camp of those political thinkers who saw national character as primarily a product of historical circumstances and experiences. In this view, natural factors such as climate or race played a subordinate role to history in shaping the virtues and vices of peoples (at least of white peoples, that is). Not surprisingly, there was little place for a purely naturalistic account of Italian vices among Risorgimento thinkers.[80] But if climate played only a marginal role, what were the culprits of the degenerate state of the Italians? In answering this question, we must examine the historical narratives that increasingly featured the Italian people as the subject of history. In these too we will find at work the trope of effeminacy embodied in the figure of the *cicisbeo*.

It is significant that it was a Swiss scholar with a great passion for Italy who first provided a full-fledged explanation of the historical roots of the problem. This scholar was republican historian and political economist Jean-Léonard-Charles Simonde de Sismondi. Born in Geneva and a member of Madame de Staël's circle, he lived for some years in Tuscany on a property acquired by his father, a pastor of the Reformed Church, during the turmoil of the French Revolution. As he made Italy his adopted country, he even invented Italian ancestors: a Pisan aristocratic family by the name of de Sismondi (a name that coincidentally sounded like his original surname Simonde and that he happily appropriated).[81] Between 1807 and 1818, Sismondi published an extremely influential history of medieval Italy, the *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age* (*History of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages*), a work that Roberto Bizzocchi has called a "key text in the objectification of the character of modern Italians."[82] In this monumental work, the Genevan historian produced a painstaking account of the trajectory of the Italian communes from the fall of the Roman Empire to their resurgence in the later Middle Ages, to their demise in the hands of local despots. He intended to show

[79] Cesare Balbo, "Del naturale de' Piemontesi," in *Lettere di politica*, 238–62. As for the democrats, Mazzini and his followers denied the relevance of the argument about internal diversity, and even democratic writers of federalist conviction such as Carlo Cattaneo played down regional distinctions when they responded to the foreigners' commonplaces about the Italians.

[80] Although Italians accepted certain traits of the southern stereotype, the climatic theory of national character found a skeptical reception in the peninsula: the Venetian Enlightenment thinker Francesco Algarotti, for example, found sounder arguments in David Hume, who questioned naturalistic accounts of national character in his essay "Of National Character" (1748). The Italian Jacobin Melchiorre Gioia rejected political relativism based on climatic theories of national character in 1796 (see Domenico Felice, "Note sulla fortuna di Montesquieu nel giacobinismo italiano, 1796–1799," in *Idee e parole nel giacobinismo italiano*, 14–15) and later attacked the arguments put forward by Charles-Victor Bonstetten (a member of Madame de Staël's circle) about the influence of climate in shaping the *"homme du Nord"* (northern man) and the *"homme du Midi"* (southern man): see Gioia's review of Bonstetten in *Annali universali di statistica* 5 (1825): 245–301. On this, see also Moe, *View from Vesuvius*, 27–31.

[81] On Sismondi's life, see Jean R. de Salis, *Sismondi, 1773–1842*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932). For a more recent and more detailed study of the period to 1800, see Paul Waeber, *Sismondi. Une biographie*, Vol. 1, *Les devanciers et la traverse de la Révolution: Chroniques familiales 1692–1800* (Geneva, 1991).

[82] Roberts Bizzocchi, "Cicisbei: La morale italiana," *Storica* 3 (1997): 63–90.

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that Italian character had known much better times and celebrated those times: in the medieval republics Italians were free and independent and gave other Europeans principles of civilization and governments. It was only the loss of liberty that brought about corruption and decline, and these were deepened by the arrival of the Spaniards and the absolute domination of the Catholic Church in the peninsula from the Counter-Reformation onward. Then casuists corrupted and even subverted morals, rituals and pomp took precedence over substance, and people learned not to obey their conscience but "to cheat [*ruser*] with it": as a result nowhere else could one find a people more taken up with religious practices and less inclined to observe the duties and virtues preached by Christianity.[83]

In an overwhelmingly Catholic society, the claims of the historian from Calvinist Geneva (himself an agnostic) about the responsibilities of the church were not likely to find much favor, even among a patriotic readership with an evangelical sensibility,[84] and the issue never really entered the debate during the Risorgimento.[85] Yet Sismondi's *The History of Italian Republics* became the most influential work of Italian history of the Risorgimento and for good reasons: it provided a positive reconstruction of Italian history as well as a very usable past for all Italian patriots of federalist conviction. It also provided something that historians have less noticed, an effective account of the origins of what many—foreigners and Italians—considered the epitome of Italian degeneration: the "shameful" habit of *cicisbeismo*. According to Sismondi, while in the wholesome republics "the inclination to work had been, until the mid-sixteenth century, the distinctive quality of the Italians,"[86] under despotism domestic and foreign (especially under the new Spanish rulers imbued with "Castilian prejudices"), "all kinds of work" became contemptuous in the eyes of the Italian nobility. These new attitudes, along with the new custom of primogeniture, condemned large numbers of males to a "constant laziness" ("*constant fainéantise*"), and to give the sons of the nobility something to do, the "bizarre rights and duties" of the *cicisbeo* were "invented"[87]: now ladies were no longer allowed to appear in public on their own, but they had to be

[83] J. L. C. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, 5th edn., vol. 8 (1807–1818; Brussels, 1839); see esp. chap. 14, "What are the causes that have changed the Italian character after the subjection of their Republics." All translations are mine.

[84] Alessandro Manzoni immediately mounted a defense of Catholicism in his *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica* (*Observations on Catholic Morals*, 1819). On the presence of an evangelical sensibility in the ranks of Italian patriots, particularly in northern Italy, see Giorgio Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti* (1956; Torino, 1998), esp. chap. 3.

[85] Perhaps thanks also to Sismondi's decision to expunge the most direct criticism of the Catholic Church (and indeed the whole last chapter) from the shorter version of his work published in 1832. On the reception of Sismondi during the Risorgimento, see Giuseppe Galasso, "Le *Repubbliche italiane* del Sismondi e il Risorgimento," in *Le passioni dello storico: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Giarrizzo*, Antonio Coco, ed. (Catania, 1999), 221–42; and Adrian Lyttelton, "Creating a National Past: History, Myth, and Image in the Risorgimento," in Ascoli and von Henneberg, *Making and Remaking Italy*, 27–74.

[86] Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques*, vol. 8.

[87] Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques*, 8: 383–84. In explaining the historical origins of the Italian character, Sismondi relied on another national stereotype by then also well consolidated, the stereotype of the Spaniards. Southern and Catholic like the Italians, the Spaniards shared many of the vices of the Italians only compounded by those that they acquired as holders of imperial power: besides laziness and an excessive sense of honor and pride, their negative traits included a tendency to be violent and cruel (probably a legacy, among others, of the "black legend"); that Spaniards were the product of a mixing of "races" was also held against them: see J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000), esp. chaps. 8 and 16.

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accompanied by a man, not their spouse, but rather their male friend or lover. The result of this invention, thundered Sismondi (who, needless to say, had been himself in the position of enjoying the favors of more than one married Italian lady), was a disorder unequal to any other: as it became customary, and even required, for women to appear in public with their lover, "Italians ceased to be men."[88]

But what exactly was *cicisbeismo*? While references to *cicisbei* abound in the travel literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,[89] scholars diverge not only in their interpretation of the phenomenon but also on its very nature. While some claim that this peculiar institution of Italian aristocratic society in the early modern period was enshrined in marriage contracts,[90] others question this claim and see it as a primarily eighteenth-century custom of the nobility whose exact nature, however, is difficult to pinpoint.[91] Roberto Bizzocchi points out the resemblance between the figure of the Italian *cicisbeo*, the French *petit-maître*, and even more the Spanish *estrecho* or *chichisbeo*, which would make the *cavalier servente* something akin to a custom of Mediterranean Europe.[92] Other scholars, not only of feminist conviction, see it as a sign of the increasing freedom and power of aristocratic women in the sociable eighteenth century, an interpretation that appears to be supported not only by the large number of moralizing pamphlets and tracts attacking the custom but also by the visual evidence. (See Figure 2.)[93]

Be this as it may, historians and historical anthropologists have neglected an aspect that seems very significant if we want to understand the place of *cicisbeismo* in the figuration of the narrative of Italian decline: namely that the Italian term *cicisbeo* referred then (and still refers today) both to a *cavalier servente* and to a *damerino*, i.e., a man who pays almost exclusive attention to his external appearance in society, to his dress and manners, and devotes a lot of his time to the company

[88] Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques*, 8: 384.

[89] For the eighteenth century, see in particular James Boswell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France 1765–1766*, Frank Brady, ed. (New York, 1955), 17–19; and Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (1766; Fontwell, 1969). See also Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 123–26. For an early nineteenth-century example, see John Forsyth, *Remarks on the Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an Excursion in Italy in 1802 and 1803*, 2nd edn., (London, 1816), 377, 411–12. Poet Ugo Foscolo responded to Forsyth's description of *cicisbeismo* and particularly his unflattering portrayal of Italian women in an article entitled "The Women of Italy" published in *London Magazine* in 1826 (now in *Scritti vari di critica storica e letteraria, 1817–1827*, Ugo Foscolo, Umberto Limentani, and John Lindon, eds. [Florence, 1978], 417–69), where he explained the phenomenon sociologically as a result of feudal customs still dominating in the Italian aristocracy, and linked it to the political degeneration of the Italians. Stendhal famously referred to Italian *cicisbei* at the very beginning of the *Charterhouse of Parma* (1839): "In the Middle Ages the republicans of Lombardy had given proof of a valour equal to that of the French, and had deserved to see their city razed to the ground by the German Emperors. Ever since they had become *loyal subjects* their main business had been the printing of sonnets upon little handkerchiefs of rose-colored taffeta on the occasion of the marriage of some young lady belonging to a rich or a noble family. Two or three years after that great event in her life, this young lady would select a *cavalier servente*: the name of the *cicisbeo* chosen by her husband's family sometimes occupied an honorable place in the marriage contract. It was a far cry from such effeminate manners to the deep emotions aroused by the unexpected arrival of the French army." I cite from the translation by Margaret R. B. Shaw, Penguin edition (1958), 19.

[90] See, for example, Marzio Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto: Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Bologna, 2000), 331–36.

[91] Bizzocchi, "Cicisbei," 67–69.

[92] Bizzocchi, "Cicisbei," 77.

[93] Carla Pellandra Cazzoli, "Dames et sigisbées: Un début d'emancipation feminine?" *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 193 (1980): 2028–35; Luciano Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento: Aspetti e problemi* (Turin, 1987), chap. 3.

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FIGURE 2: Luigi Ponelato, "Il cicisbeo," etching from Carlo Goldoni, *Opere teatrali*, vol. 13 (Venice, 1790), reproduced in Rita Levi Pisetzsky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, vol. 4 (Milan, 1969).

of women. Indeed the *cicisbeo* is the effeminate *and* indolent nobleman par excellence, and as such he was the privileged target of late eighteenth-century anti-aristocratic satires such as Giuseppe Parini's *Il Giorno* (1763–1765).[94] The conflation of these two meanings of the word helps explain why *cicisbeismo*, whatever its reality, became a symbol of the moral and political degradation that patriots wanted to eradicate. In blaming the foreigners (read the Spaniards) for Italy's loss of independence in the sixteenth century and for the decline that followed,[95] Gioberti claimed that they had "created the grand courts and the oriental [*all'uso orientale*] royal palaces and introduced with them exorbitant luxury, legal and privileged adultery, the realm of the cutthroats [*cagnotti*], of the favorites and of the prostitutes, who since then were known as courtesans, introduced and legitimated ruinous wars of conquest and of succession; in other words [it was they who] brought to a peak the moral and civil decline of the derelict Italy."[96] In this passage, Gioberti represented the decline of Italy as literally a process of

[94] On Parini and more generally on the attacks on the culture of the nobility in the eighteenth century, see Mario Domenichelli, *Cavaliere e gentiluomo: Saggio sulla cultura aristocratica in Europa (1513–1915)* (Rome, 2002), chaps. 9–11.

[95] Gioberti, *Primato*, 1: chap. 3.

[96] Gioberti, *Primato*, 1: 149.

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orientalization of Italian court society with all the attached sexual dissipation and disorder—the phrase "legal and privileged adultery" clearly referred to *cicisbeismo*.

Analyzing what went wrong in the Italian past in order to explain the present was high on the agenda of patriotic writers. Even more than Gioberti, who was a philosopher, Balbo, a historian by vocation, took up in earnest the task. While granting, in homage to Montesquieu, that "the sweet climate, the beautiful country" were an invitation to *ozio*, he maintained that *ozio*'s roots were to be found in history: *ozio* was the result of three centuries of bad government when the Italian states "[did] not let the collectivity participate in any deliberation," and of foreign oppression "which impede[d] so many initiatives that are incompatible with a state of subjection."[97] Much more than nature, corrupt political and social institutions produced an abundance of vices and a scarcity of public virtues among the Italians. It was a situation in which "dependence produces vice, and this in turn produces dependence . . . this is the vicious circle from which it is difficult to come out."[98] History thus carried the burden of explaining the rather dismal present. To be sure, the Italian past was not a continuous series of disasters, but a mixture of good and evil. In his popular *Sommario della storia d'Italia* (*Summary of Italian History*, 1846), the first summary of the whole sweep of Italian history from antiquity to the present, Balbo divided this "national" history (which he patriotically dubbed as "the longest and richest" in the world)[99] into seven eras: the first (dominated by the rise of the Etruscans) and the second era (Republican Rome) were among the good ones, followed by three very bad ones (the Roman empire, the barbarian invasions, and the Carolingian empire), in turn followed by the finest of all, the age of the communes. But the era that followed the splendor of the communes, namely the period between the mid-sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, saw the greatest degradation of the Italians: Balbo went so far as to call that period, both in the *Speranze* and in the *Sommario*, "the degenerate century."[100]

It was in this "infamous" era that the inhabitants of the peninsula, having lost their independence and, with it, their political and military capacity, had become indolent and effeminate. Balbo deployed the trope of indolence to characterize also other eras of decline in the history of Italy, in particular that of the Roman empire, whose tyranny and slavery had no equal in history and transformed everything into "indolence and vices and corruption," eventually bringing about the end of the Roman state.[101] Yet the "degenerate century" was much worse than any of the past eras of decline because it occurred at the very time when other Christian nations in Europe set out—for the first time in history—on a course of "irreversible" progress. Balbo's own emphasis on the greatness of the period of the medieval communes (a term that he preferred to the democratic sounding "republics") and his own account of the origins of Italian *ozio* and effeminacy were a testimony to the power of

[97] Balbo, *Speranze*, 205.
[98] Balbo, *Speranze*, 189.
[99] Cesare Balbo, *Sommario della storia d'Italia*, in *Storia d'Italia e altri scritti editi e inediti*, 734. This work first appeared in the *Nuova Enciclopedia Popolare*, F. Predari, ed. (Turin, 1846), and was published in the same year as a separate volume; the first uncensored version came out the following year.
[100] Balbo, *Speranze*, 62–70; Balbo, *Sommario*, 738.
[101] Balbo, *Sommario*, 735–36.

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Sismondi's narrative.[102] Like Sismondi, in his history Balbo too described the period from the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) to the eighteenth-century as a time when the aristocracy became corrupt and lost its true nature in the idleness of the courts, and when the majority of the Italians lost any remnant of civic spirit and military prowess and devoted their lives to the sweet pleasures of lovemaking and womanizing.[103] *Cicisbeismo* ruled.

In the democratic ranks, too, both Mazzinians and federalists were convinced that past experiences had profoundly corrupted their compatriots: centuries of foreign oppression had made the Italian people servile and deprived them of hope for positive change. Climate and race had nothing to do with it: in reality, these "facts" were often deployed, as Mazzini pointed out, in the service of reaction or to justify a moderate course of action. In democratic thinking, the negative influence of foreign rulers was compounded by the emasculating effect of indigenous despotism. For example, Giuseppe Montanelli thus railed against the corrupting role of the *principato* on the Tuscan character: "the degenerate Tuscan, while making fun of the abhorred master behind his back, addressed him with an obsequious and servile face; nor was he avoiding making great shows of respect in front of the last little employee, if this was in his interest and assured him some favors from the despised authority."[104] For Montanelli, the Florentine mask of the domestic servant *Stenterello* was the perfect embodiment of this cowardly and dissimulating character. As Giacomo Leopardi observed in his notebook in 1821, this character configuration was shaped by unequal power relations and applied to diverse people and even nations in similar structural positions: because women were subjected to men, they were "usually malicious, shrewd, cunning, false, astute . . . " (and the list went on), and so were "weak, or poor, or ugly" men, courtiers, and even "entire nations (such as those subjected to despotism)."[105]

If the relatively remote past had left a profound stain on the character of the people, the immediate past was not a source of great hopes either: in the first half of the nineteenth century, insurrectionary attempts failed repeatedly, thus exposing, according to Mazzini, the numerous mistakes and deficiencies of the revolutionaries: their lack of energy, of faith, of science, of strong ties with the oppressed masses.[106] To avoid falling, unpatriotically, into the arms of despair, it was, however, important not to forget that the past contained also a key to the future. An ex-Mazzinian exile to England, Antonio Gallenga, writing in the 1840s and for a British public, saw many reasons to be optimistic. Along with phases of profound decline when Italians "had been schooled to accept good and evil with passive resignation" and in which the elites had "waste[d] their energies in a life of insolence, idleness, and unlawful excitement," there had been phases of greatness, as literary history clearly showed: the great artists and scholars of the past from

[102] Balbo had words of high praise for Sismondi's work: "I do not know if there ever was another [history] as rapidly and as much read as [Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics*], and which passed as much into the blood of a nation." Balbo, *Pensieri sulla storia d'Italia*, 469. He appreciated Sismondi's skills as a historian and his fairness, but he also declared that true national histories could be written only by native historians.

[103] Balbo, *Sommario*, 623–24.

[104] Montanelli, *Memorie*, 14.

[105] Giacomo Leopardi, *Zibaldone di pensieri*, Anna Maria Moroni, ed., vol. 2 (Milan, 1983), 741.

[106] Mazzini, "D'alcune cause," 32–33.

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Dante to Machiavelli illustrated what to expect of a reborn Italian civilization. And indeed from the eighteenth century on, there had been many signs of progress, starting with the Italian republic of letters whose "heroic" members, such as Antonio Muratori, "not enervated by the seductions of a southern climate, or of an effeminate age," had worked relentlessly to collect Italian antiquities.[107] Like the Italophile Sismondi, Italian patriots, democrats and moderates alike, trusted that since the faults of the Italian character were a contingent product of history, change was possible, and history in turn would help Italians to get rid of them. When the revolution broke out in 1848, many agreed that the renewal was definitely taking place: a Milanese newspaper of democratic convictions that began publication in April of 1848, optimistically expressed this entrenched patriotic desire in its very title: *L'Italia rigenerata*.[108]

AS THE DEGENERATION OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE symbolized by *ozio* was cast in gendered terms as a state of emasculation and feminization, for both moderates and democrats the regeneration of the Italians meant a recovery of manhood, an almost literal process of de-feminization and re-virilization of the country and its people. Centuries of foreign domination, as well as, for the democrats, of absolutism, had produced the syndrome of a servile-dependent-effeminate character: a dependent people had learned to defend itself by resorting for too long to the typical "weapon of the weak: cunning."[109] But now the time had come when all that had to end. How? The patriots' contrasting political stances and ideologies insured that they would have differing views on the role that the Italians themselves should have in their own regeneration and on the means to be used in the process, but here too there were some similarities.

For Mazzini and his followers, only a radical change obtained through radical means could help remove the deep stain that history had left on the Italians, on their character and reputation. Partly due to the frequency of failed revolutions and insurrections in the first half of the nineteenth century, Mazzini's writings were a constant call to renewed sacrifice and martyrdom for the country and for liberty: "Liberty is bought with blood and sacrifice."[110] In his famous endorsement of the war of insurrection by guerrilla fighters, Mazzini stressed how this type of popular war would insure not only victory but also "a true and popular regeneration": the people would be educated with the arts of war and would seal the conquest of its rights and independence "through blood." It is through arms that "nations [are] fortified because insurrection cancels the imprint of slavery from the face of the insurgents, because this type of guerrilla war educates the soul to independence and

[107] Luigi Mariotti [Antonio Gallenga], *Italy: Past and Present*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), quotes from 1: 419, 421. On Gallenga, see Toni Cerutti, *Antonio Gallenga: An Italian Writer in Victorian England* (London, 1974).

[108] *L'Italia rigenerata: Giornale di politica, scienze, letteratura, teatri, arti e commerci* was a liberal-democratic biweekly published in Milan in April-July 1848.

[109] Mariotti [Gallenga], *Italy*, 392.

[110] Giuseppe Mazzini, "I collaboratori della 'Giovine Italia' ai loro concittadini," in *Scritti politici editi e inediti* (Imola, 1907), 2: 72 (orig. in *La Giovine Italia*, 1832).

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to that active and powerful life which makes peoples great."[111] The desire to belie the accusation of Italian cowardice by promoting bold and fearless actions (and without paying too much attention to the possible consequences in terms of loss of human lives) underwrote the appeals that Mazzini regularly addressed to the Italian youth, inviting them to fight and take a leadership role in the name of their sense of honor and love of fatherland. Honor and "immortal glory" would be their rewards. Insurrection was justified even if it failed because direct action by the people in the process of their liberation had an irreplaceable moral value: "when a people after long years of torments and of repressed conspiracies has reached the extremes of disgrace and hatred—when faith [*fiducia*] only is lacking, impeded by the fear and diffidence that the habit of slavery generates in the multitudes—the first [people] who show their faith by their deeds are a powerful means of inspiration."[112]

This was a view shared by democrats and revolutionaries throughout the peninsula (even though after 1848 many of them began to consider insurrection an unrealistic option), but, as we have seen, also the moderates embraced the theme of a "moral regeneration," although they had different ideas on the most appropriate methods to achieve it. Antonio Gallenga spoke forcefully of the national revolution as the "recasting of the individual and national characters."[113] Laying out at the beginning of 1848 the requirements for the regeneration of Italian character, Gallenga emphasized the need to show "prodigies of valour": the restoration of Italian honor demanded no less. Indeed, in his words again, "Liberty too cheaply obtained is generally held too cheaply."[114] That did not mean endorsing conspiracies and popular revolutions, but rather reforms and military discipline. Colonel Giacomo Durando was adamant when he declared in 1846 that "Only long and persistent wars have the capacity to give a new and strong character to a slothful people, and to establish the redeemed nationality on solid foundations." Carried away by his vision, he added that even if in the enterprise half of the Italian population were to perish, the "other half would reconstitute in a few years a new race baptized anew and made younger by the blood of the immolated generation."[115]

Thus the moderates did not exclude the shedding of blood in wars, provided that these wars were waged by regular armies. What they worried about was direct action by the people that could escape their control. Indeed, Gioberti for all his talk about the primacy of the Italians, maintained that the Italian people did not exist yet: it was "a desire and not a fact, an assumption and not a reality, a name and not a thing . . . There certainly is an Italy and an Italian stock, united by blood, by

[111] Giuseppe Mazzini, "Della guerra d'insurrezione conveniente all'Italia," in *Scritti politici editi e inediti*, 2: 230 (orig. in *La Giovine Italia*, 1833; reprinted as a pamphlet with an appendix of instructions in 1849). Alberto M. Banti and Marco Mondini have noted also this "moral" meaning that war assumed for the Italian patriots: see "Da Novara a Custoza: Culture militari e discorso nazionale tra Risorgimento e Unità," in *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 18, *Guerra e pace*, Walter Barberis, ed. (Turin, 2002), 419.

[112] Mazzini, "Alla gioventù italiana," in *Scritti politici editi e inediti*, 2: 381 (orig. in *La Giovine Italia*, 1834).

[113] Mariotti [Gallenga], *Italy*, 1: xxiv.

[114] Mariotti [Gallenga], *Italy*, 2: 426, 427.

[115] Durando, *Della nazionalità italiana*, 254, 255.

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religion, by an illustrious written language; but [they are] divided by governments, laws, institutions, popular language, customs, affections, habits."[116] By denying the existence of the Italian people as a unified and willful subject, Gioberti was denying the viability of Mazzini's unitarian solution to the national question, and at the same time the popular action that the latter proposed to achieve this goal. Popular revolutions were a counterproductive evil: they could not be controlled, and the terror was always a possibility lurking behind the corner. In contrast, moderation could assure a lasting change, and, moreover, only the moderate stance had "national" roots: indeed it was the truly "native" stance since moderatism reflected the antiquity of Italian civilization—and civilization in itself always exerts a moderating influence.[117]

But to change the old entrenched habits of indolence and passivity (and we might add to prepare for war if needed), it was necessary to operate at various levels. For Cesare Balbo, the way out of what he called the "vicious circle" of a "dependence-fostering vice" (in turn fostering more dependence) began in the home: the absence of public virtues could be at least in part compensated by stimulating private virtues, i.e., those practiced individually and in the family circle and thus available to everybody. Balbo claimed that things were already improving in Italian families: *cicisbeismo*, that epitome of Italian effeminacy, no longer characterized the behavior of the elites as it used to. Providing yet another example of the ideology of separate spheres that developed in Risorgimento Italy,[118] he praised in particular Italian women for devoting themselves more to their families and not as much as before to society relations. Of course, when he spoke of Italian women he had in mind primarily aristocratic women, and it was especially their habits that he wanted to change in the direction of a neater separation of spheres between men and women. And to whoever pointed out that women could be and had been a source of inspiration to men's action, he retorted, citing Napoleon, that the best model of a woman was the one who gave her husband a large number of children.[119]

It is difficult to find a better instance of the intimate convergence between nineteenth-century nationalism and the emergence of a new sexual morality pointed out some years ago by George L. Mosse and other scholars of gender and nationalism.[120] To put it more precisely, a patriotic discourse imbued with gendered metaphors had difficulties escaping a patriarchal type of politics requiring the restriction of women's presence in the public sphere—even when it profited from women's activism in favor of the patriotic cause.[121] Distinction between appropriate

[116] Gioberti, *Primato*, 1: 92–93.

[117] Balbo, *Speranze*, 10.

[118] See Lucia Re, "Passion and Sexual Difference: The Risorgimento and the Gendering of Writing in Nineteenth-Century Italian Culture," in Ascoli and von Henneberg, *Making and Remaking Italy*, 155–200.

[119] See Balbo, "Lo straniero. Dialogo primo," in *Pensieri ed esempi*, 356.

[120] See George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, Wis., 1985); and Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996); see also the interdisciplinary collection Andrew Parker *et al.*, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (London, 1992).

[121] On women's participation in the Risorgimento, see works cited in note 20 and also Laura Guidi, "Patriottismo femminile e travestimenti sulla scena risorgimentale," *Studi storici* 41 (2000): 571–86.

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"male" and "female" behaviors and spheres of activity had to be strengthened. Gender reform required a reshaping of man and woman. Balbo advocated activities that could bring about a less effeminate and more virile model of masculinity: horse riding, deer hunting, and vigorous alpine walks were to be promoted in order to shape the type of men who would restore "Italian hopes."[122] Like the German patriots who in the first half of the nineteenth century created a great number of gymnastic societies to prop up the virility of German men[123] or the Bengali nationalists who promoted all sorts of manly sports to counter the "effeteness" of their people,[124] in the 1840s members of the aristocratic and bourgeois classes in Piedmont and Tuscany established the first societies to promote gymnastic education and strengthen the bodies of future soldiers.[125] And Balbo did not stop there: he also invited the Italians to travel to distant lands following the example of "more civilized" countries, and more precisely to volunteer in the "beautiful wars of Christian conquest," a training ground for "other wars, from which will arise greater [Italian] hopes."[126]

The patriarchal character of Italian patriotism was not confined to moderate men. While promoting women's education, patriotic women of moderate conviction such as Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci stressed how the *patria* needed "both courageous, honest, wise men and modest and good-hearted women."[127] Even a democrat like Mazzini who was sensitive to the question of women's rights and repeatedly proclaimed their equality with men, in his strong idealization of woman as the "angel of the hearth" tended to confine women inside the domestic realm.[128] If women wanted to be something more than nurses at times of wars and insurrections, sneaking into battle by cross-dressing was often their only option.[129]

DURING THE CENTRAL YEARS OF THE RISORGIMENTO, patriots of different political convictions agreed that Italians had fallen into a state of extreme degradation as a consequence of centuries of foreign oppression and despotism but that they were

[122] Balbo, *Speranze*, 195–96. He also invited the youth to travel to distant lands and volunteer in the "beautiful wars of Christian conquest."

[123] Mosse has called attention to the phenomenon in *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 28. For a detailed study, see Daniel A. McMillan, "German Incarnate: Politics, Gender and Sociability in the Gymnastics Movement, 1811–1871" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1997).

[124] See John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal," *Past and Present*, no. 86 (1980): 121–48.

[125] On the establishment of the first gymnastic societies in Turin and Florence in 1844, see Patrizia Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra: Storia, documenti e immagini della ginnastica dal 1833 al 1973* (Rome, 1992), 29–47. It is interesting to note that in the same year Balbo published *Le Speranze d'Italia* where he encouraged deer hunting and alpine walks. For the period after unification, see Gaetano Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione: L'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale dell'Italia liberale* (Milan, 1990).

[126] Balbo, *Speranze*, 196.

[127] See Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci, *Degli studi delle donne* (Turin, 1853), 359. On this and other women writers in nineteenth-century Italy, see the relevant essays collected in Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood, eds., *A History of Women's Writing in Italy* (Cambridge, 2000).

[128] See especially Mazzini, *Dei doveri dell'uomo* (Naples, 1860), chap. 6, "Duties to the Family." In the Mazzinian ranks, however, there were also women such as Anna Maria Mozzoni who espoused both patriotism and feminism.

[129] Guidi, "Patriottismo femminile e travestimenti."

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also heading toward regeneration. Both in Italy and abroad, supporters of the Italian cause cast the national question in moral and gendered terms predicated on representations of Italian character that often originated in the gaze of the northern tourist. Having become "lazy" and "effeminate," Italians had to operate a "moral and intellectual revolution" if they wanted to recover their ancient greatness and their legitimate place in the world of nations. Their whole character had to be reshaped in a more active and virile way. This is why, in spite of its original association with republicanism, the vocabulary of "regeneration" was to be found even among the more conservative liberals as a way of expressing the final aim of patriotic action. The fact that these tropes in particular structured the process of self-objectification was in itself significant not only because it crucially contributed to gendering the patriotic movement, but also because it generated enduring discursive habits and resilient ways of self-understanding among the national elites.

Neither the figuration of the "degenerate" Italians nor the metaphor of regeneration was unique to Italy. Like the Italian patriots, the early advocates of Greek emancipation such as Adamantios Korais and Ioannis Kapodistrias also denounced the vices of their compatriots and conceived of national recovery in terms of character regeneration.[130] And since the process of nation building was not an easy one in either country, national regeneration was a trope with a lasting future in the political discourse of both countries.[131] The sudden and almost "miraculous" acquisition of Italian independence and unity that occurred in 1860 left many democratic patriots worried that that very miracle was in fact a mixed blessing: too little blood had been shed, no real moral regeneration had occurred, and much more work lay ahead. Mazzini was of course the most disappointed of all given his republican conviction, but after the humiliating defeats by Austria in the war of 1866, some moderates also began to express profound disappointments and preoccupations: historian and social observer Pasquale Villari famously regretted that unity and freedom had arrived too soon, after too short a fight. As a result, the Italians were unchanged, still as indolent and ignorant as they had been under the old regimes, and, he sighed, "with indolent and ignorant men everything goes wrong."[132]

But states are rarely, if ever, built on the virtues of a people: geopolitics, diplomacy, and armies always play a more prominent role. In clashing with this reality and with the poor performance of Italy in the competitive state system of the late nineteenth century, a discourse that carried high moral requirements and expectations was to generate an acrimonious disappointment, one of the foundations for the development of a more intense and aggressive nationalism in later

[130] A selection of the writings of Korais and Kapodistrias is in Richard Clogg, ed., *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770–1821: A Collection of Documents* (London, 1976).

[131] For Greece, see Gerasimos Augustinos, *Consciousness and History: Nationalist Critics of Greek Society 1897–1914* (Boulder, 1977). On the importance of the theme of regeneration (but not of gender) in Italian nationalism, see Gentile, *La Grande Italia*.

[132] This is a central theme of what is probably Villari's most famous article: "Di chi è la colpa. O sia la pace e la guerra" [Who is to Blame? Or, Peace and War], *Il Politecnico*, September 1866 (now in Pasquale Villari, *I mali dell'Italia. Scritti su mafia, camorra e brigantaggio*, Eugenio Garin, ed. [Florence, 1995], 143–95), but it also appears in many of his subsequent writings on social and political issues. On the pessimism about the new Italy that characterized the attitudes of many intellectuals, see Alberto Asor Rosa, "La Cultura," in *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. 4, *Dall'Unità a oggi* (Turin, 1975), 821–39.

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years. The study of the gendered tropes of this discourse allows us to go beyond the neat opposition between the "benign" nationalism of the Risorgimento and its malignant successor, an opposition that hides similarities that nationalisms share across ideological divides. It also allows us to see the older discursive roots of the shriller masculinist rhetoric of later Italian nationalism and its obsession with the question of remaking the character of the Italians.[133]

[133] For an analysis of this masculinist rhetoric, see Barbara Spackman, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy* (Minneapolis, 1996). On the fascist obsession with remaking the Italian character, see Gentile, *La Grande Italia*, chap. 9, and Aliberti, *La resa di Cavour*, chap. 6.

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Locating Colonial Histories: Between France and West Africa

GREGORY MANN

THE OVERSEAS SECTION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ARCHIVES at Aix-en-Provence is packed with American doctoral students, and other scholars specializing in French history, who are busily elbowing aside genealogists and students of the "old colonies" to get at files on Algeria, Vietnam, and Congo. As a historian of francophone West Africa, I welcome all this activity, as well as the chance to engage in a deeper dialogue with my Europeanist colleagues. At the same time, I query the degree to which French colonial history remains the history of France outside the Hexagon (or "continental France"), and how the boundaries of inquiry, or at least of the academy, might limit historians to nibbling on the edges of potentially rich local histories.[1] Aix's Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer (CAOM) is not the only place in the south of France where one finds traces of the colonial past. Focusing on the unique history of the town of Fréjus (Var) and on war memorials built there and in the French Soudan (today's Mali) between the 1920s and the 1990s, this essay asserts the importance of locality in colonial history and attempts to illustrate

I am grateful for the comments of Alice Conklin, Laura Lee Downs, and the anonymous referees of the *AHR*. This article was written and researched with the support of the Fulbright Program, Northwestern University, the Camargo Foundation, the Columbia University Institute for Scholars at Reid Hall (Paris), and a Faculty Development Grant from Columbia University. I thank Karine Valerie Walther for providing research assistance with contemporary French periodicals. An earlier version of this paper was presented as "Locating the Imperial and the Empirical in Post-Colonial Francophone Histories" at the 116th annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, January 3–6, 2002.

[1] For an essay on the revival of colonial studies with particular reference to France and Africa, see Frederick Cooper, "Decolonizing Situations: The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Colonial Studies, 1951–2001," *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 20, no. 2 (2002): 47–76. A recent historiographic survey with an emphasis on Indochina is Robert Aldrich, "Imperial *Mise en valeur* and *Mise en scène*: Recent Works on French Colonialism," *Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (2002): 917–36. See also "Writing French Colonial Histories," Alice Conklin and Julia Clancey-Smith, eds., special issue, *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004); Gary Wilder, "Unthinking French History: Colonial Studies beyond National Identity," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, (Durham, N.C., 2003); Daniel J. Sherman, "The Arts and Sciences of Colonialism," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (2000): 707–29. Wilder and Conklin and Clancy-Smith suggest that historians of France have handled the curves in the "imperial turn" rather differently than have historians of other European nations, Great Britain in particular. See the essays in Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*. The terms "colonialism" and "imperialism" are frequently used interchangeably. In this paper, I prefer colonialism, following a distinction laid out by Henri Brunschwig some years ago. For Brunschwig, colonialism, like imperialism, rested "on the assumption [of] political domination and economic supervision over the territories which had been conquered. But it excluded a third assumption, which was vital to imperialism: *the possession of a clear conscience*." Brunschwig, *French Colonialism, 1871–1914: Myths and Realities*, William Glanville Brown, trans. (London, 1966), 180–81, emphasis added.

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past and present connections between metropolitan and colonial sites.[2] It also poses a pair of related questions about methodology, history, and location[3]: What units of analysis will illuminate broad questions yet allow the richness of individual stories to unfold in particular sites? What might districts, towns, or camps have to tell us that colonies and empires might not?

In a recent article on imperial India, Mrinalini Sinha asks whether or not new directions in the study of British imperialism and domesticity "reduce [the empire] to a site from which to interrogate the metropole." She suggests that the challenge facing historians is "to recognize simultaneously the specificities of [the metropole and the colony's] separate imperial locations."[4] Here I want not so much to take up her challenge—which diverges slightly from Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper's call to "treat metropole and colony in a single analytic field"[5]—but to rephrase it and to push it a little further. I would like to register a plea that the specificities of particular *places* be brought to the fore, not only to ground research empirically but also to disaggregate and cast new light upon colonial and postcolonial circumstances. Colonial histories need a sense of place—an appreciation of the contrasts between, say, Guadeloupe and Paris or Niger—and the ability to evoke the difference.[6] But they need more than that: they deserve the kind of local analysis that has the potential to illuminate the emergence of singular social forms or particular politics, the accidents of history by which, for example, a seaside town in southern France becomes the temporary home of thousands of West Africans,

[2] In my usage, locality, the identity of a place, is the product of histories that create particular social forms, types of community, and vectors of memory while generating possibilities for the future. Localities enable meaning. They are in this sense akin to Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*; Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1996–1998), see esp. 1: 15. Note that my use of "locality" differs from that of Arjun Appadurai, who uses the term to refer to a phenomenological quality. My definition more closely resembles the meaning he lends to "neighborhood," in that the latter characterizes a social form; Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996), 178–99. See also Mamadou Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 679–702.

[3] By "location," I mean something quite different than do most scholars of postcolonial studies. I use the term to refer to place and not to subject position; see Ruth Frankenberg and Lata Mani, "Crosscurrents, Crosstalk: Race, 'Postcoloniality,' and the Politics of Location," *Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (1993): 292–310. Avowedly postcolonial scholarship veers from the quite specifically *localized*—for example, "Under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817," Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994)—to place as mere metaphor; see the caution expressed in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. 209.

[4] Mrinalini Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001): 489–521, see 491.

[5] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 4.

[6] Two excellent recent books do just that, in different places; Eric T. Jennings, *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940–1944* (Stanford, Calif., 2001); Catherine T. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago, 2002). A sense of place is not new in French history, only rare in its colonial versions. For an overview of the significance in French historiography of the local and the regional, see Stéphane Gerson, "*Une France locale*: The Local Past in Recent French Scholarship," *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 3 (2003): 539–59; Gerson, *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); and Michel Denis, "L'Approche régionale," in François Bédarida, ed., *L'Histoire et le métier d'historien en France, 1945–1995* (Paris, 1995). See also Odile Georg, "The French Provinces and 'Greater France,'" in Tony Chafer and Amanda Sackur, eds., *Promoting the Colonial Idea: Propaganda and Visions of Empire in France* (New York, 2002).

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Southeast Asians, and Malagasy. Engaging in local analysis is hard work, but for some scholars, it is their bread and butter. Recently, anthropologists have sought to reconcile an interest in mobility, displacements, and border crossings with a commitment to being grounded in particular research sites, all the while preserving a place for capital and state power in the analytical apparatus.[7] Historians might not find a model in this body of work, some of which is profoundly ahistorical,[8] but it helps to recognize that in the "colonial situation" certain places may be "out of the way," yet none are remote from the workings of empire.[9]

Speaking to the literature I know best, the dynamism of the French-African colonial world is best illustrated by studies well grounded in particular sites, almost always in Africa,[10] while history explored through an imperial framework (for example, all of French West Africa) has trouble venturing outside the archive.[11] Dakar, the former capital of the federation of French West Africa (AOF) and home to its archive, remains a significant attraction in the writing of francophone West African colonial history. Working primarily from the archive there, Alice Conklin and Frederick Cooper have individually made significant strides in understanding the processes by which public and private colonial actors engaged in an uneven dialogue with each other and with African dissidents, leaders, and workers over civic membership, labor standards, and, in the case of Conklin, republican ideology.[12] While in their different ways Cooper and Conklin tie together metro-

[7] Janet MacGaffey and Rémy Bazenguissa-Ganga, *Congo-Paris: Transnational Traders on the Margins of the Law* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000); Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Charles Piot, *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa* (Chicago, 1999); Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995). A particularly intriguing essay with a focus on memory is Mary des Chene, "Locating the Past," in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., *Anthropological Locations* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). A recent look at mobility that leaves little room for coercion, capital, or the state is James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997). Previously historians of colonialism have looked to the work of anthropologists and literary critics in grappling with the problem of culture; see, for example, Nicholas Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 2000).

[8] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.

[9] In a celebrated 1951 article on the "colonial situation," Balandier argued that the "situation" was created and recreated in particular times and places, and could not be adequately understood without reference to the dynamism of local contexts. Georges Balandier, "La situation coloniale, approche théorique," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 11 (1951): 44–79. See the special issue of *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 20, no. 2 (2002), edited by Emmanuelle Saada.

[10] See Francois Manchuelle, *Willing Migrants: Soninke Labor Diasporas, 1848–1960* (Athens, Ohio, 1997), or, on the Belgian Congo, Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999). Rooted in place, these works emphasize mobility. See also David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920* (Athens, Ohio, 2000); Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904)* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). Like most contemporary African histories, these are neither "nationalist" nor "national" histories; see Alice Conklin, "Boundaries Unbound: Teaching French History as Colonial History and Colonial History as French History," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000): 215–36, see 219.

[11] See Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa, 1895–1960* (New York, 1999); and James E. Genova, *Colonial Ambivalence, Cultural Authenticity, and the Limitations of Mimicry in French-Ruled West Africa, 1914–1956* (New York, 2004). The federation of French West Africa (AOF) included the colonies of Mauritania, Senegal, Soudan (Mali), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey (Benin), and Niger. The mandated territory of Togo was appended after World War I. It is worth noting that none of these were settler colonies. The European population of each was quite small, a point to which I return below.

[12] Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa,*

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pole and colony, they do so at the level of policy and ideology. In other words, the problem of operating on a "single analytical field" has been addressed, but the field in question is discursive. The linked questions of scale and locality are unresolved. Yet to be fully realized is the potential of studies of locality to illuminate and disrupt the colonial discourse that contrasted the "universal" quality of French civilization with the "particular" and "ethnographic" elements of colonized societies.[13] Among other things, that lack of resolution draws researchers to Aix, which becomes a site for the research of an empire the city hardly knew. There, archives can comfortably be read in the abstract, far from the sites and contexts of their production.[14]

Perhaps the most famous "sites" in French history are those Pierre Nora dubbed *les lieux de mémoire*. While studies of ceremonies, holidays, monuments, and other focal points of collective memory have made important contributions to our understandings of French history, the project as a whole has been criticized for its strongly national disposition.[15] The multiple volumes of *Les lieux de mémoire* famously exclude the colonies, and from the standpoint of current academic trends, this omission is nothing short of fantastic.[16] Although more recent work has criticized and to some extent corrected this flaw,[17] in this article I approach a new

1895–1930 (Stanford, Calif., 1997); and Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York, 1996). These are very different books, each with its own contribution to make. Cooper in particular is interested in the comparative dimensions of empire.

[13] In addition to Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, two studies that take on multiple and distinct colonies (as opposed to a colonial federation) are Jennings, *Vichy in the Tropics*; and Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991). An excellent recent metropolitan example of incorporating what I term scale and locality is Mary Dewhurst Lewis, "The Strangeness of Foreigners: Policing Migration and Nation in Interwar Marseille," *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 20, no. 3 (2002): 65–96. See also Clifford Rosenberg, "The Colonial Politics of Healthcare Provision in Interwar Paris," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 637–68.

[14] In this sense, the centralizing tendencies of the French empire and its bureaucracy threaten to become normalized in research strategies, as the colonial bureaucracy becomes the frame of the analysis of which it is partly the object. Moreover, the CAOM represents the top rung of an archival ladder that ascends from local administrators, whose reports were often synthesized and sanitized before being passed upward to the Ministry of Colonies. Put simply, the view is different from the top. Documents that reached Paris, or even Dakar, are often notably silent on violence, corruption, and everyday abuse. Regarding Aix itself, it should be noted that a school for the training of teachers did attract a small number of students from the colonies.

[15] Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1984–1992); translated as *Realms of Memory* (New York, 1996–1998). For two seminal essays from Nora's project, see Antoine Prost, *Republican Identities in War and Peace*, Jay Winter and Helen McPhail, trans. (New York, 2002), chaps. 1 and 2. Jay Winter has been among the most extreme in his rejection of Nora's national framework, which he reframes as European; see Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (New York, 1995). Local and regional processes are highlighted in Daniel J. Sherman's *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago, 1999). See also Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *AHR* 106, no. 3 (2001): 906–23.

[16] The sole exception is Charles-Robert Ageron, "L'Exposition Coloniale de 1931: Mythe républicain ou mythe impérial?" in Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1984). This omission has been commented on in Sherman, "Arts and Sciences," 708; and in Eric Jennings, "Remembering 'Other' Losses: The *Temple du Souvenir Indochinois* of Nogent-sur-Marne," *History and Memory* 15, no. 1 (2003): 5–48, see 7.

[17] See Tai, "Remembered Realms"; Eric Jennings, "Monuments to Frenchness? The Memory of the Great War and the Politics of Guadeloupe's Identity, 1914–1945," *French Historical Studies* 21, no. 4 (1998): 561–92; and Zeynep Çelik, "Colonial/Postcolonial Intersections: *Lieux de mémoire* in Algiers," *Historical Reflections. Réflexions historiques* 28, no. 2 (2002): 143–62. Other Africanist works

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colonial history through what may be both the most local and the most "national" of historical symbols, war memorials.[18] The memorials analyzed below were erected over the course of seven decades, beginning in the 1920s. Those in Bamako (Mali) and Reims (France) were identical, and in the 1990s a postcolonial sibling to those statues went up in Fréjus. At almost the same time, that seaside town welcomed another, very different memorial complex for "French" remains repatriated from Vietnam. In examining these memorials, my purpose is not to export a method and a subject of inquiry to the former colonies. Instead, my engagement with the memorials is explicitly instrumental; I use them as a device, analyzing what their presence says about place. The monuments and their stories illustrate connections between colonial and postcolonial worlds, and they demonstrate that the colonial situation generated communities of memory anchored in particular sites.[19] It also engendered locality, making otherwise distant sites central to the experiences and possibilities of the people inhabiting the sociopolitical categories—not only "*indigène*" (native) but also "*africain*" or "*français*"—that colonial rule invested with such great importance.[20] That quality of locality manifests itself in a web of memory and meaning elaborated over decades. My analysis and my narrative move along that web as far as Mali, but the web itself stretches to other places, particularly Southeast Asia. Traveling to Bamako and Kati (Mali), while stopping briefly in Reims, both analysis and narrative return frequently to Fréjus, one of the web's oldest and most important nodes. There, elements of the recent, shared past of France, West Africa, and Southeast Asia take concrete form, as a pair of memorials dedicated in the 1990s partly revives tattered ideas of political community and provokes questions they leave unanswered.

IN THE EYES OF FRENCH MILITARY PLANNERS, the conquest of large portions of Africa and parts of Asia in the late nineteenth century paid immense dividends a generation later when the empire provided hundreds of thousands of men to the

that build on Nora include Marc Michel, "Mémoire Officielle: Discours et pratique coloniale le 14 Juillet et le 11 Novembre au Sénégal entre les deux guerres," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 77, no. 287 (1990): 145–58; Jean-Pierre Chrétien and Jean-Louis Triaud, eds., *Histoire d'Afrique: Les enjeux de mémoire* (Paris, 1999); and Pier M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000).

[18] On the tensions between the local and the national in the building of memorials, as well as the meaning of "local" in the administrative context, see Sherman, *Construction*, chap. 5, esp. 218–19.

[19] Eric Jennings has studied one metropolitan site that was designed to commemorate the French presence in Southeast Asia, and, just as significantly, its inverse; see Jennings, "Remembering 'Other' Losses."

[20] Much recent work on French colonialism is devoted to the explication of these and other categories. See Emmanuelle Saada, "The Empire of Law: Dignity, Prestige, and the 'Colonial Situation,'" *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 20, no. 2 (2002): 98–120; Saada, "La République des indigènes," in Vincent Duclert and Christophe Prochasson, eds., *Dictionnaire Critique de la République* (Paris, 2002), 364–70. Some of the best of this scholarship recognizes that even categories emerge from places with their own histories. See Laure Blevis, "La citoyenneté française au miroir de la colonisation: Étude des demandes de naturalisation des 'sujets français' en Algérie coloniale," *Genèses* 53 (2003): 25–47; and the seminal work of Ann Laura Stoler, collected in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

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metropole during World War I.[21] While Southeast Asia and North Africa sent both workers and soldiers, the sub-Saharan Africans who are the focus of this essay were almost exclusively soldiers assigned to combat units.[22] The colonial federations of French West and Equatorial Africa provided just over 200,000 soldiers, known collectively as *tirailleurs Sénégalais*.[23] They were deployed in Europe, Africa, and Anatolia, and many passed through Fréjus. They served as front-line infantry, and 30,000 to 31,000 of them died of combat or illness. A disproportionate number of the *tirailleurs* came from Soudan Français (today's Mali), which at the time included much of the country now known as Burkina Faso. The forced recruitment and provisioning of so many thousands of men caused an enormous amount of damage to African societies, and in some places it sparked intense resistance to colonial rule. Using African troops under European command, the colonial military suppressed these revolts with great brutality, and many historians consider World War I the last chapter in the colonial conquest of Africa.[24] Given the intensity of recruitment, rebellion, and repression, as well as the extraction of resources like rubber and peanut oil, the war deeply scarred West African communities.

The war also left its mark on Fréjus, linking it to towns across the empire as a prominent point in a new colonial constellation. At first blush, Fréjus might seem to be an unlikely site for a colonial encounter. Located on the Mediterranean coast between Nice and Toulon, the town is best known as a vacation destination. Yet the history of colonialism extends from one individual place to another, and it is not always necessary to pass through Paris. Residues of empire linger in particular spaces within France and French national culture, representing both the recent colonial past and a deeper imperial history that allows former colonial military officers who retired to the south of France to point proudly to the debris of the Roman empire.[25]

[21] On colonial workers, see Tyler Stovall, "The Color Line behind the Lines: Racial Violence in France during the Great War" *AHR* 103, no. 3 (1998): 737–69; on soldiers from across the empire, see Claude Carlier and Guy Pedroncini, eds., *Les Troupes Coloniales dans la Grande Guerre* (Paris, 1997); and Richard Fogarty, "Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002). On soldiers from North and sub-Saharan Africa, see Anthony Clayton, *France, Soldiers, and Africa* (London, 1988). On North Africa specifically, see Gilbert Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée: La guerre de 1914–1918 et le premier quart du XX^e siècle* (Geneva, 1981); and Driss Maghraoui, "The Moroccan Colonial Soldiers: Between Selective Memory and Collective Memory," in Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, ed., *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, and Politics* (New York, 2000). Note that North Africans were not part of *la Coloniale*; they composed *l'Armée d'Afrique*.

[22] On the French West African war effort, the key work is Marc Michel, *L'Appel à l'Afrique: Contributions et Réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F., 1914–1919* (Paris, 1982), recently republished in a modestly revised version as *Les Africains et la grande guerre: L'appel à l'Afrique, 1914–1918* (Paris, 2003). See also Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The* tirailleurs Sénégalais *in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991), 25–46 and below; Joe Harris Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1999); and Bakari Kamian, *Des tranchées de Verdun à l'église Saint-Bernard: 80,000 combattants maliens au secours de la France (1914–1918 et 1939–1945)* (Paris, 2001), chaps. 3 and 4. Figures are drawn from Michel, *Appel*, 404–408. See also Conklin, *Mission*, chap. 5.

[23] Michel, *Appel*, 404. Not all of these men would serve in Europe. Note that Michel's figures are cited incorrectly in Echenberg *Colonial Conscripts*, 46.

[24] This argument has most recently been made by Mahir Saul and Patrick Royer, *West African Challenge to Empire: Culture and History in the Volta-Bani Anti-Colonial War* (Athens, Ohio, 2001).

[25] Interview with the author, Commandant L. Baron, Aix-en-Provence, October 9, 1998. Two recent studies of the place of the colonies in the popular imagination in France are Chafer and Sackur,

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Of more immediate relevance is the military culture itself, which pervades Fréjus, long a base for the colonial army (*la Coloniale*) and its current incarnation (*les troupes de la Marine*). Any visitor consulting a map will be struck by the town's military and colonial nomenclature: Joseph Gallieni, Hubert Lyautey, and the famed Second Armored Division can each claim their own roads, plazas, or parks, and there is even, without a hint of irony, a traffic circle dedicated to the memory of Algerian soldiers who fought for France during the Algerian war (*rond point des harkis*). Conqueror of much of the African empire, governor of Indochina, Madagascar, and Soudan (and, during World War I, Paris), Gallieni married into a family from Fréjus. His former villa still bears his name, and he is buried in the neighboring town of Saint-Raphaël. Nearly 10,000 soldiers from all over the empire are also buried in the area, which was long home to colonial military hospitals.[26] In fact, during World War I there were many more Africans in and around Fréjus than there were Frenchmen in the huge territory of French West Africa in 1921.[27] The historical irony runs deep: a region that had only recently become a prominent winter destination for European royalty was the temporary home of tens of thousands of colonial troops.

From 1914, Fréjus and its environs became one of the centers of the colonial soldier's existence in France and a welcome counterpoint to the trenches.[28] In a practice known as *hivernage*, West African *tirailleurs* were removed from the front and garrisoned in the south during the long winter months, when they were thought to suffer greatly from the cold.[29] In the southern camps, they would undergo training in military technique and in a rudimentary soldier's French known as the *parler tirailleur*. Many soldiers suffered from bronchial afflictions, and they convalesced, or died, in specially segregated military hospitals with all-male nursing staffs in Fréjus and Menton. Those who were seriously wounded in combat were also evacuated to these hospitals, the best known of which were tourist hotels converted by a former colonial officer named Dr. Maclaud. A far cry from any doctrine of assimilation, under Maclaud's leadership these hospitals were expressly dedicated to a project of *resénégalisation*, which would ensure that the soldiers recuperating there did not forget their status as subalterns or lose what he took to be their cultural moorings as Africans. As a step toward the latter goal, hospital corridors were painted with scenes intended to evoke African village life, and the nursing staff was encouraged to learn and use Bambara when delivering instructions and

eds., *Promoting the Colonial Idea* ; and Elizabeth Ezra, *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000). See also Jean de La Guérivière, *Les Fous d'Afrique: Histoire d'une passion française* (Paris, 2001); and William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, Conn., 1982).

[26] René Massip, "Le Musée des Troupes de Marine," *Revue Historique des Armées* 151 (1983): 116–19, see 116.

[27] There were 7,742 people identified as "French" in the AOF in 1921; Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), 1: 925.

[28] Michel, *Appel*, chaps. 17, 18. As the number of *tirailleurs* in France increased in 1917 and 1918, camps opened to accommodate them in towns other than Fréjus; Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom*, 104–106.

[29] In contemporary African French, the term *hivernage* refers to the rainy season, which in the Sahel extends from June to September.

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prescriptions.[30] Whether or not Maclaud's efforts might have made West Africans feel at home is debatable; Lucie Cousturier, a French artist and writer who had befriended some African soldiers, caustically described *resénégalisation* as "recat-echization in fear."[31]

Although the inhabitants of Fréjus and its environs were initially shocked to find that their quiet town would play host to the colonial contingents, some of them would gradually develop familiar relations with the young men, exchanging French lessons, fresh produce, bread, and conversation with them. Cousturier became particularly close to some of the West African soldiers she found almost literally on her doorstep. She taught French to many of them, and hosted a dinner at which her brother-in-law Paul, former lieutenant governor of Guinea and builder of its capital, Conakry, sat down with one of his erstwhile subjects.[32] Local merchants, by contrast, found them an easy mark.[33] Not all of Fréjus's citizens interacted with the colonial troops, but the culture of the town would be changed irrevocably.

Unfortunately, West Africans were not brought to France to rest in the pine hills outside Fréjus, but to fight in the trenches. Considered to be ideal "shock troops," they served as the spearhead of assaults on fixed positions and suffered predictably high casualty rates.[34] As Bakary Kamian notes, "there was hardly a major offensive in which Africans did not play an important role."[35] However, one of their key engagements, in Reims, was defensive. Under intense German attack in the spring and summer of 1918, they held the town and eventually counterattacked. Many *tirailleurs* died in the fighting, and one battalion was virtually destroyed.[36] The determination of the African defense of the town seized the imagination of many, and in 1924 the erection of a twin set of war memorials would symbolically strengthen the new ties between Reims and the distant city of Bamako, capital of Soudan Français.[37] (See Figure 1.) Although the bond between the two cities would prove fleeting—and in 1940 the German army would destroy the monument in Reims—the statue's form was enduring and a variation on it appeared in Fréjus in 1994. Built on land donated by the Marquis de Polignac, the original 1924 monument in Reims both recognized the town's special relationship with the African troops and asserted the virtues of their presence in France as a symbolic counterargument to vociferous European and American objections to the use of

[30] Alphonse Séché, *Les Noirs: D'après des documents officielles* (Paris, 1919), 236–47.

[31] Lucie Cousturier, *Des inconnus chez moi* (Paris, 1920), 215. All translations are those of the author.

[32] Cousturier, *Des inconnus chez moi*, 143–44; see also Cousturier, *Mes inconnus chez eux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925), 1: 66.

[33] Reports, Contrôleur des troupes Sénégalaises Logeay, sur les Batallions Sénégalais stationés dans les Camps de Saint-Raphaël, Fréjus, et Formations sanitaires, March and September 1918; see also Report of February 14, 1918. All in sub-series 4D, dossier 8g (hearafter, 4D89), Archives Nationales du Senegal (hereafter, ANS).

[34] Joe Lunn, "'*Les races guerrières*': Racial Preconceptions in the French Military about West African Soldiers during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 4 (1999): 517–36.

[35] Kamian, *Des tranchées de Verdun*, 122.

[36] Michel, *Appel*, 326–30.

[37] Georges Labouré, "Un monument aux troupes noires," *La Revue indigène* 17, nos. 165–66 (1922): 249–54. This was the most significant monument to African troops in interwar France. See Serge Barcellini, "Les Monuments en hommage aux combattants de la 'Grande France' (Armée d'Afrique et Armée Coloniale)," in Carlier and Pedroncini, *Les Troupes Coloniales*.

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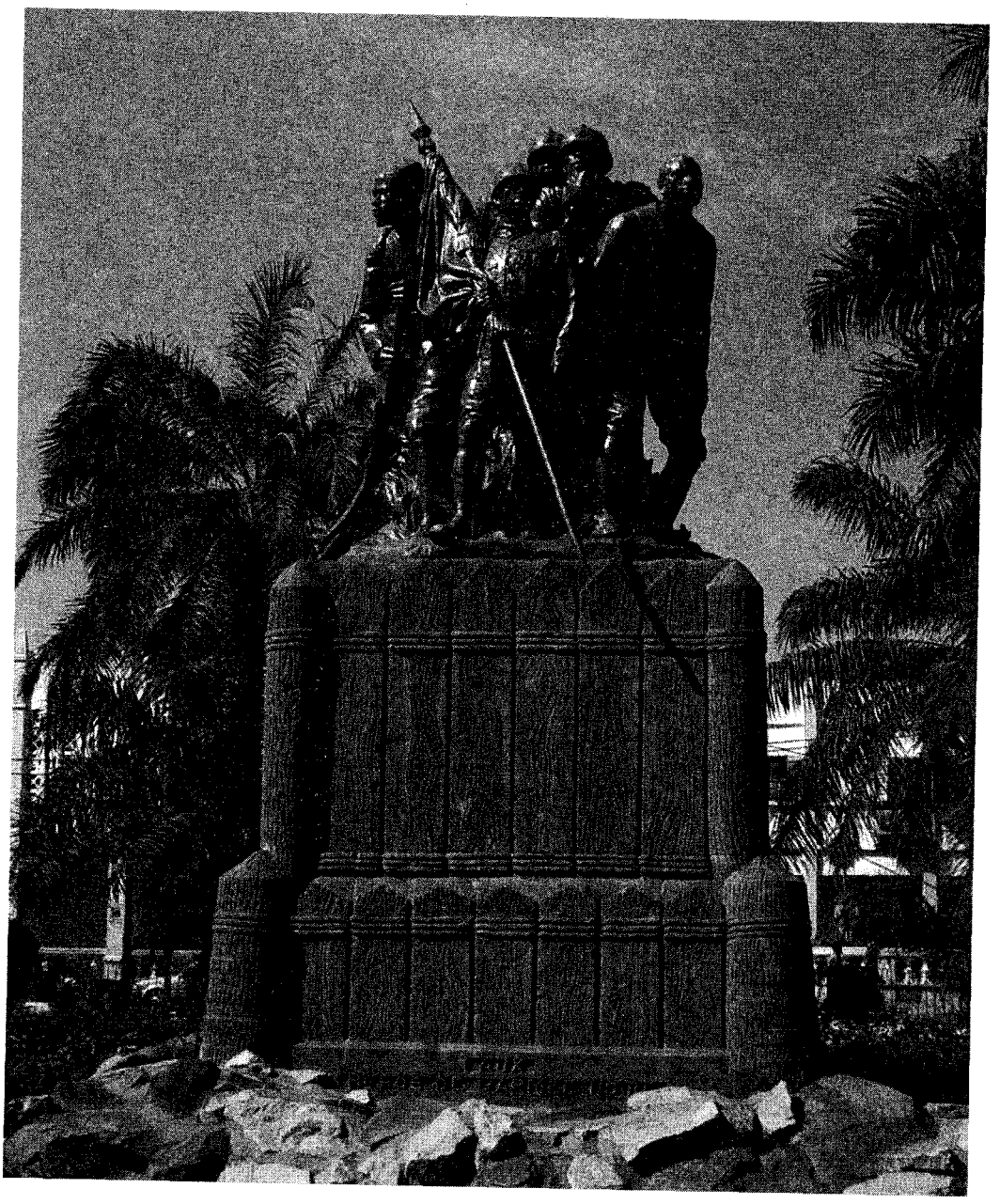


FIGURE 1: *Aux Héros de l'Armée Noire*, Bamako. Author's photograph, 2002.

African and other non-European troops in the occupation of the Rhineland. In his speech inaugurating the monument, General Louis Archinard, one of the primary architects of the conquest of the Western Sudan, underscored this point when he proclaimed the *tirailleurs* to be "*des Français noirs*." The depth of the relationship was then highlighted by a spectacular "historical parade [representing] all the Native troops" from the time of the Bourbon Restoration to the *tirailleurs*

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Sénégalais and *Indochinois*.[38] Reims was exceptional in its embrace of African troops, and the Rhineland controversy charged the political atmosphere.

While monuments to the war dead mushroomed in interwar France, drawing local and national (republican) memories into what was intended to be a sublime combination, they were also springing up in the colonies. Eric Jennings has demonstrated that those erected in Guadeloupe represented a claim to cultural, and therefore political, assimilation on the part of the island's veterans and others. They were simultaneously "local" and "national," as they "were designed by the island's elite as assimilationist bridges between Guadeloupean and metropolitan allegiances."[39] War monuments erected in Africa were more properly "colonial." The form that appeared in Reims and Bamako emphasized the inequality between the white officer holding the flag, distinguished by his posture and his uniform, and the *tirailleurs* clustered behind him. Moreover, statues in the African colonies were not directly funded by veterans or other Africans, but were almost entirely paid for by the administration and its supporters in France and among the very small European colonial population.

Bamako was a logical if not a consensual candidate for a monument to the *Armée noire*, since Soudan had provided so many soldiers for the war.[40] The city's intense traffic still swirls around the war memorial and its garden, but documents of the period convey the sense that the monument was built primarily to assuage the memory of French administrators and colonists and to assure them of the "loyalty" of a colony that had experienced significant revolts before the successful recruitment drive of 1918.[41] At one point, in the early 1920s, three separate committees dedicated to erecting a memorial to African veterans competed for public and private funds. While Senegalese parliamentarian Blaise Diagne sought to create a monument in Dakar, Archinard chaired a rival committee, which foresaw a memorial in Bamako. Meanwhile, Governor Guy, West African commissioner to the exposition in Marseille, wanted to have built in France a monument that could service both the exposition and its successor to be held in Paris. Governor-General Merlin preferred that Dakar, its sister city Saint-Louis, and Bamako each have its own monument; in the end, this is what happened.[42] Nevertheless, in Bamako as elsewhere, former military officers were among those active in raising funds for the

[38] "A la mémoire des tirailleurs noirs," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française*, August 1924, and "Pour les héros de l'armée noire," *Annales Coloniales*, July 15, 1924, Agence de la France d'outre-mer (hereafter AgeFOM), carton 389, dossier 13 bis (hereafter 389/13b), CAOM.

[39] Jennings, "Monuments to Frenchness?," 588.

[40] Note, "Souscriptions diverses en vue d'ériger des monuments aux morts de la Guerre en AOF" (n.d., 1921?), 1affpol 543, CAOM.

[41] See, for example, Labouré, "Un monument aux troupes noires." On the revolts, see Saul and Royer, *West African Challenge*; and on recruitment, see Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, chaps. 3 and 4; Michel, *Appel*, chaps. 3, 4, and 6; Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom*, chap. 2.

[42] Note, "Souscriptions diverses," CAOM. At the time, Dakar was capital of AOF, while Saint-Louis was the capital of the colonies of Senegal and Mauritania. Two monuments were installed in Dakar, one in 1924 and another, sponsored by Diagne, in 1929; Michel *Africains et la grande guerre*, 241–42. The memorial in Saint-Louis was not inaugurated until 1939. Armée généralités, no. 303, "Sénégal, la fête du 14 juillet à St-Louis," July 27, 1939, AgeFOM 389/13b, CAOM. Such monuments would gradually become common sights in colonial capitals and in some African towns.

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statue and in overseeing its design by Paul Moreau-Vauthier, a well-known French sculptor.[43]

Several dignitaries attended the unveiling in Bamako in January 1924, including Governor-General Jules Carde, General Henri-Edouard Claudel, commander of French forces in West Africa, and a representative of Minister of Colonies Albert Sarraut. Yet perhaps the most notable of the invited guests was unable to attend. Poor health prevented General Archinard from making the voyage to Bamako. Nevertheless, his speech was read to the assembled crowd, and it remains a remarkable document. In his address, Archinard underscored the depth of the past shared by the French nation and the people of Western Sudanic Africa. He brought this relationship to life as he wrote that he composed his speech, "thinking of my former comrades of thirty years ago, some of whom, such as my old and courageous interpreter Mamadou Coumba, are perhaps among those who listen to my speech today."[44] Interim governor Terrasson de Fougères used the occasion to anticipate the promising future of the colonial relationship. He claimed that, "When peace came, our *tirailleurs* returned to their homes [where] they saw that France had kept her promises. They see their country evolving rapidly towards a better future." The hallmarks of this bright future would include new schools and dispensaries, maternity clinics, roads, and irrigation systems. In a fit of hyperbole, the governor proclaimed that French irrigation projects would make the valley of the Niger "one of the richest countries in the world." The modernizing potential of French power in the Soudan was underscored when a group of low-flying airplanes saluted the crowd, while troops from the nearby garrison of Kati paraded in the streets.[45]

While Archinard and Terrasson saw the monument as a sign of French benevolence and indeed of cautiously expressed gratitude, the prolific colonial critic Michel Larchain regarded such monuments as a poor use of resources. Comparing acts of commemoration in France to those in the African colonies, he noted that French railway workers were building a sanitarium as a living memorial to their dead. Meanwhile, a fund-raising event held in the Tuileries would help to pay for four war memorials in towns across French Africa. Newly erected memorials "right in the heart of the old warring Soudan" struck Larchain as a poor substitute for hospitals and other institutions that could better demonstrate French recognition of the West African contribution to the war.[46] Larchain did not point out the irony that Bamako's monument commemorating the soldiers was located in the middle of the city, while the administration had sought to force demobilized *tirailleurs* and their families out of the capital and back to the countryside.[47]

[43] On some of Paul Moreau-Vauthier's metropolitan activities, see Sherman, *Construction*, 185.

[44] *Inauguration du Monument élevé à Dakar À la gloire des Troupes noires . . . Monument élevé à Bamako Aux Héros de l'Armée noire . . .* , Pamphlet, (Dakar, n.d., 1924?).

[45] *Inauguration du Monument*. The governor's comments support Sherman's point that such ceremonies function as "idealizing representations of the communities *they seek to shape*." Sherman, *Construction*, 264, emphasis added.

[46] Michel Larchain, "L'Hommage aux Morts: Deux manières de le rendre, une bonne et une mauvaise," *La dépêche coloniale et maritime*, July 16, 1921; and "Statuomanie africaine,"*La dépêche coloniale et maritime*, January 26, 1921.

[47] The colonial administration consistently opposed recently demobilized *tirailleurs* who sought to remain in the capital cities rather than return to their villages of origin. However, whether or not the former *tirailleurs* should be expelled from urban areas by force was a matter of some dispute, beginning in 1917; see the exchange between Governor-General François-Joseph Clozel and Lieutenant

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Neither Larchain nor Archinard would have anticipated that the war memorial *Aux héros de l'armée noire* would come to be known locally as *Samorikélékédenw* (Samory's warriors), in reference to Samori Touré (d. 1900), who built a powerful West African empire in the 1880s and 1890s and fought a long-running war with the French.[48] No date can be assigned to this interpretation, but if it is impossible to know what Bamako's inhabitants made of the war memorial when it was built, the events of a sweltering Sunday morning ten years after its dedication may offer a glimpse of the meanings generated around it.[49] On May 13, 1934, the trains from Bamako to the important nearby garrison at Kati were packed with Africans and Europeans eager to attend the dedication of another memorial to the *tirailleurs*.[50] Thousands of Bamakois who could not find places on the trains crowded onto trucks or hiked several miles across the hills to Kati. Much of the European population of Bamako also made the trek. At Kati's Camp Gallieni, they joined representatives of *tirailleurs* regiments who had come from Senegal in the middle of the hot season to present their flags at the unveiling of a memorial to the fallen soldiers of the Second Regiment de tirailleurs Sénégalais (R.T.S.). (See Figure 2.) The event they were eager to see was a true spectacle, complete with parades, a military band, maneuvers performed by juvenile cadets, "folkloric dances," games, and—for the Europeans—an evening jazz band performance under electric light at which they could "drink copiously to the health of the regiment."[51]

Along with the ceremonies surrounding its inauguration, the monument was the brainchild of the commander of the Second R.T.S., Colonel Edouard de Martonne. De Martonne was an exceptional officer who stands out both for his publications on the *tirailleurs* and for his skills in Bambara (Bamanankan), the corps' African lingua franca. He believed strongly in the importance of ceremony and sought to cultivate actively a set of rituals and traditions particular to the Second R.T.S. The previous year, he had launched what was to be an annual "*fête du 2' R.T.S.*" with which he intended to celebrate his soldiers, to affirm the "cordiality and good will" between the military and the civilian administration, and to honor the regiment's history. A highlight of these celebrations was a mock assault staged by the *tirailleurs* on the parade ground. After cavalry and infantrymen with fixed bayonets had charged to

Governor of Haut Sénégal-Niger Raphael Antonetti in sub-series 3n, dossier 243 (hereafter, 3N243), Fonds Ancien, (hereafter, FA), Archives Nationales du Mali, Bamako (hereafter, ANM). Into the 1920s, veterans and soldiers' wives or widows were sometimes given money to leave Bamako for their communities of origin, which in most cases were rural villages; see files of the *Comité d'Assistance aux Troupes Noires* in 2N85FA, ANM. As former slaves, many were reluctant to return to their masters and wound up in towns instead. On *tirailleurs* as former slaves, see Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, chap. 2; Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (New York, 1998), 80–83, chap. 13.

[48] In 1898, the French captured Samori and exiled him to Gabon, where he died. On Samori, see Yves Person, *Samori: Une révolution Dyula*, 3 vols. (Nîmes, 1968–1975); D. T. Niane, "The Origins of Samori's State," *Mande Studies* 3 (2001): 7–14; Lanisiné Kaba, "Almami Samouri Touré within the West African Imperial Tradition," *Mande Studies* 3 (2001): 15–34.

[49] A recent wave of monument building in Bamako may offer some additional insight. In the 1990s, Bamakois sometimes referred to the new statues as the then-president's *boliw*, or ritual power objects, implying with more than a hint of sarcasm that they were intended to secure his rule through occult practices. The term *Samorikélékédenw* is in current usage in Bamako.

[50] My description of the dedication of the memorial is drawn from Edouard de Martonne, *"Le Mémorial" du tirailleur Sénégalais, Kati, le 13 Mai 1934* (Dakar, 1934).

[51] De Martonne, *Mémorial*, 8.

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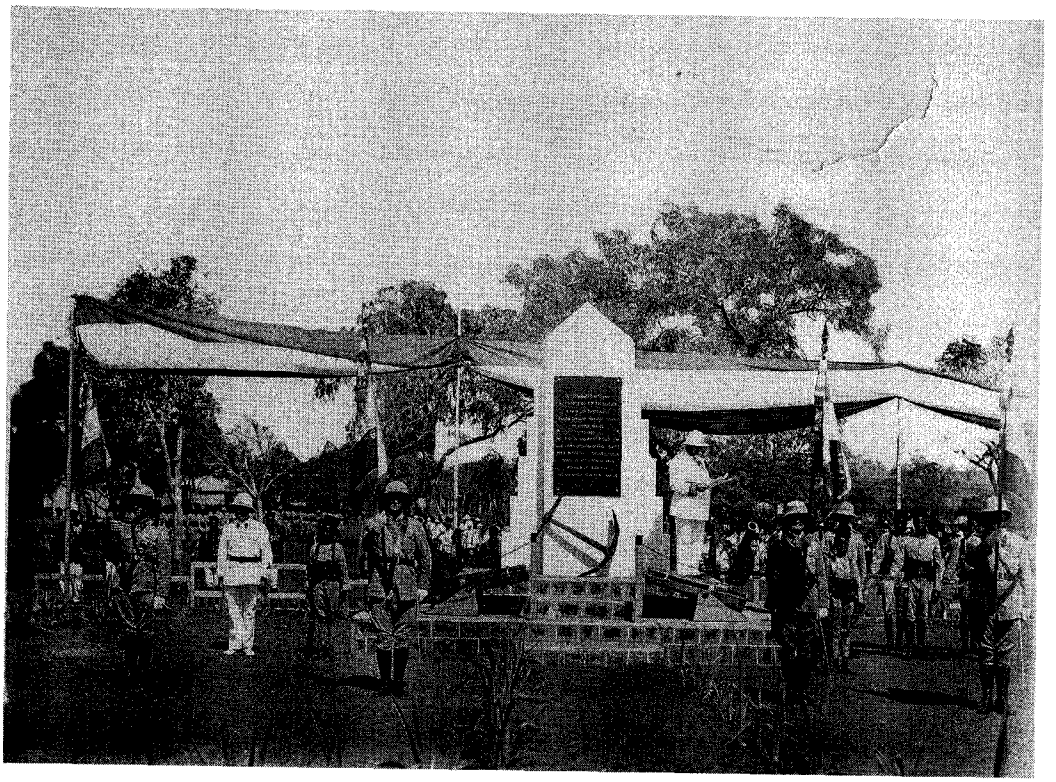


FIGURE 2: Colonel de Martonne inaugurates the monument to the Second R.T.S. at Kati, May 13, 1934. Photography reproduced with kind permission of the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, France.

within twenty meters of the tribune on which the European spectators sat, four flag-bearers came together at the foot of the tribune to strike the pose held in the Bamako memorial.[52]

Although as a representational work, the old memorial was easily imitated, the new one was dramatically different, and it evoked a singular response. No African-generated testimony to the 1934 inauguration of the monument at Kati survives, but in his text describing the event, de Martonne offers tantalizing evidence of the excitement that it generated, as well as a record of some of the resources from which meaning may have been constructed. After de Martonne's own bilingual speech, a child cadet recited a historical example of the *tirailleurs*' "devotion" to their European officers. Young Adama Cissoko declared that he and his peers would often visit the site, where they would "ask our predecessors to bring their bravery and virtue into our hearts." De Martonne had carefully choreographed the ceremony of inauguration, but, according to his own record of the event, at that moment he seems to have lost control, as "the entire Native part of the crowd—the civilians, of course—surged forward with curiosity, and the barricades could hardly hold them back."[53]

[52] Edouard de Martone, *La fête du 2me[sic] Régiment de Tirailleurs Sénégalais, Kati, le 7 mai 1933* (Dakar, 1933), 15.

[53] De Martonne, *Mémorial*, 5–6.

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According to de Martonne, the Europeans were also moved by this speech, and indeed by the ceremony as a whole. We can assume that they assimilated this stone structure to that erected in Bamako ten years earlier and to countless others in France. Although Bamako's monument was a representative sculpture and Kati's an obelisk, most French-speakers would have understood by the term *mémorial* and by the inscriptions on its face, that the function of the monument was to perform a particular kind of memory work and to reassert the alleged virtues of the colonial relationship, particularly the *tirailleurs*' supposed loyalty. However, it takes much more imagination to understand why the crowd surged forward at the moment that it did, at the end of the cadet's speech, or what it understood by the terms used to refer to the monument itself. In de Martonne's speech, delivered first in French and then in Bambara, the monument was referred to in different terms in different languages. In French the marble and concrete obelisk was a *mémorial*, and in Bambara it was a *farasso* (alternately, *fara so*), literally a "stone house." The rhetorical conventions marking the French speech were well established, announcing the monument as being dedicated to the soldiers of the Second R.T.S., to an unknown soldier, and to those who had died both in the conquest of the Soudan and in the world war. A plaque had been inscribed in part, "à tous les Bandiougou, Samba-Taraoré, Mamadou-Fofana, et autres braves . . . hommage de leurs fils, de leurs neveux, de leurs successeurs."[54]

In Bambara, the conventions were much less clear, and de Martonne did not heed the most relevant of them. Rather than having his words translated, de Martonne apparently delivered the speech himself, without an interpreter, and without a *jeli* or *griot*, a professional orator to project his words for him. Of greater consequence for the present argument, the word *farasso*, the term he used to refer to the new monument, has no apparent implications for memory work. De Martonne gave it that meaning—that is, associated memory with the object—by erecting the obelisk as a site of greeting and of reflection on the ancestors. Very few of the African soldiers and civilians would have understood de Martonne's French speech, in which he proclaimed that the monument was for a particular regiment, one whose history and culture de Martonne had worked hard to accentuate.[55] Moreover, the camp housed many recent recruits who would not have seen the Bamako memorial either; what de Martonne and the cadet Cissoko said became all the more important. In Bambara, the monument was for the fathers, uncles, and grandfathers of the soldiers and cadets. When passing before it, one was literally to greet the dead ("*I ni cé Bandiougou!* / Greetings Bandiougou!"). In both speeches, the practice of naming was an aspect of the work of memory, but the names in question were not significant as the names of particular individuals, as Archinard had called upon in his Bamako speech or as were commonly displayed on

[54] The text in full reads: "To the unknown *tirailleur*, to the dead of the Second R.T.S., to every Bandiougou, ever Samba-Taraoré [*sic*], every Mamadou-Fofana [*sic*], and [to all the] other brave men fallen for the conquest of the Soudan, as well as during the great war of 1914–1918 and in the theaters of foreign operations in Morocco, the Levant, and Madagascar, etc . . . [*sic*] homage from their sons, their nephews, their successors." The opposite side bears the date of dedication, noting that it is the thirty-fourth anniversary of the creation of the regiment.

[55] The previous year, de Martonne had, for example, described the unit's flag as the "fetish of the regiment," suggesting that it bore particular power; de Martonne, *Fête*, 4.

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metropolitan memorials. No one proposed naming *all* of the *tirailleurs* from the colony of Soudan or the administrative district of Bamako who had died in the war, as was often the case for metropolitan memorials.[56] Rather, the speeches and the inscription at Kati were meant to represent both certain illustrious predecessors (in Bambara, grandfathers or ancestors) and a broader tradition of loyalty and fidelity thought to be characteristic of the *tirailleurs*.[57] In other words, the monument was not naming names so much as it was naming types.

General Archinard's inaugural speech in Bamako in 1924, in which he invoked the name of his interpreter Mamadou Coumba, worked to define the monument as a physical manifestation of the highly prized quality of reciprocal loyalty. The speeches made at Kati ten years later did much the same thing; they commemorated, thereby defining, a past relationship between officers and men, and they projected it into the future. In the 1940s and 1950s, groups composed of both African and European veterans built on the attention paid to the virtue of loyalty in order to claim that the French state did not live up to its own obligations in the form of pensions and other benefits for former soldiers. The Bamako monument became a favored site for veterans protesting low pension rates or welcoming visiting ministers.[58] The fact that some of these protests were staged in solidarity with metropolitan veterans' groups suggests that although enlisted men and officers, civilians and soldiers, French-speakers and Bambara-speakers (or those who spoke both) may originally have understood the stone monuments at Bamako and Kati very differently, by the postwar period they shared an understanding of their symbolic and rhetorical potential.

While these African monuments represented a particular past, they neither anchored it permanently nor revived it in the wake of independence. The Second R.T.S., to which the monument at Kati was dedicated, became the Third Détache-

[56] On the importance of naming in metropolitan France, see Daniel J. Sherman, "Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Interwar France," *AHR* 103, no. 2 (1998): 443–66. In the African context, the colonial administration could not have named with any accuracy those who had been lost, nor would its agents have wanted to present a public accounting of the losses. Naming the African soldiers and auxiliaries killed in the Volta-Bani war, an anticolonial revolt sparked by conscription, would have been a more feasible undertaking, but colonial administrators advocating the erection of such a memorial in the town of San apparently never considered the option. Nevertheless, the names of European officers figured on their tombs; *President, Oeuvre des Tombes* (Soudan Français) to *Commandant de Cercle* (CdC), San, November 1927; response of CdC, San, December 23, 1927, B352–3FR, ANM. On the Volta-Bani war, see Saul and Royer, *West African Challenge*. By way of contrast with the anonymity of colonial memory, Malian historian Bakari Kamian's recent book names 2,588 "Native soldiers from Haut-Sénégal Niger who died for France and whose remains are not yet identified." Kamian intends to underscore the "blood debt" owed by France; Kamian, *Des Tranchées de Verdun*, 377–434. As Kamian acknowledges, many of those names are likely to be pseudonyms or aliases; see also Gregory Mann, "What's in an Alias? Family Names, Individual Histories, and Historical Method in the Western Sudan," *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 309–20.

[57] For instance, the original Mamadou Fofana was a legendary *tirailleur* from the time of the colonial conquest, but the name Mamadou (or Mahmadou) Fofana came to stand for a type of *tirailleur*; in 1928, the well-known French art critic Raymond Escholier published a novel bearing that name. The novel contains a brief discussion of a brothel in Fréjus, where the *tirailleurs* had encounters with European women; Raymond Escholier, *Mahmadou Fofana* 12th edn. (Paris, 1928), 235–38.

[58] See, for example, Haut-Commissaire/ Gouverneur Général AOF (GGAOF) to Gov. Soudan (Cabinet), October 16, 1953, Fonds Numérique NI sub-series 1D dossier, 1484, ANM. In a similar vein, contemporary activists have staged demonstrations in defense of African immigrants at memorials to colonial troops in France; Gregory Mann, "Immigrants and Arguments in France and West Africa," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (2003): 362–85, see 365.

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ment Motorisé Autonome (D.M.A.) after World War II;[59] the unit was dissolved when Mali became independent. While the monument still stands, the military unit it was meant to honor no longer exists. In the wake of independence and the Malian expulsion of the French military in 1961, the general staff of Mali's new army set out to transform the base at Kati into a military school rivaling that at Fréjus, where many of its officers had trained.[60] Similarly, the Bamako monument still stands in the center of town, in the middle of a traffic circle. Although it was never taken down, it did not emerge from the nationalist period entirely unscathed. According to an Icelandic travel writer who visited Bamako with her family in the mid-1960s, "The statues of the charging African soldiers on the monument were still intact, as were the engraved names of battles they had engaged in that meant nothing to me as an Icelander . . . But what struck us at once was the fact that the words of the commendation [*sic*] and dedication had all been carefully chiselled [*sic*] off and painted over with white paint!" Although she took this modification of the memorial as evidence that the Malians "despise[d]" the French,[61] it could equally be understood as evidence of the respect, perhaps grudging, that the country's political leadership had for the veterans, who were a potent if conservative constituency. A monument to General Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes, who established the first French post at Bamako, had been torn down shortly after independence.[62] While both the Bamako and the Kati monuments survived the nationalist politics of the period relatively unharmed, the statue in Reims, twin to that in Bamako, had fallen prey to a more poisonous nationalist rancor during the German invasion of 1940.[63] As part of a wave of post-independence (and post-Algerian War) commemoration of African participation in the world wars, the minister of armies dedicated a "monolithic stele" on the site in 1963, and after 1996, a plaque recalled the destruction of the original monument.[64] The twin pair in Bamako and Reims had endured a tumultuous history when a sibling statue was erected in Fréjus in 1994 to commemorate the role of African troops in the liberation of the region fifty years earlier.

[59] Colonel Peltier, "Historique du Drapeau, D.M.A. No. 3," Kati, March 21, 1957, sub-series 16H, dossier 327, Centre d'histoire et d'études des troupes d'outre-mer, Fréjus (hereafter, CHETOM).

[60] Interview by Radio Mali with Chief of Staff Abdoulaye Soumaré, printed in *L'Essor (Hebdo.)*, October 22, 1962. See also Vincent Joly, "La fin de la présence militaire française au Mali," *Revue Historique des Armées* 218 (2000): 39–54.

[61] Halla Linker, *Three Tickets to Timbuktu* (New York, 1966), 258–59.

[62] Bulletin de renseignements du conseiller militaire près de l'ambassade de France au Mali, November 5, 1961, no. 2053/SC, sub-series 10T, dossier 701, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, France (hereafter, SHAT).

[63] Barcellini, "Monuments," 132–33 and 151–52; M. Rives and R. Dietrich, *Héros méconnus (1914–1918, 1939–1945): Mémorial des combattants d'Afrique Noire et de Madagascar* (Paris, 1990), 115. Dakar's 1923 monument, known as "Demba and Dupont" for its two figures, one African and one French, has been removed to a less prominent place and is now in the cemetery where President Léopold Sédar Senghor was buried in 2001; Annie Thomas, "Senghor reposera au côté des tirailleurs sénégalais," *Agence France Presse*, December 24, 2001.

[64] Although later in the war the German army destroyed other memorials for scrap metal, the 1996 plaque states that "the occupier destroyed the 'Monument to the Blacks' out of racial hatred"; Barcellini, "Monuments," 132 and 151–52. In the immediate wake of independence, other monuments to colonial troops were dedicated in Amiens, Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, and elsewhere in France; see Barcellini, "Monuments" and 1K354, SHAT.

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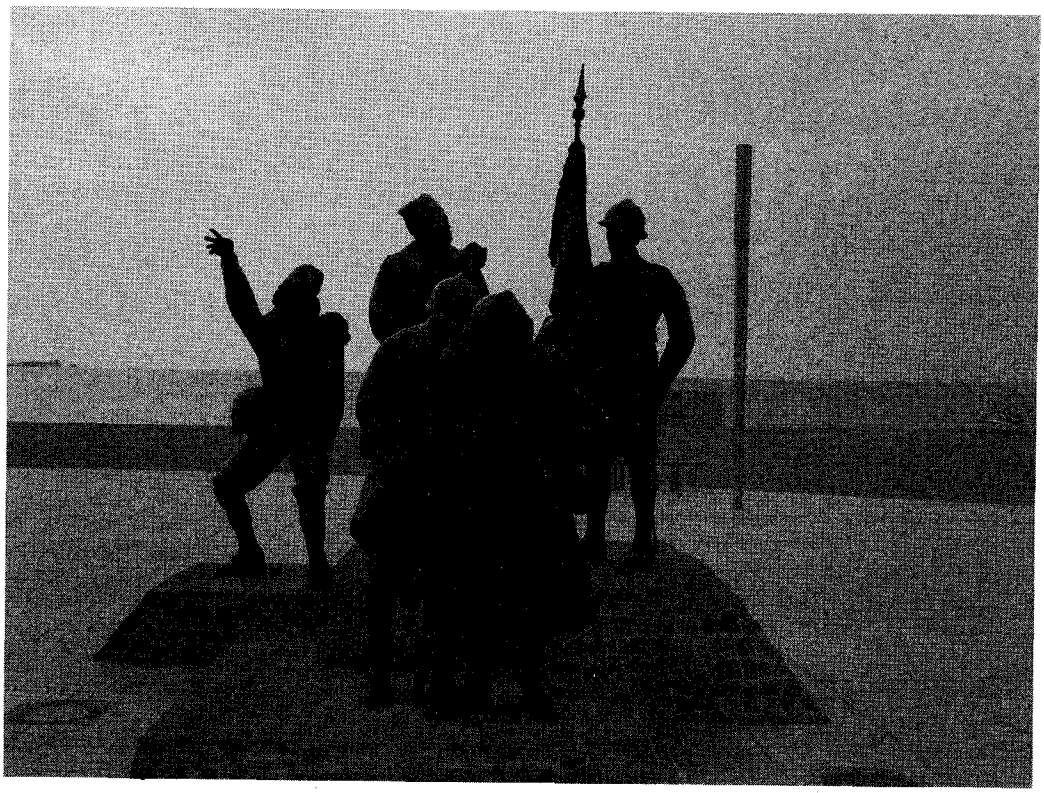


FIGURE 3: *À l'Armée Noire*, Fréjus. Dedicated September 1, 1994. Author's photograph, 2004.

THE NEW STATUE STANDS ON THE PROMENADE, its back to the sea. Erected by an association of former military officers, aided by the national and municipal governments, the monument plays on the statue in Bamako. In this new sculpture, the heroic pose of the 1920s has given way to a loose cluster of individual figures whose faces express confusion, pain, suffering, and camaraderie. (See Figure 3.) The sole European depicted, the central figure in the 1920s version, now stands isolated, and his support of the flag is only one among many narrative elements. One *tirailleur* walks upright, looking at the flag with an open, perhaps querying expression; another, his knees bent, gestures away from it into the open air. In the foreground, two companions stagger or huddle, and one leans on his rifle for support while his comrade seems to encourage him.[65]

Fréjus's claim to such a monument extended beyond its role as the site for the African soldiers' *hivernage* during World War I. First sent to the town to benefit from its mild climate and facilities intended for tourists, the *tirailleurs* maintained a presence in its hinterland for decades. Hospitals intended solely for West African troops remained in operation at least into the 1920s. Shortly after the war, a school for the training of indigenous noncommissioned officers (*sous-officiers*, NCOs)

[65] My reading of this statue's visual cues differs substantially from that of William Kidd in "Representation or Recuperation? The French Colonies and 1914–1918 War Memorials," in Chafer and Sackur, *Promoting the Colonial Idea*, see 192–93.

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opened its doors to soldiers from Madagascar and sub-Saharan Africa.[66] By 1926, nearly 45,000 "native" troops were serving outside their territories of origin, and a good number of them were in France. Even if only a modest fraction of the almost 27,000 *tirailleurs Sénégalais* outside AOF were in the metropole, they would have vastly outnumbered the several hundred West African civilians then in France, most of whom were sailors.[67] De Martonne's suggestion that the towns near which they were garrisoned reacted to colonial soldiers "without too much dread" suggests that relations were not always warm.[68] However, when floods struck the southwest in 1930, African and Asian *tirailleurs* stationed at Castelsarrasin renewed their welcome when they came to the rescue of civilians trapped by the waters.[69] Across the south of France, and into the Alps, colonial troops also fought wildfires and built and maintained forest trails.[70]

During the war, a visitor had characterized the camps at Fréjus and Saint-Raphaël as "a sad and morose land of exile,"[71] but by 1931, a journalist reported that Fréjus was "almost like an ongoing Colonial Exposition."[72] This was not simply hyperbole, since soldiers representing almost every colony were either stationed in or passing through Fréjus. Friction among them was always a possibility. In the 1920s, an officer on inspection claimed that having soldiers from all over the empire in camps together did not give rise to any problems. At the same time, however, he noted that the Southeast Asian NCOs were demanding a kitchen apart from the *Sénégalais* and the Malagasy, since the "cuisine of the Black cooks did not satisfy them at all."[73]

Fréjus and the Colonial Exposition had other things in common as well; both the town and the exposition had mosques that mimicked the neo-Sudanic architectural style epitomized by the famous Great Mosque of Djenné. The difference was that the one in Paris was an enormous simulacrum, while the tiny structure in Fréjus was apparently originally intended to be used for prayer (albeit by a small percentage of

[66] Chef du service de contrôle et d'assistance aux indigènes à M. le GG de l'Indochine, Hanoi (Tonkin), December 26, 1923, Minute, *Service de liaison avec les originaires des territoires français d'outre-mer* (hereafter, SLOTFOM) carton 11, folio 1 (hereafter, 11/1), CAOM. See also René Massip, "Le Rôle de l'E.F.O.R.T.D.M. dans la formation des cadres africains," *Revue Historique des Armées* 151 (1983): 96–101, see 98.

[67] Ministère des Colonies, Direction des Services militaires, "Renseignements sur les effectifs militaires indigènes en service en AOF, en France ou en dehors de leur pays d'origine, en 1913 et 1926," January 8, 1928, AgeFOM 389/13b, CAOM. West African civilians, as well as those from other colonies, were the subjects of surveillance by the Ministry of Colonies' SLOTFOM from 1916 to 1954; SLOTFOM recognized that its own figures were unreliable, but they can be found in "Indigènes de l'AOF en résidence en France au 8 Avril 1924." "Note pour le Secrétariat Général du Conseil Supérieur des Colonies," November 29, 1926; and "Nombre approximatif des indigènes travaillant en France et classement par colonie d'origine," June 6, 1932, all in SLOTFOM 6/9, CAOM.

[68] Edouard de Martonne, "La Verité sur les tirailleurs Sénégalais," *Outre-Mer* 7, no. 1 (March 1935): 27–45, see 28.

[69] "Les tirailleurs coloniaux aux inondations," *Revue des troupes coloniales* (1930): 90–92 (reprinted from *La Petite Gironde*, March 20, 1930). See also de Martonne, "Verité," 39, and Colonel Jean Charbonneau, *Balimatoua et Compagnie: Zigzags à travers le vaste Empire Français* (Paris, 1934), 247.

[70] De Martonne, "Verité," 39.

[71] Séché, *Noirs*, 79.

[72] Paul Catrice, "L'emploi des troupes indigènes et leur séjour en France," *Etudes: Revue Catholique d'Intérêt Général* 20 (1931): 387–409, see 402.

[73] Rapport d'Inspection de M. Dupuy au Resident Supérieur, Chef du Service de Contrôle et d'Assistance en France des Indigènes des Colonies, "Centres militaires de Grasse et de Fréjus," 1924; SLOTFOM 1/10, CAOM.

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the camp's Muslims).[74] African soldiers in what was considered to be "the most important native colonial milieu in the entire metropole" had lacked their own religious site until 1928. While the Indochinese had a pagoda and the Malagasy a church for their own use, the Governor-General of French West Africa bemoaned the Africans' status as poor cousins to their imperial colleagues. A mosque was soon built with funding from the colonies of French West Africa, as well as the charitable Comité d'Assistance aux Troupes Noires and the municipality of Fréjus.[75] This addition to the landscape made it clear that Fréjus was a colonial site par excellence.

As such, the town attracted African migrants from elsewhere in France. Among the most notable of these was the Senegalese radical Lamine Senghor, who traveled to the Var in 1926 to "give a moving speech at the tombs of his former comrades in arms (*Sénégalais, Malgaches, et Annamites*)."[76] Senghor was himself an *ancien tirailleur* and a veteran of World War I whose disability was indexed at 100 percent.[77] His visit to the military cemetery at Camp Gallieni was part of a larger campaign to foster anticolonial sentiments and, eventually, activism among West African troops (such actions had already met with some success among their Asian counterparts). Although terribly ill in 1926, Senghor made several trips back and forth between Paris and the Var, and the agents of the minister of colonies followed his movements closely.[78] They were particularly concerned that as the largest group of colonial subjects in the metropole, soldiers be shielded from anticolonial and communist influence. Senghor seems to have found some fertile ground in the Var, as "the soldiers complained that they were badly fed and that they only had water and a little coffee to drink; they are also mistreated and sometimes beaten by French NCOs."[79] The following year provided unwelcome evidence that the efforts of Senghor and his comrades had met with some success when an African officer serving at Kati reported that the radical journal *La Race Nègre* was circulating among African soldiers in France, and possibly at Kati as well.[80] Senghor's efforts cost him his health and eventually his life. In Marseille, a West African man tried to kill him with a stone; upon being apprehended, he claimed to be working for "a white," who was an agent of the Ministry of Colonies. If the allegation was true, the ministry might have economized its efforts. Two months later, in November 1926,

[74] It is not clear that the mosque was used for prayer, but such was the governor-general's intention. GGAOF, Direction du Cabinet Militaire to Lieutenant Governor's, May 11, 1928, no. 269 CM, 2N53FR, ANM.

[75] GGAOF, Direction du Cabinet Militaire to Lieutenant Governors, May 11, 1928, no. 269 CM, 2N53FR, ANM. See also Catrice, "L'emploi."

[76] "Manifestation au cimitière du camp Gallieni, à Fréjus," *La Voix des Nègres* 1 (January 1927). On the activities of Senghor and his fellow African radicals, see Philippe Dewitte, *Les mouvements nègres en France, 1919–1939* (Paris, 1985); J. S. Spiegler, "Aspects of Nationalist Thought among French-Speaking West Africans" (PhD dissertation, Nuffield College, Oxford University, 1968). The Dahomeyan radical Louis Hunkanrin had also worried his commanders when he was stationed in the Fréjus-St. Raphaël area immediately after the war; Guy-Landry Hazoume, Jean Suret-Canale, *et al.*, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Louis Hunkanrin: Suivi de deux écrits de Louis Hunkanrin* (Cotonou, 1977), 154.

[77] Agent Désiré, report of March 30, 1926, SLOTFOM 2/4, CAOM.

[78] See reports of agent Désiré in SLOTFOM 2/4, CAOM and Désiré, report of March 26, 1926, SLOTFOM 3/112, CAOM.

[79] Désiré, report of November 2, 1926, SLOTFOM 2/4, CAOM.

[80] GGAOF Carde to Ministre des Colonies, Direction des Affaires Politiques, First Bureau, October 27, 1927, no. 367apa, SLOTFOM 3/134, CAOM.

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Lucie Cousturier's son wrote to Senghor's comrades in Paris to inform them that Senghor's health had failed, and that he was unlikely to be able to return to Paris.[81] Within a year, Senghor was dead.[82]

Fréjus did not attract only soldiers and radicals, and not all of its newcomers were itinerant. A number of less notable African religious figures, peddlers, and scam artists passed through the town, and some retired African soldiers settled there with their French wives, leading the local government to complain that they lived solely on public aid.[83] A Senegalese photographer established himself in Fréjus in the mid-1930s; in the chaotic months following the Liberation in 1944, when impatient *tirailleurs* continued to be stationed outside the town, he drew attention to himself by urging soldiers to desert rather than disembark for West Africa without being paid.[84] In the same period, one deserter passed himself off as a well-connected officer charged with Muslim affairs, appropriating the titles of lieutenant and *el-hajj*. Attempts to repatriate him were frustrated by his circulation between Paris and Fréjus, and in the meantime officers feared the effect of his presence on soldiers' morale.[85]

The town itself became something of an open site for colonial troops, who roamed freely. An African officer reported that, "bakers and butchers can only serve their clientele in hiding . . . as a constant stream of *tirailleurs* parades in front of these establishments, demanding to be served . . . the meager weekly rations intended for civilians." Not surprisingly, a black market in clothing, food, and alcohol flourished in the camps, "where everything [could] be had."[86] Pushed from the ranks in order to incorporate resistance fighters, resentful combat veterans mixed with former prisoners-of-war who had been captured in 1940. Both sets of men were impatient to be sent home, but a lack of shipping and other resources forced them to spend a cold and hungry winter in camps across southern France. Soldiers stationed around Fréjus, Nîmes, and Marseille sent a collective letter to "*Monsieur le Chef du Gouvernement Français*" asking if it was because of their skin color that they lacked adequate food, shelter, and clothing. Some of their comrades were swapping whatever they could for American uniforms, and all sorely missed "the celebrated American '*beans*'" as they were reduced to eating boiled chestnuts.[87] The gravity of such complaints was made clear by outbreaks of violence in

[81] Désiré, report of November 13, 1926, SLOTFOM 2/4, CAOM. Lucie Cousturier died in 1925.

[82] Senghor died on November 25, 1927; *La Race Nègre* 1, no. 5 (May 1928).

[83] According to Nancy Lawler, this complaint eventually made its way to the minister of war; Lawler, *Soldiers of Misfortune: Ivoirien Tirailleurs of World War II* (Athens, Ohio, 1992), 90, n. 24.

[84] Rapport du Lt. Sekou Koné . . . au Gén. Commandant le GOC [*sic*] à Montpellier, May 20, 1946; Rapport Confidentiel, no author (Lt. Aho?), September 10, 1945, SLOTFOM 14/2, CAOM. On the photographer, see also Note of Renseignements Généraux, Draguinan, March 7, 1955, *Centre des Archives Contemporains* (CAC, Fontainebleau) 0019850087, article 9.

[85] Rapport du Lt. Sekou Koné, May 24, 1946, no number, SLOTFOM 14/2, CAOM.

[86] Rapport confidentiel, no author (Lt. Aho?), September 10, 1945; also, Rapport du Lt. Koné, May 20, 1946, SLOTFOM 14/2, CAOM.

[87] "Copie de la lettre adressée le 21–9–45 par les Sénégalais de quelques centres de rapatriement à Monsieur le Chef du Gouvernement Français," appendix to Fernand Poujoulat, "Evolution de la mentalité des tirailleurs Sénégalais au cours de la guerre 1939–1945," Mémoire, Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer (ENFOM), 1945–1946, CAOM.

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several garrison towns, including Fréjus, where a *tirailleur*, a gendarme, and a civilian were killed in a brawl that degenerated into a full-fledged riot.[88]

In such circumstances, it is possible that West African soldiers would have seen some truth in French poet Jacques Prévert's description of them as "the black slaves of Fréjus."[89] However, just a few years later, in an era of always-incomplete political assimilation, it is not likely that they would have agreed. During the Fourth Republic (1946–1958), Fréjus was the "veritable capitol of *la Coloniale*"[90] and the subject of a marching song, sung in Bambara, with the refrain "*awn bé ta Fréjus, awn bé ta Fréjus*" (we are going to Fréjus).[91] Throughout the 1950s, the colonial army became an increasingly prestigious institution for some African men, and most of the officer corps—and therefore several of the future presidents—of the independent francophone African states trained in Fréjus. In West African towns and cities, the French army screened recruitment films featuring footage of the camps outside Fréjus, which many veterans would have remembered clearly.[92]

Those memories came to the fore in the months immediately before independence, when a dam at Malpasset collapsed and sent a wall of water toward Fréjus, killing hundreds. Soldiers stationed outside the town assisted in the relief effort, while veterans in Bamako and elsewhere collected charitable contributions for the flood's surviving victims. While the actions of colonial troops during the floods of 1930 were taken as evidence of their "devotion" and "loyalty," the disaster of 1959 punctuated a much more complex political moment, as the viability of the French Community was very much in question. A Soudanese veterans' newspaper, representing an association advocating a negotiated independence with strong links to France, reported that some 12,000 francs had been raised for flood victims, and it proudly printed a letter of thanks from the mayor of Fréjus.[93] The warmth of the veterans' response, and the correspondence it generated, contrasted sharply with the tepid nature of veterans' nationalism.

The independence of France's sub-Saharan colonies came more quickly than had been expected and took effect while African soldiers were still in the field in Algeria. Mali quickly demanded the withdrawal of its nationals from Algeria, sought their repatriation, and, in 1961, expelled the French army from the national territory. Other newly independent nations (with the exception of Guinea) were much less aggressive, and the French military maintained a presence in most of the former colonies. However, the presence in the French ranks of soldiers who had become foreign nationals became a tricky political issue, and after the defeat in

[88] Poujoulat, "Evolution." See also Georges Pujol, "Nos soldats noirs d'aujourd'hui," Mémoire, ENFOM, 1945–1946; and Echenberg *Colonial Conscripts*, 99–104.

[89] Jacques Prévert, "Etranges Etrangers," in *La Pluie et le beau temps* (1955; Paris, 1981), 30.

[90] Pierre Carles, *Des Millions de soldats inconnus: La vie de tous les jours dans les Armées de la IV*ème *République* (Paris, 1982), 157.

[91] See Massip, "Rôle," 100. I have altered Massip's transcription. A soldier who trained there in the 1950s recalled that he and his comrades were free to go into town on the weekends but were prevented from doing so by the amount of homework their officers deliberately assigned on Fridays, due the following Monday morning; interview with the author, el-hajj Nianson Coulibaly, Koutiala (Mali), February 11, 1998.

[92] "Catalogue des Films du SCA (Service Cinématographique des Armées)," 17G520v143, ANS.

[93] *L'Ancien Combattant Soudanais*, issues of December 1959, January and February 1960. Such charitable giving by colonial subjects for metropolitan causes was not new; see Jennings, "Monuments to Frenchness?"

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Algeria, France no longer needed the extra manpower. In 1964, the minister of armies ordered that all African and Malagasy soldiers be transferred to an "African battalion" in Fréjus. Aside from a small number of Guineans who had chosen the French army over Sékou Touré's Guinea and were unable to return home, all African soldiers would soon be discharged and repatriated. Excluded from this process of repatriation were a handful of African noncommissioned officers training for service in their respective national armies at the Ecole de Formation des Officiers du Régime Transitoire des Territoires d'Outre-mer (EFORTOM) outside Fréjus.[94] Thus the town's connections with West African soldiers continued after the formal dissolution of the empire they had represented and served, and schools like EFORTOM came to be seen as a vital means of maintaining "the moral links of the ex-Community."[95] Currently *les Troupes de la Marine* (successor to *la Coloniale*) maintain bases outside of town where they host periodic training exercises with members of other European and African armies. In addition, many former officers of the colonial military have retired to the Var, sharing the region with civilians and vacationers. An Association des amis du musée des troupes de marine supports a museum for the colonial troops, which opened in 1981 a few kilometers outside of town.[96]

As the scene (if not the product) of so much shared history, in the 1990s Fréjus was a logical site for the dedication of a monument that sought to "re-cast" a French-African relationship then in a period of transition.[97] Fifty years had passed since African troops helped liberate the town, but that memory intersected with more immediate political circumstances. In the early 1990s, Fréjus was the mayoral fief of the moderate François Léotard, who at the time of the monument's inauguration was minister of defense; however, Jean-Marie le Pen's xenophobic *Front National* was then contesting the larger region of which Fréjus is a part. In such a political environment, the unanticipated ambivalence of the sculpture begs the question of what exactly it is meant to commemorate. (See Figure 3.) Are the soldiers whose figures are depicted foreigners or locals? What role do they have in the immediate community of Fréjus, or the larger national community? What do the weekenders, the tourists, and the West Africans selling belts and sunglasses on the promenade make of this statue? After all, in a poem on the statue's base, Léopold Sédar Senghor, former French soldier and Senegalese president, explicitly calls out to a "passer-by," addressing the stranger with the familiar "*tu*": "Passer-by, they fell, fraternally united, so that you could remain French." Senghor's poem implicitly poses the question of who is and who is not "French," and it reminds the attentive reader that men like those depicted died in defense of a nation-state of which they were not fully a part.

Whatever interpretations are produced, more than forty years after indepen-

[94] Other exceptions included a small number of beneficiaries of individual ministerial decisions who had maintained French citizenship, and a scattering of trainees at other military schools. Le Ministre des Armées to G.G. Militaire de Paris, Metz, Lyon, Gén. Commandant les 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 Région Militaire, etc., August 11, 1964, no. 10.443/EMAT/1.ES, 14H127, SHAT.

[95] Général-adjoint OM au chef d'état-major général des armées, Note à M. le Ministre des Armées (CM), December 5, 1960, no. 5478/BOM/3/SC, 14H216, SHAT.

[96] Massip, "Musée."

[97] On the evolution of that relationship since 1994, see Tony Chafer, "Franco-African Relations: No Longer so Exceptional?" *African Affairs* 101 (2002): 343–63.

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dence the memory of the *tirailleurs Sénégalais* remains an awkward one for certain communities within the French nation. It occasionally makes unlikely allies of those who claim the nation's core values yet understand them differently, such as *Coloniale* veterans and the republican left. In another example, West African immigrants often appeal to memories of African participation in the world wars to assert their rights to remain in France; in doing so, they win the support of certain retired officers, even if others reject such logic outright.[98] It is true that military culture is highly particular, boasting dense webs of obligation and duty, an intense sense of history, and its own gendered and racial order. However, such networks are not limited to the *troupes de la marine*. In the colonial period, African dockworkers and other laborers maintained their own chains of contacts in France, making not only Marseille, but also Le Havre and Dunkirk "privileged sites of colonial history."[99] The burial of a controversial West African Sufi *shaykh* on French soil during World War II generated a new pilgrimage itinerary for some of his followers. More broadly, since the 1960s, well-connected businessmen, ex-colonial functionaries seconded to the Ministry of Culture, and former colonial surveillance officers attached to immigration services have represented other networks.[100] Emerging from the old *Ecole Coloniale*, colonial business circuits, intellectual circles, networks of migrants, and the remnants of a Gaullist cabal devoted to "African affairs" is not a single postcolonial world, but several of them, some of which overlap in Fréjus.[101]

IN FRÉJUS, THE STORY DOES NOT END on the promenade. Here intersections abound, and diverse histories fold into one another. The town's former role as a meeting point for West Africans, Europeans, and Southeast Asians makes possible new sites of memory based on the re-composition of past social and political forms. The point is best illustrated through yet another memorial, yet again in Fréjus. This is *le mémorial des guerres en Indochine*.[102]

The war in Indochina (1946–1954) was the first in which former subjects fought as citizens of the Fourth Republic. Some 60,000 of them were sub-Saharan Africans, and they represented around 16 percent of the total expeditionary force in 1954. Between 2,500 and 2,800 of them died in Southeast Asia.[103] Like their comrades, African soldiers in Asia were volunteers attracted by high pay, aggressive recruiting tactics, and new opportunities for advancement within the ranks.[104] In

[98] Mann, "Immigrants and Arguments"; interview with the author, Col. Maurice Rives, Paris, April 29, 2004.

[99] These networks were in turn distinct from those of Paris-based radical or communist African intellectuals of the interwar period. Ousmane Sembène, interview with Samba Gadjigo, *Contributions in Black Studies* 11 (1992–1993): 75–94, see 76.

[100] Catherine Hodeir, *Stratégies d'Empire: Le grand patronat colonial face à la décolonisation* (Paris, 2003); Chafer, "Franco-African Relations"; Alexis Spire, *Sociologie historique des pratiques administratives à l'égard des étrangers en France (1945–1975)* (doctoral thesis, Université de Nantes: 2003).

[101] Jennings analyzes a similar circumstance around Nogent-sur-Marne in "Remembering 'Other' Losses."

[102] The memorial commemorates both World War II and the anticolonial war of 1946–1954.

[103] Michel Bodin, *Les Africains dans la guerre d'Indochine, 1947–1954* (Paris, 2000), 6, 18, and 172.

[104] *Revue trimestrielle* (hereafter, RT), 3' trim. 1951, GSF to HCGG, November 20, 1951, no.

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West Africa and abroad, their service became increasingly controversial, as left-leaning politicians and radicals called for their return, or even branded them traitors.[105] Meanwhile, the Viet Minh sought to persuade Africans to abandon the fight by pointing out their common predicament of colonial occupation. Their success, however modest, did convince the French military of the need to pay close attention to African morale.[106]

The memorial in Fréjus implicitly dismisses any doubts about African loyalty by incorporating African combat deaths into a larger, if intentionally vague, statement of unity. A somewhat confusing combination of techniques of commemoration, the site confronts the visitor with several modes of engagement. It contains a museum and an ossuary, as well as an ecumenical site for reflection intended for Buddhists, Muslims, Jews, and Christians. The military cemetery lies within a circle, over one hundred meters in diameter, which is formed by an elevated promenade that takes advantage of the site's gradual slope toward the Bay of Saint-Raphaël in the distance.[107] Within the circumference of the circle, tall, thick stone sepulchers are laid out in rows on two levels. On the lower level, in addition to the ossuary itself, are commemorative plaques of various veterans' associations. A long wall bears the name of all those "*morts pour la France*" in Indochina whose remains are not part of the memorial; they are listed by name and by year of death. The remains of civilians lie in a distinct space nearby.[108] At the entrance, a representative sculpture depicts two soldiers, one European and one Southeast Asian, who hoist an image of the Indochinese peninsula with the figure of a dragon curled around it.

Erected by a local veterans' association, the statue predates the rest of the memorial, which was built after France and Vietnam reached an agreement on the repatriation of the "French" dead in 1986.[109] Being "anchored in colonial history," Fréjus quickly offered to host a memorial to the wars in Indochina, and a necropolis was built to house the remains of some 24,000 soldiers and civilians.[110] But the

642/APAS; RT, 4' trim., 1951, GSF to HC, Februrary 4, 1952, no. 61/APAS; and RT, draft (n.d.), IE3FR, ANM. See also Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, (1991), chap. 5.

[105] *Message du Conseiller d'Arboussier aux Prisonniers de Guerre Africains aux Vietnam. Bulletin des écoutes Radio Viet Minch* [*sic*], October 15, 1952, no. 1749, 1affpol 2111/11, CAOM; and Renseignement, February 12, 1948, no. 167/C SU. Soudan no. 503, 2N44FR, ANM.

[106] See, among other documents, Note: Chef de Bataillon, chef de poste, SSDNFA/G/AOF/Togo, July 25, 1955, no. 3190, secret; 17G594v152/1, ANS.

[107] B. H., "Le Mémoire encerclée: Nécropole nationale, Fréjus," *Téchnique et Architecture*, 405 (December 1992): 110–11. See also "La Nécropole de Fréjus," *Le Moniteur-Architecture-AMC*, 42–43 (June-July 1993): 24–5; Gilles Davoine, "Lieu de culte oecuménique," *Le Moniteur-Architecture-AMC*, 77 (February 1996): 46–7; and B. H., "D'Or et de Silence," *Téchnique et Architecture*, 428 (November 1996): 60–1.

[108] The remains of civilians have been included "on an exceptional basis" (*à titre exceptionnel*). Ministère des Anciens combattants et victimes de guerre, *Le mémorial des guerres en Indochine*, pamphlet (Paris, n.d., 1998?). The civilians do not bear the administrative status, "died for France" (*morts pour la France*), and their cemetery was funded by the Ministry of the Interior; "La Nécropole de Fréjus." See also David L. Schalk, "Of Memories and Monuments: Paris and Algeria, Fréjus and Indochina," *Historical Reflections. Réflexions historiques* 28, no. 2 (2002): 241–53, 251–53, discuss the memorial.

[109] The memorial would be inaugurated on February 16, 1993. Philippe Rochette, "Fréjus, capitale de 'l'Indo,'" *Libération*, February 16, 1993, 6. See also, "Fréjus: La mémoire des soldats d'Indochine," *Le Provencal*, February 16, 1993, 24.

[110] Ministère des Anciens combattants, *Mémorial des guerres en Indochine*. The pamphlet puns, as the anchor is the symbol of *la Coloniale*.

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protocol on repatriation raised an interesting problem: what would be done with the remains of soldiers from the former colonies, who did after all die as citizens of the Fourth Republic? The solution is clear; Alpha Camara, Benaissa ben Mohammed, and their sub-Saharan African and Maghrebi colleagues are named on the memorial itself, while their remains are interred inside its walls.

The necropolis has very little to do with Fréjus's monument for the *tirailleurs Sénégalais*. Although Serge Barcellini has aptly described Indochina (in the abstract) as the "memorial engine" of the French colonial possessions since the interwar years, the fact that the two memorials were dedicated within months of each other seems to be mere coincidence.[111] The Indochina memorial opened several years after Vietnam expressed its unwillingness to continue to allow French cemeteries to remain undisturbed,[112] and the monument to the *tirailleurs* was tied to the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Allied landing in the region (North and West African troops played a major role in the assault). Neither is entirely the product of an emerging *francophonie*, although both must be understood partly within that context.[113]

Questions of timing aside, the disassociation of the two memorials illustrates my point: Fréjus's unique history generates commemorative possibilities and creates new combinations of old forms of community. The Indochina memorial is precisely *not* what Panivong Norindr has described as a "new political allegor[y]" placed "in an unlikely site . . . the city of Fréjus."[114] Rather, the memorial reworks an old allegory and resuscitates an idea of political community, redefining it as a community of memory. And what site could be more likely? Fréjus has a distinct past, one not shared by the country as a whole. If the presence of the memorial, along with Norindr's other examples, is meant to suggest that Indochina has "come to occupy an 'important' place in French 'collective memory,'" then it is indeed overburdened, as Daniel Sherman has pointed out.[115] Indochina cannot become a synecdoche for "the empire,"[116] and for Fréjus we cannot read "France." Either move would be a reduction of local complexities and a dismissal of locality. "Memories . . . of Indochina take up rather limited space in the contemporary French imaginary," as Sherman points out.[117] Yet the necropolis brings the memory of a particular French Indochina—and the peculiar empire of the Fourth Republic—into a corner of the Hexagon that must be understood on its own terms. Indeed, if Fréjus is anchored in colonial history, the inverse is also true. The town and places like it offer immense potential for understanding the cultivation and evolution of historically grounded social and political formations, as well as the emergence of new ones.

[111] Barcellini, "Les Monuments," 121.

[112] Jean-Claude Pomonti, "Les restes de vingt-cinq mille soldats français morts en Indochine vont être rapatriés," *Le Monde*, September 27, 1986, 5.

[113] In 1986, the position of "*secrétariat d'état à la francophonie*" was created and a "francophone summit" was held. Since 1987, such summits have met biennially.

[114] Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 151–52.

[115] Sherman, "Arts and Sciences," 726. The internal quotes contain Norindr's words.

[116] Despite the claims of Nicola Cooper in *France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters* (New York, 2001).

[117] Sherman, "Arts and Sciences," 726.

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By 1918, Fréjus was both an African site and a truly "colonial" one, in several senses of the word. That phenomenon bears exploring, as do others like it. Studying the town's military and memorial links with West Africa breaks down the distinction between colony and metropole and opens up new lines of inquiry; another trail leads to Southeast Asia. An analysis of the memorials themselves represents nothing more than a device that allows the identification of significant nodes on a shifting web of memory and meaning. The evolving designs of the monuments to the *tirailleurs*, as well as the ceremonies surrounding them, reflected emerging political and social forms. However, both the crowd's stampede at Kati and contemporary references to the Bamako memorial as "Samori's soldiers" underscore the dissonance and the ambiguity such memorials and ceremonies may engender. The ambivalence of the contemporary statue in Fréjus is a further case in point.

Some colonial sites were not so different from contemporary African cities and border trading posts, or for that matter from the African-populated Parisian neighborhoods and suburbs where new social forms and strategies are produced and reproduced.[118] However, comparison between places, or even between past and present social locations, may prove less rewarding than the integration of disparate sites and discursive maneuvers into a larger, more encompassing analytical framework that is at once localized and supra-local. The garrisons and memorials of *la Coloniale* suggest that a sense of place can provide, quite literally, a point of entry.

Yet why not study colonialism in the world that it claimed? One of the signal lessons of the "imperial turn" historiography has been that colonialism shaped both the imperial metropoles and their colonies, as well as the nations that emerged from them.[119] But can garrisons, ports, and other stopping places tell us something that empires, federations, and colonies do not? I argue that they can. Indeed without them, the new colonial history risks ending where it begins, in a national history of a different nation—one that takes the imperial archive into account but does not go beyond it—rather than in a post-national history that might better help historians understand the world in which they and others live.

[118] See Florence Bernault, "The Political Shaping of Sacred Locality in Brazzaville, 1959–1997," in David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Africa's Urban Past* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000); Janet Roitman, "The Garrison-Entrepôt," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 150–152 (1998): 297–329; AbdouMaliq Simone, "On the Worlding of African Cities," *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (2001): 15–42; Diouf, "Murid Trade Diaspora"; and MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, *Congo-Paris*.

[119] Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony"; Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*; Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York, 2000).

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

ALFRED HIATT. *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England*. (The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture.) London: The British Library, and Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 226. $60.00.

In the past decade and a half, a number of books have examined what might be called the "theory" of forgery, rethinking the practice rather than dismissing it, and provoking a fierce and as yet unresolved debate. The emphasis is now likely to shift toward focused studies concentrating on precise cultural moments to test the arguments of Anthony Grafton, Susan Stewart, K. K. Ruthven, and myself. Alfred Hiatt's monograph is a fine example of what we might hope for, an informed, carefully researched, and beautifully produced reassessment of four medieval forgeries: the archive of Crowland Abbey, the annals of the University of Cambridge, the chronicles of John Hardyng, and the "Donation of Constantine."

Hiatt illuminates these texts—or collections of texts—in light of the various insights provided by the new emphases on reading forgeries. He argues against simplistic oppositions such as fake/authentic, instead seeing forgery as a part of textual production, "an extension or exaggeration" of the genuine (p. xi), and considers what value historical forgeries might retain after detection. Such documents were often written without an express intention to deceive: "was there a danger of discarding some truth along with the false, since what seemed obviously false may have simply been a rewriting, an updating, of the truth?" (p. 5). This position is familiar enough, but Hiatt, sensitive to theories of the text and to the semiotics and "performance" of documents, expresses the condition in Saussurean terms. This might merely be changing the terms of the argument rather than the ground itself (and the introduction of usual suspects such as Jorge Luis Borges and Jean Baudrillard tends to confirm this), but the approach does suggest that a structuralist reading of forgery could be worth pursuing, although such a challenge is not, in the event, taken up here.

The aim of this book is rather to read forgeries from the perspective of historical narrative: "The question then is not of the inherent truth or falsity of a document, of the honesty or duplicity of the intentions of its maker, but of its function and technique—of the role played by the document in constructing a narrative, and the textual artifice with which it, and the narrative, were constructed" (p. 13). Somewhat unnecessarily, Hiatt christens this the "discourse of forgery" (pp. xi, 187): unnecessary because it is not precisely clear what is meant by "discourse," except that it is certainly not what Michel Foucault meant by the term. The theoretical issues raised so far in response to forgery have tended to focus on the relationship between literature and forgery, but Hiatt ostensibly confines his account to official documents such as royal or papal instruments. The forging of papal documents is clearly of a different order (or perhaps of a different discourse, to adopt Hiatt's terminology) than the attribution of verses to a fake author, or intriguing hybrids such as rhyming charters (p. 57), but surely the bigger question is whether the word "forgery" should be used of medieval texts at all. Is it a pejorative anachronistic term imposed by later, legally minded scholars?

Hiatt is strongest in picking his specific cases. The manufacture of the Crowland Abbey archive demonstrates the importance of creating documents to prevent the erosion of monastic rights. In such instances, the forgery gave title to land and served as an exercise in cartographic power. The traditional explanation for this retrospective documentation is that the shift from an oral Saxon culture to a literate Norman society required that the oral be reconstituted in a written form, but Hiatt emphasizes that there was actually much more continuity between these states. Likewise, he is skeptical of the reports of the destruction of many of the University of Cambridge's documents during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Noting that stories about official material being burned were probably exaggerated and can in any case be read as an instance of the cultural genre of scholarly suffering, Hiatt explores how the event became a defining episode in the story that the institution told about itself as a central claim for legitimacy and historical status. Historical evidence was also used to justify national aspirations and promote political ambitions: John Hardyng, for instance, endeavored to establish English political authority over Scotland through documents purporting to show

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that Scottish kings had successively acknowledged the English crown's overlordship of Britain. With Hardyng, we are drawn back toward the literary and to the familiar quandaries posed by literary forgery. Hiatt's book is an important contribution to the historical understanding of this textual deception, and it adds significant depth to a burgeoning field.

NICK GROOM
University of Bristol

JOHN ERNEST. *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794–1861.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 426. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

John Ernest's first book, *Resistance and Reformation in Nineteenth-Century African-American Literature: Brown, Wilson, Jacobs, Delany, Douglass, and Harper* (1995), made a significant contribution to the study of early African-American literature. His second book places him solidly at the forefront of that field of study, in league with our most careful, nuanced, and erudite scholars. His knowledge of the field is encyclopedic, his command of the secondary critical literature is thorough, and his theoretical observations are not only timely and useful but also eloquently articulated. This is a unique work of scholarship that demonstrates what is possible when a scholar who is a serious student of literature and culture also becomes a serious student of history and historiography.

What problems or concerns do African-American historians of the antebellum period face when they set out to "dig up [their] past"? This is the question that Ernest attempts to tackle. As he instructs the reader early on in the text, "African American history, like all history, remains as much a matter of argument as a matter of record" (p. 1). "Writing in the racial state," he continues, "and under the terms of the racial contract, African American historians were and are inevitably meta-historical—for the nature and condition of their subject make the attempt to write history inevitably a task of questioning the terms of history and the politics of historical writing" (p. 4).

Ernest's most cogent presentation of the concerns of antebellum African-American historians comes in chapter two, "Scattered Lives, Scattered Documents: Writing Liberation History." In this chapter he discusses primarily the work of three notable black historians of the period: Robert Benjamin Lewis, Martin R. Delany, and William C. Nell. Ernest's analyses of these seldom-treated figures provide excellent examples of how African-American historians met the awesome task of "constructing a coherent historical vision capable of shaping the community" (p. 99). But Ernest offers no quick fixes or easy answers to this conundrum, complicating at every hand the very terms he utilizes in making his impressive case. At one point he reminds his reader that the "African American community was itself a dynamic of the historical project, a subject continually under construction, continually measured against the multiple contingencies of the historical and cultural forces that gave definitive significance to the concept of an African American community." It is precisely at moments such as these that Ernest presses the boundaries that yield some of his most important insights.

Moving easily (but always with great depth and nuance) from history to biography, from convention proceedings to black journalism, Ernest mounts an urgent case for the reconsideration of writers of early African-American history, and of what the conditions under which they worked and wrote have to teach us. For Ernest, "The specific circumstances, contexts, and contingencies of the struggle for collective self-determination are the shaping forces of [what he terms] 'liberation historiography'—a project not simply of historical recovery but of historical intervention" (p. 8).

Ernest provides his readers a carefully historicized and thoroughly intellectual argument about why we should reexamine the conditions under which black history was/is produced. That story, the story of the *how* of black history, is inescapably tied to the content of black history. Otherwise, we might have something, but we could scarcely dub it African-American history.

DWIGHT A. MCBRIDE
Northwestern University

PETER FRITZSCHE. *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 268. $27.95.

This book provides a very interesting take on the rise of historical consciousness in nineteenth-century Western Europe and the United States. Peter Fritzsche argues that a new mode of "producing the past" develops in the wake of the French Revolution, and that this production of the past runs through high and popular culture. From the production of ruins to the creation of autobiography, from folktales to philosophy, Fritzsche sees a new and melancholic attitude toward change taking hold in the West. The attitude is new because it arose out of the particular dynamic of political revolution, and it is melancholic because those who see time passing in this way are always focused on what has been lost.

Fritzsche begins with the French Revolution because it is here that he sees a change from a cyclical view of time (everything comes round again) to a view of time as a departure from something. The extraordinary impact of the revolution and of Napoleon Bonaparte mobilized people in ways that forced them to confront change, which Fritzsche understands as confronting loss. François René de Chateaubriand is a key figure for him because of the romantic's continual consideration of what can never be recovered. Art, like history, can represent loss, but it cannot redeem it.

Fritzsche is particularly interested in how the nostalgic perspective on the past opens up questions of what might have been. He calls this the "expanded

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applicability of the subjunctive tense" (p. 203), which means that people come to see much of the world around them as contingent, fragile, and malleable. The understanding that things have changed was seen to imply that things would change again, and thus it opened new ways of thinking about how to leave the present behind. Although Fritzsche recognizes the political resources that the subjunctive sense can offer those who want to change the status quo, he is more concerned with the romantic, nostalgic melancholy that he sees as implied by departures of any kind.

Fritzsche writes that the "familiar setting for history is at the graveside," and that is certainly true enough. However, the author's attraction to the lachrymose version of romantic historicism obscures the importance of another crucial feature of modern historical consciousness: to legitimate change rather than to linger with loss. Indeed, one might argue that with the waning of natural law and of religious justification, historicism in the nineteenth century became *the* crucial vehicle for promoting either the change-until-now, or the change-about-to-come. The modern historical consciousness that developed in the wake of the French Revolution was deeply connected to the ideology of progress, to liberal hopefulness, and to radical critique. Fritzsche knows all this, but these antimelancholic notes are rarely sounded in the mournful melodies that the author enjoys replaying.

For Fritzsche, the postrevolutionary sense of history also implied an epistemological skepticism concerning the past. The modern world was fragile and ephemeral, and therefore it was impossible to reconstruct the past fully while "stranded in the present." Although this certainly rings true for particular branches of romantic retrospection, the development of professional historiography and the sciences of memory in the middle of the nineteenth century also represent crucial dimensions of modern historical consciousness. Again, Fritzsche's melancholic focus leaves out the aggressively confident, modern production of the past. He started his project with a focus on nostalgia, but along the way neglected the fact that important currents in nineteenth-century thought concluded that nostalgia was a disease to be cured rather than a sensibility to be explored.

Although he pays little attention to theoretical debates about historical knowing, or with accounts of historiography in postrevolutionary Europe, Fritzsche offers insights relevant to scholars working in both fields. His discussions of ruins, autobiography, and gendered memory are intriguing, although I wish he had engaged more with the recent literature concerning memory in modernity, or concerning the differences between historical consciousness and memory. Fritzsche's strong subjects are the streams of retrospection fed by (and feeding) melancholy, and the strange pleasures that come from feeling stranded in time. His concluding claim that global "contemporaneity" is "the first and necessary step in providing all people with political power" (p. 217) is a surprising, awkward attempt to hook romantic retrospection to contemporary politics. Nowhere in the text is there an effort to demonstrate a link between the "subjunctive sense" and concrete efforts at political change. A product of the very modern historical consciousness it describes, this book produces a melancholic past of many interesting departures without clear destinations.

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DOMINICK LACAPRA. *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 274. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Critical theory is intimately related to intellectual understandings of identity as the discursive conjuncture of layered subjectivities. Experience, in contrast, is often dismissed as the slippery recourse of a populist historiography, what Dominick LaCapra refers to as a compensatory drift into "unrestrained speculation, projective identification, and ventriloquism" (p. 4). This book refuses the oppositional fracturing of experience and identity, demanding an accounting.

LaCapra's long-standing concern with what he designates a "dialogical encounter" between immanence and transcendence, between what is within the world and open to readings of experience and representation, and what is capable of going beyond or working through, transformatively, that which is never simply "given," frames this text. Acknowledging that history is always in motion, LaCapra insists that those who practice it adopt more self-conscious and critically inquisitive stands on their identities and experiences, highlighting how this can work to good effect. At the core of the book are two chapters centrally concerned with the meaning of history, memory, and trauma, most especially the experience of the Holocaust.

Central to the overall argument are a series of stimulating meditations on psychoanalysis as the critical theory of experience, on empathy and ethics, and on the institutional and disciplinary setting of academic labor. If he enters these arenas on the tramways of textualism, addressing the "crisis of the University" via an extended discussion of Bill Readings's *The University in Ruins* (1996) or exploring the limits one can place on the reach of the Shoah through a dissection of the performativity of Giorgio Agamben's *Remnants of Auschwitz* (1999), LaCapra's gestures toward context are often informed and illuminating, as are his remarks on text/context. Like Jean-Paul Sartre, LaCapra lives an intellectual life defined by his unwillingness to "simply mind his or her own business" (p. 248).

Sometimes, to be sure, LaCapra falters. His offhand comments on Karl Marx and Marxism are cavalier. A stimulating questioning of disciplinary identity is inattentive to difference. Essentializing historians as an experiential occupational category, adhering to like-minded understandings of recognized status and com-

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monalities of practice seems out of step with the actualities of a disciplinary fragmentation quite pronounced over the last decade and more. It also flies in the face of a binary opposition that LaCapra too unthinkingly articulates. The historical profession is hardly separated into two camps: those who seek illumination by "grubbing" in the archives, the dust of facticity a badge of honor; and others who instead, however attuned to evidence, interrogate the archive and "turn erudition into learning" by rising above the boundaries of "information" (p. 270). This is LaCapra's achilles heel, a "minding of his own business" that also surfaces at the bottom of his pages. Footnotes reveal a prolific writer who has seldom met a critic, however innocuous, that did not goad him to reply.

Comment in the epilogue is particularly blunt. Reducing Russell Jacoby's writings to an "intellectual phantasmagoria" that "runs together neoconservatism and seeming leftism" is a bit much, especially when the citation is one article and there is no engagement with the arguments posed nor a single quote from the pilloried author (p. 250). One does not have to agree with very much of the collection of essays pulled together by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society* (1999), or even the cause behind its publication, to wince at LaCapra's slippage into the most personalized of rejections, in which he avoids the content of the text, disparaging instead the publication of "a series of manifestos that are dedicated to the editors' fathers (as well as a grandfather) and are presumed to serve the interests of an intellectually conservative society" (p. 250). The "trace" is truly transparent, but is this really what LaCapra wants to bring to the table of argument?

This book is a provocatively revisionist invitation to rethink historical practice, refreshing in its willingness to engage empathetically with experience. It raises many questions well. But it is simply too easy to suggest that all critique of historical practice ordered by critical theory is merely a "backlash," an anti-theory turn that is "neopositivistic, narrowly empirical, antitheoretical, or at best domesticating" (p. 249). Adequate representation of the experience of the discipline, in all its diversity, necessitates a more nuanced appreciation of the identities of many of its dissenting practitioners.

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Miguel A. Cabrera. *Postsocial History: An Introduction*. Translated by Marie McMahon. Foreword by Patrick Foyce. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2004. Pp. xx, 163. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.95.

Miguel A. Cabrera's rather dry historiographical overview, which describes and classifies some of the most influential work in social and cultural history done across the English-speaking world (and a bit of the French and Italian-speaking world), will be found useful by many. The most ready audience will likely be graduate students who did not live through the "discourse battles" of recent decades and who need a survey of the fights that are now generally left unmentioned but that shaped the research methods and writing styles of today. But for those of us who lived through the discourse wars (and bear the odd scar), the end of this short book does not come any too soon. The relief at having finished prompts thoughts about the inevitable failure of theoretically driven classificatory work to capture the nuances, and the often creative inconsistencies in method, that are found in historical monographs acknowledged as influential and innovative. That E. P. Thompson's work is somewhat inconsistent theoretically, since ringing statements about artisan agency are in tension with a vaguely Marxist economic plot, would look to Cabrera like a serious flaw. But it could be said that, now that the theory wars of the late 1980s and the early 1990s have withered away, it has become clear that demanding increased theoretical rigor and consistency was at one level counterproductive. Much historical writing was and remains boringly descriptive; but in those heady times some historians produced works that were instances of a theoretical position more than open-minded examinations of ever-fluid processes.

Cabrera correctly notes that the new cultural historians of the 1980s rejected the sociological and structural paradigms of social history in favor of approaches influenced by anthropology and cultural studies (pp. 4–5). In doing so they also rejected, we are told, "objectivist" theory, by which people and actions are regarded as always shaped, even determined, by deeper social structures. He then discusses the debates among practitioners of the new cultural history about if and how cultural and symbolic processes and entities were in turn shaped by objective social and economic forces (pp. 10–17). For me, this is the most useful part of the book, since it shows historians attempting to describe and analyze interaction and movement, rather than reducing the world to a static model.

Cabrera's focus, however, is not the culturalists but rather what he calls "postsocial history," a category that includes the work of Keith Baker, Geoff Eley, William Sewell, Joan Scott, Mary Poovey, and Patrick Joyce. Idiosyncratically, he insists that there is a sharp break between the new cultural history and "postsocial" history, which is characterized as arising wholly out of the recognition that "discourses" are constitutive of sociocultural entities and identities. Thus he writes: "what postsocial history carries out is a deep rethinking of the very nature of objects, which have ceased to be social and have become discursive" (p. 29). Elsewhere he states that for these scholars, "interests" are "discursive, in lieu of objective" (p. 68), and adds that "discursive patterns of identification precede the emergence of identities—and not the other way around" (p. 73).

The latter quote is part of an approving discussion of Joyce's critique of Jürgen Habermas's notion of inter-

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ests; but the careful reader will note that in his own foreword to the book, Joyce distances himself from Cabrera's either-or form of discourse determinism. "The book tends to emphasize the creation of meaning among human actors, and therefore to emphasize representation rather than objects or things," Joyce remarks—being perhaps too polite to conclude that Cabrera is actually going backward from the new cultural history to an old cultural history that sees "discourses" (regarded as composed only of words and symbols) as always and everywhere creating the world. Joyce's own recent historical scholarship is certainly "postsocial," but not at all discourse determinist. Using mainly tools derived from Michel Foucault's later writings on governmentality, rather than from earlier ones on systems of thought, Joyce's work on the liberal city focuses on the often technical and by no means discursive preconditions for the rise of the liberal subject in nineteenth-century England.

While contributing a useful survey of the rise of "new cultural history" and of some of its 1990s offshoots, Cabrera's book is thus not a good account of some of the historians he admires. Scott's polemics may have promoted discourse determinism, but other works cited at length in the book eschewed any claims that entities have "ceased to be social." If many historians today are finding Foucault's later work useful, it is not because he replaced one determinism by another but because he exhorted us to lighten the weight of causality as such, to pay attention to contingencies, and to document the unwilled effects of "minor" practices of governance. In this he of course followed Friedrich Nietzsche, who pointed out that modern humans cannot help but think causally about the world, but who also warned us that to go on a quest for the true origins of anything—especially of abstractions like "working class consciousness"—is to engage in a metaphysical rather than a historical enterprise. This very postsocial warning is forgotten as Cabrera tells us that Poovey "believes that the origin of class is to be found in the historical advent of a specific 'classificatory thinking'" (p. 81). Looking for "the origin," whether in economic forces or in discourses, is precisely what at least some postsocial historians eschew.

MARIANA VALVERDE
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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

GLORIA P. TOTORICAGÜENA. *Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*. (The Basque Series.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 273. $39.95.

In this study of the Basque diaspora in six countries, Gloria P. Totoricagüena develops several lines of argument. She maintains that since the inception of Basque migration to the Americas in the fifteenth century, under the aegis of the Castilian crown, there has been an unbroken thread of ethnic consciousness within Basque diaspora communities. In recent times, she argues, this has manifested itself in these communities' primary concern with cultural issues and in their relatively apolitical stance. Thus she rejects the claims by "instrumentalist" social scientists that all ethnic groups retain their old identity in order to achieve economic and political advantages, arguing instead that in the case of the Basque diaspora it provides "a sense of communal belonging and a simultaneous individual sense of self-selected uniqueness" (p. 202). The author is also particularly interested in the impact of globalization on these communities, pointing out that they have used new technologies to keep in touch more effectively. This fact questions the notion that globalization will necessarily lead to cultural homogenization.

From my perspective, there are several questionable elements to the argument. Given the focus of the study on 832 persons pertaining to Basque cultural centers, the historical component is inevitably brief. It is also, it seems to me, weighted toward an ethno-nationalist perspective on Basque history. The reader is told that in the sixteenth century, Basques (overwhelmingly Vizcayans from the coastal seaboard) maintained their own ethnic identity in the New World and that there was frequent tension with Spanish Castilians. The evidence Totoricagüena produces is rather anecdotal, however. Given that Basques and Castilians worked together in the conquest of the Americas, it would be surprising if overall there was not a high degree of collaboration and intermarriage. The issue is clearly in need of further study. Likewise, with respect to the nineteenth century, there is rather lot of loose talk of Basque nationalist sentiment. Among historians there is a controversy over the question of Basque identity during this period, but many would argue that nationalist sentiments did not take hold until the formation of the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) by Sabino Arana in the 1890s. They are not mentioned.

Hence it may well be that the ethno-nationalist sentiment Totoricagüena analyzes is very much a product of the twentieth century. There are several reasons for believing this to be the case. First, as the author herself notes, the dominant ideology within the centers is based on Arana's traditionalist nationalism, with a strong emphasis on the Basques forming a separate race, the link between Basque identity and Catholicism, and support for total independence of all the Basque provinces and deep-felt antagonism toward Spain. Moreover, although a majority of the respondents stated that they did not know enough about politics to say which party they supported, those that did overwhelmingly chose the PNV.

This, it should be noted, is rather different from the situation in the Basque autonomous community of Euskadi itself. Here, although a considerable section of the population consider themselves as only Basque, vote Basque nationalist, and see Spain as the enemy, others have adopted a hybrid Basque/Spanish identity

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(which, in fact, includes some PNV voters) and favor autonomy over total independence. In addition, while the PNV is the largest party, the Basque branches of the Spanish Partido Popular and Partido Socialista Obrero Español are not that far behind in terms of electoral support.

The reason for the difference is, I think, the importance Basque nationalists have played in the construction and maintenance of these centers. Particularly important in this respect, as the author notes, was the influx of refugees linked to the PNV at the end of the Spanish Civil War. As a result, although most of these centers' members see themselves as simply defending Basque "ethnicity," it is in fact the historic PNV's nationalist construction of that ethnicity they are espousing. This leaves a number of issues regarding Basque migration unresolved. How likely, for example, were twentieth-century Basque migrants to join these centers? To what extent was their ideology influential in leading them to join? Are Basques who do not consider themselves nationalists to be found in Spanish cultural centers within the countries studied? There is, no doubt, another story to be told regarding Basque migrants who lost their ethnic identity or, indeed, may have maintained a hybrid Spanish/Basque ethnicity.

I do not, however, want to end on a negative note. Clearly I am out of sympathy with the "primordialist" approach that the author adopts. However, the large number of interviews she has carried out represent a sterling effort. The material has been collated professionally, and she provides the reader with an in-depth description of attitudes within the Basque cultural centers. She effectively demolishes crudely instrumentalist arguments regarding why diasporas retain non-host country identities and makes salient points on the impact of globalization. Totoricagüena has produced a book of interest not only for academics working on nationalisms and national identities in Spain, but also for the growing numbers of researchers working in the fields of transnationalism and diaspora studies.

Angel Smith
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Juan Javier Pescador. *The New World Inside a Basque Village: The Oiartzun Valley and Its Atlantic Emigrants, 1550–1800*. (The Basque Series.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 185. $39.95.

Many studies have analyzed the effects of Spanish overseas migration on the evolving societies of Latin America during the colonial period, but few have analyzed the effects of that migration on peninsular Spain; exceptions are the important recent works by Ida Altman and Tamar Herzog, among others. This well-researched and engaging book by Juan Javier Pescador asks how overseas migration affected the social, economic, political, and religious structures of the Oiartzun river valley near Donostia (San Sebastián) in the Basque area of Guipúzcoa in the kingdom of Castile. Research into local, regional, national, and ecclesiastical archives allows the author to reconstruct individual, family, and community histories with an extraordinary level of detail from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The book analyzes the shifting relationship between individuals and families who stayed in the Oiartzun Valley and those who migrated temporarily or permanently to the New World. In the valley, life centered around the entailed farmstead or *baserri*, which might be worked by several related families but which was passed down to a single designated heir, either male or female. Agriculture and mining formed an important part of the economic activities of a *baserri*, but individuals and families might also participate in commerce in Europe and abroad.

In the sixteenth century, the most powerful *baserriak* (pl.) were involved in iron production, which had been important in the valley since Roman times. Major producers of iron dominated the economic and political life of the valley and established themselves in transatlantic commerce and in the empire. The American networks formed by iron-producing families could earn high profits, and individuals who served the monarchy abroad were able to gain entry into the noble military orders in Spain, especially the Order of Santiago. Migration tended to weaken local loyalties, however, so that migrants began to identify more with the broader emigrant Basque community and the empire than with particular *baserriak* or with the Oiartzun Valley. Mining in the valley declined in the late sixteenth century and never recovered from a French invasion in 1638.

Profits from overseas migration, commerce, and landholding continued to flow back into the Oiartzun Valley, however. Rich returnees bought properties from neighbors who had fallen on hard times and formed a new monied elite. Their money and influence undercut political and social traditions in the valley, with varying results. Some women came to hold more power in the *baserriak*, due to the absence of so many male relatives overseas. Other women were left with all the economic and social responsibilities of caring for hearth and home, with none of the power. Moreover, some wealthy emigrants and their descendants intervened in local political and religious matters by proxy. Over time, the valley's residents came to view their overseas relatives as intruders more than benefactors. The final breach came during another French invasion in 1793–1795, when local residents joined Spanish and French troops in pillaging the major *baserriak* in the valley. Thereafter, although migration from the valley to America continued, the strong identity between migrants and their ancient homeland ceased.

The book is strongest in relating the human histories that illustrate these broad changes over time, and the author demonstrates that Basques from the Oiartzun Valley formed an integral part of the building of colonial Spanish America, identifying themselves as

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imperial citizens and benefiting therefrom. It is weakest in providing the context that links the local to the imperial. The discussion of demographic and social history, for example (pp. 65–88) tends to make sweeping, unsupported generalizations about those complex topics. Although the bibliography is extensive, the vast majority of the notes refers only to archival documentation, providing no guide to the published work that informs the broader context. The focus remains so localized that the French attack on the Oiartzun Valley in 1638 is not mentioned as part of the Thirty Years' War, nor is the occupation of 1793–1795 mentioned as part of the wars provoked by the French Revolution. Similarly, references to noble status in the Oiartzun valley and among local migrants in America fail to note that the entire Basque population claimed noble status, a situation that was highly unusual, if not unique. Nonetheless, the book provides valuable case studies that demonstrate how overseas trade and migration between Spain and Spanish America affected the most fundamental levels of society in the home country.

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James Pritchard. *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvii, 484. $75.00.

James Pritchard provides a much-needed synthetic history of the fifteen colonies comprising France's first overseas empire in the most critical decades of their formation. It addresses demographic, social, economic, political, and military developments and contributes explicitly and implicitly to historiographical debates over the nature of French empire and the structure of French colonial societies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Pritchard makes a strong and largely convincing critique of the nationalist tradition in French colonial historiography. While France's first overseas empire has had relatively few historians, they have tended to assume that "colonial and maritime themes occupy a prominent place in French national history and in defining French national interests" (p. 420). In contrast, Pritchard argues that French foreign policy remained largely continentalist throughout the period and that colonial goals, when pursued at all, originated in a policy of prestige—*la gloire*—rather than a coherent imperial program. Ironically, he concludes that between 1670 and 1730 France scarcely possessed an empire at all: "What came to be called the first French or Bourbon empire proved to be little more than the remnants of dreams, the fragmentary pieces of statesmen's ambitions, and the lonely pleas of colonial authorities for succor against their foreign and domestic enemies" (p. 263).

For Pritchard, a corollary of this failure of empire is that "settlers and slaves rather than the metropolitan or even colonial governments largely made their own societies" (p. xxi). This assertion is contentious, as there has been vigorous debate over the respective roles of frontier and metropolis in shaping European colonial societies. Pritchard clearly aligns himself with the frontier historians, but he never directly acknowledges the opposing school of thought, which would have been helpful in a work of this nature.

The book is divided into two roughly equal parts entitled "Colonies Formed" and "Colonies Defended." In part one, Pritchard provides an overview of demographic, social, economic, and political trends in the various French colonies, a daunting task given the vast differences both within and between the circum-Caribbean and North American possessions (in the circum-Caribbean the Windward Islands of Grenada, Martinique, Marie Galante, Guadeloupe, Saint-Christophe, Saint-Barthélémy, Saint-Martin, and Sainte-Croix together with Saint-Domingue and Cayenne; in North America Louisiana, Canada, Acadia, Placentia, and Île Royale). He does an excellent job of drawing the disparate materials together, almost to the point of undermining his own thesis of separate, incommensurable colonies.

The chapters on demography and society make the important point that the French were outnumbered in virtually all of their colonies, by Amerindians in North America and by Africans in the circum-Caribbean. In North America, Pritchard argues, native peoples continued to shape French colonial societies despite the ongoing decimation of their populations. Yet he also denies that any middle ground was ever established between French and Indian and summarily dismisses Richard White's influential argument to the contrary (p. 103).

Pritchard's treatment of African slavery places him firmly within the frontier historians' camp. While he acknowledges that sugar plantations created "the most hellish society on earth" (p. 162), he points out that they did not predominate anywhere in the French colonies before 1730. Instead, he writes, "Colonial populations were among the most free during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. European and African peasant societies came nowhere near the openness of the young frontier societies in the Americas that were growing amid the wreckage of collapsing aboriginal populations" (p. 70). There is no attempt to situate this categoric statement within the framework of debate which opposes, for example, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's insistence on the remarkable autonomy of Louisiana slaves to Thomas Ingersoll's emphasis on relations of racial domination.

The useful survey of colonial economies leads Pritchard to conclude that they "merged with the new international Atlantic world slowly and imperfectly before 1730, and [that] this slow development reinforced the elusiveness of the French empire for long afterward" (p. 229). Regarding politics, Pritchard fruitfully employs the insights of revisionist historians of French absolutism—who focus on royal collabora-

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tion with provincial elites rather than their coercion—to argue that "government in the French colonies did not proceed by absolute command and unqualified obedience, but by negotiation and accommodation" (p. 263).

Part two relates the history of France's colonial wars, from the Franco-Dutch struggles of 1672–1678 through the Nine Years' War (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). These chapters, which showcase Pritchard's well-proven strengths as a naval historian, may appeal to a somewhat different audience than the first part of the book. They make, however, the complementary case that the French navy failed to find a role in imperial defense, with the result that even war could not weld the colonies into a coherent empire.

In conclusion, this book fills a critical gap in the historiography of French empire while contributing to ongoing debates about the formation of French colonial societies. Pritchard holds strong opinions, which is all to the good, but in some cases his arguments would be more convincing if presented in the context of existing historiographical controversies. In any case, this well-written work will become an indispensable reference for anyone interested in the history of France's first colonies.

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JENNIFER L. MORGAN. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 279. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

This rich and detailed monograph explores women's lives "across time and space" to interrogate "ways in which ideologies of race and gender contributed to a set of common experiences for enslaved women" (p. 2). In centering the lives of slave women in the colonial period, Jennifer L. Morgan aims not simply to make a case for inclusion but to establish "a foundational methodology" in writing early American history that demonstrates the impact of women on the development of slavery (p. 4). She claims that her book is "highly original" in providing a "theoretically grounded view of reproduction and labor as the twin pillars of female exploitation" in slavery and demonstrating how "women's burden was distinct from that of men" (p. 1). This is a rather ambitious assertion, given that existing studies by Barbara Bush, Hilary McD. Beckles, Marietta Morrissey, Bernard Moitt, and Deborah Gray White have already established these central factors in women's lives in the Anglophone, Francophone, and North American slave worlds. The archival research on which the book is based is commendable, but a struggle to establish a unique angle on the development of gendered slave identities is evident in Morgan's rather convoluted introduction.

What is unique is the geographical scope, the comparative perspective illuminating the many ties between the prerevolutionary North American slave colonies and Caribbean colonies, particularly Barbados, and the focus on the earlier period of slavery. Morgan rightly stresses that nuances of time and space are crucial to exploring slavery and effectively demonstrates how diverse labor regimes, "shaped . . . by the particularities of different crops and the always waning frontier," mediated slave identities and race discourses (p. 2). Additionally, the book is based on a deep reading of an impressive range of archival and other primary sources and the rich detail fleshes out conceptual frameworks developed in earlier studies. Archival sources are effectively contextualized in the current historiography in the field.

The first two chapters chart the transition from Africa to the Americas, "the gendering of racial ideology" and the construction of African women in traveller's tales. Here Morgan provides an illuminating analysis of West African gender roles, the gendered experiences of the middle passage, and the demographics of the slave trade and slave production. Chapter one, arguably the most engaging and original, explores connections between African women's identities as represented in European travellers' tales and the manipulation of symbolic representations of African women's sexuality to justify enslavement. Particularly fascinating is the trope of African, indigenous, and Irish women "suckling over their shoulder" (with illustrations) and the white male obsession with African women's pendulous breasts. The evolution of white representations of the unnatural reproductive behavior of African women is further explored in Morgan's third chapter which provides an interesting analysis of early slave ownership in the American colonies. Some interesting contrasts between slave and white female indentured servants are suggested in her discussion of evolving practices relating to childbirth and motherhood.

One of Morgan's key arguments is that reproduction shaped women's encounters with work, community, and culture and that reproduction, rather than the type of labor, was the key influence on slave women's identities (p. 2). Yet I am not convinced that this is developed effectively and consistently, particularly in chapters three to six that cover reproduction, labor, and resistance. In the main, these chapters provide fresh empirical detail and some good comparative insights, but they contribute only marginally to established debates and conceptual frameworks. Chapter six, for instance, discusses "gynaecolological resistance," but this adds little to my own exploration of the link between reproduction and resistance (see Bush, "Hard Labour: Black Women in Production and Reproduction in Caribbean Slave Society," in *Feminism and the Body*, ed. Londa Schiebinger [2000]). Arguments relating to resistance and identity formation are perhaps the weakest link in Morgan's analysis and have been more effectively explored in other studies. Additionally, the prose is somewhat dense throughout;

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arguments sometimes become submerged in a wealth of empirical detail and, occasionally, rather convoluted sentences. More positively, the author provides some effective illustrations, clear maps, and relevant statistical evidence that provides a firm grounding for her discussion.

On balance, the strengths of this new study of gender, reproduction, and slavery outweigh the weaknesses. Morgan rightly points to the paucity of existing studies and her monograph is a welcome addition to the historiography in the field, providing illuminating comparative insights and rich detail about the lives of African slave women in the earlier period of slavery. She effectively establishes how African women were found throughout the early Atlantic world "as forced and free labourers, wives of traders and settlers [and] traders and travellers in their own right" (p. 1). Morgan's book also establishes significant connections between slavery in the British Caribbean and North American colonies and will certainly be of interest to researchers and graduate students working in the fields of early American, Caribbean, African-American, African diaspora, and women's history.

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PHILIP GOULD. *Barbaric Traffic: Commerce and Antislavery in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 258. $45.00.

The eighteenth-century crusade against the slave trade in Britain, British America, and the United States gave rise to a wealth of antislavery literature. What has always been surprising is the extent to which writers concentrated overwhelmingly on the barbarity of the slave trade rather than on slavery itself. Philip Gould argues that this concentration on a branch of commerce that Britain was extremely adept at conducting was not accidental. He insists, following historians such as Eric Williams and especially David Brion Davis, that reformers targeted the slave trade because the slave trade symbolized the kind of commerce that did not fit in an emerging capitalist order committed to "free" trade. He suggests that antislavery writers attacked the slave trade in order to question the compatibility of such "inhuman commerce" with enlightened civilization. Gould's book interrogates the meaning of liberalism and challenges the ideology of possessive individualism. He emphasizes that sentiment and capitalism were mutually constitutive rather than sentiment being merely symptomatic of commercial and industrial capitalism.

I doubt that many historians will find this argument especially novel or arresting. The famous debate between Thomas Haskell and Davis in this journal nearly twenty years ago made clear that sophisticated thinkers on the subject saw antislavery thought as suffused by sentiment, and that they never doubted that the "free" trade advocated by antislavery reform was different from the laissez-faire ideologies of modern liberal capitalism. Gould claims too much for the originality of his thesis. It has been some time, moreover, since historians have taken too seriously C. B. Macpherson's cultural model of "possessive individualism" as telling us very much about the shared practices and values of an emerging eighteenth-century commercial society.

What Gould does provide, however, is a series of penetrating and convincing analyses of a range of literary texts in which we can see writers worrying about how to reconcile modern but "barbarous" commercial practices within an Enlightenment discourse of "manners" and "politeness." It was not just Adam Smith who saw market mechanisms as a way station toward moral reform that could also lead to moral degeneration. So, too, did poets like William Cowper and Phillis Wheatley, dramatists like Susanna Rowson, black autobiographers like Venture Smith and Olaudah Equiano, and polemicists like Philadelphia publisher Mathew Carey. In chapters on American antislavery poetry, Barbary captivity literature, black Atlantic autobiography, and the 1793–1794 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, Gould shows how writers struggled over the relationship of sentiment to capitalism and to developing racial boundaries. As a listing of these disparate topics suggest, the chapters do not hang together all that well, but separately each is excellent. Gould's treatment of Rowson and Equiano is especially sensitive. He shows that Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794) needs to be read as less about the formation of national identity than about the limitations of national identity. Rowson viewed identity as a function of sensibility rather than of genealogy, as mediated through the politics of Algerian slavery. Gould's reading of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* (1789) is especially ingenious, seeing the work as juxtaposing the virtue of Equiano's commercial identity (Equiano himself being implicated in slave trading) with the barbarity of the African slave trade. Here, most clearly, Gould shows how in important antislavery texts, "sentiment and commerce work symbiotically, to the point where these categories mutually enhance one another" (p. 136).

Much of the writing in this book is necessarily difficult; the connections between sentiment and commercial change are not easy to explicate. But readers will find it useful to persevere, as the textual interpretations of an impressive variety of antislavery literature illustrate how pervasive was concern over the aesthetics of commerce. It is these textual readings rather than the larger thesis that impress and make this book a welcome and important addition to a developing discourse around what drove people to write quite so much and in quite so many genres on the iniquities of the transatlantic slave trade.

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PETER H. LINDERT. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*. Volume 1, *The Story*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 377. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.00.

PETER H. LINDERT. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*. Volume 2, *Further Evidence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 230. $70.00.

Peter H. Lindert's two-volume study has aroused interest beyond the circle of academic historians, because its conclusions, stated forcefully, repeatedly, and with a wealth of data, so contradict public policy and assumptions in the United States. Most important is the author's demonstration that high social spending does not lead to lower economic growth. Indeed, this is the central point of the entire two volumes. Lindert is not the only one to make this point, but he does so very convincingly. This conclusion is true, he maintains, so long as taxes and benefits are well designed. He concludes that heavy reliance on a flat tax, VAT (Value Added Tax), although regressive, is pro-growth and seems to work politically, as does universalism of benefits. "Broad universalism in taxes and entitlements fosters growth better than the low budget countries' [which include the United States] preference for strict means testing and complicated tax compromises" (v. 1, p. 20).

Somewhat less noticed, but as important to historians, is Lindert's conclusion that the rise and nature of social spending was clearly a function of what groups had "political voice" in each nation. There are many other conclusions, among them that welfare states like Sweden are not in decline, that greater democracy leads to more public schooling rather than that more schooling engenders democracy, and that the pension crisis in places like Italy and Japan is much more severe than in the United States.

About two-thirds of volume one is historical, the rest concerns present and future policy and is largely based on OECD figures. There are graphs, tables, diagrams a-plenty. Volume two is essentially a more theoretical and statistical explanation of some of the conclusions in volume one. Lindert follows two stories in the growth of social spending in Europe, North America, Australasia, and, for some tables, Japan: poor relief since the late eighteenth century, and public schooling since the mid-nineteenth. He concentrates on the late nineteenth and particularly the post-1930s twentieth century, when social spending became a significant fraction of GDP. This is a huge work of synthesis, gathering the work of many scholars and including some of Lindert's own earlier research. The bibliography is wide ranging, although almost all in English-language material (excluded, for example, is Christoph Sachsse and Florian Tennstedt, *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland*, 3 vols. [1985–1992]).

Lindert's metric is the proportion of GDP spent on the two programs at various times in the different nations. For the period before 1880 in Europe, England and the Netherlands come out as relatively generous, although no country devoted more than three percent of GDP to poor relief, and most were under two percent. After 1880 and before the 1930s, Denmark and Germany were leaders in poor relief, while Germany and the United States were leaders in spending for public schools. The latter fact, Lindert concludes, was due to the decentralized nature of their systems.

As an economist, the author scorns a theoretical approach that he calls "fiction," even if reasonable fiction, in favor of empiricism. Usually he looks at economic data, but sometimes he considers historical particulars, especially in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States.

Lindert focuses mostly on the disburser and only occasionally on the recipient. This could be misleading. The amount of aid received by a poor person might be greater in a prosperous country, even if the percentage of the GDP disbursed were lower than in a less prosperous country. This consideration leads naturally to the very difficult question of comparing currency values across differing countries. How many Swiss francs is a German mark worth and at what dates? Are currency exchange rates a reasonable guide to actual values? One can find other guides, for instance wages of agricultural laborers. Sometimes the laws themselves contain hints as to what is considered an "existence minimum" in a given country at a given time. But the issue remains a vexing one. Lindert also does not discuss the seemingly simple question of poverty rates. The fraction of national income devoted to the poor could have been less or more at a certain time and place because there were simply fewer or more people defined as in poverty.

Sometimes, Lindert's analysis suffers from what might be called the fallacy of misleading precision. For example, he says, based on an earlier study of his, that in the 1840s, the United States spent 0.13 percent of its national income on social services. Even deciding on GDP at that date is a project of estimation and guess. Social services were local, town by town: more estimation and guess work. It would be more accurate to say something like "the United States probably devoted no more than a few tenths of a percent of its national income to social services" than to use a figure like 0.0013.

I wrote "hooray" next to the last paragraph of volume one, where Lindert writes that the determinants of social policy are "history and ideology," for that is my own view. The problem is that Lindert devotes almost no attention to history outside of economic history, and virtually none to ideology. Only in that last paragraph does he conclude that the English speaking world has a "political ideology that will remain firmly opposed to a universalist welfare state for the foreseeable future" (v. 1, p. 307). Lindert's central underlying concern is policy. This is

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an important work for historians, economists, and policy makers. The latter, however, because of history and ideology, will not listen.

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THOMAS P. HUGHES. *Human-Built World: How to Think About Technology and Culture.*(science.culture.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 223. $22.50.

Were I to teach a survey course on the history of modern technology, I would strongly consider using this book. Thomas P. Hughes takes the reader over a vast stretch of time and through complex ideas and scores of individuals to present an intellectual history of technology. The book resulted from the substantial revision of lectures Hughes has delivered since the mid-1990s. The author writes that his goal is to understand the complex and contradictory essence of technology. He defines technology as the creative means to a variety of ends in making the human-built world. He focuses primarily on the history of technology in Western Europe, especially Germany, and the United States, with passing reference to France and the USSR.

In a chapter on "Second Creation," Hughes explores the motivations and attitudes of those who transformed the American and European landscapes, and the political and economic forces that drove them. These individuals often viewed technology in a religious context, as a gift from god. God-like creativity was a theme of writings on the mechanical arts. Hughes discusses how Calvinism, Puritanism, and rise of the Protestant work ethic were crucial to the spread of a technological ethos and fostered a rational and empirical means to improve humans' earthly condition. But rather than the Edenic results many anticipated, they ultimately created a world of industry comprised of steel, electric power, internal combustion engines, products of the petrochemical world, consumer goods, and, I might add, misery—poverty, danger, and uncertainty. Such thinkers as J. W. von Goethe worried about the dangers of technology, what Hughes calls "the nether side of creativity." Hughes's discussion succinctly captures the debate among those who desired dominion over nature and had utopian expectations about the conduct and results of their transformative projects, and those who rejected the belief that all was good when human beings tried to transform the post-Eden wilderness into pastoral paradise.

Hughes also explores the genesis of the American myth centered on the place of technology in the struggle against wilderness, and against the "savages" who inhabited it. From passive contemplation, the myth became active transformation with canals, steam engines, and railroads, built with the assistance of immigrants. Technology was a machine in the second industrial revolution. Here Hughes considers Henry Ford and his massive River Rouge automobile plan, Thomas Edison and the electrification of the cities, and the creation of the modern metropolis based on steel-framed bridges and buildings, reinforced concrete, telephone and electrical wires, radio towers, water, waste, food, goods, and transport systems. He provides chapter and verse from Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oswald Spengler, Lewis Mumford, Werner Sombart, Walter Rathenau, and such American pragmatics as Charles Beard musing over the place of technology in culture and civilization. Hughes mentions Karl Marx, one of the most important critics of the place of technology in the capitalist world, only in passing.

Some readers will find the chapter on technology as systems, controls, and information the least satisfying in the book. Hughes covers such wide-ranging topics as weaponry, cybernetics, the military industrial university complex, the systems approach, and urban planning—in all there are fourteen subsections in thirty pages—but cannot bring them together in an analytical whole. He also includes several criticisms of the systems approach in the writings of E. F. Schumacher, Rachel Carson, Barry Commoner, and Amory Lovins.

Hughes turns next to how artists and architects have engaged technology. His discussion includes the work of such machine-era architects as Peter Behrens, Le Corbusier, and Walter Gropius and others connected with the Bauhaus whose aesthetics were based on industrial concepts in which function dictated designs. He explores the work of such artists as Marcel Duchamp and Charles Sheeler. Hughes's comments on Sheeler reveal a gap in this history of technology: Sheeler's striking paintings glorified the machine but do not include a single worker.

The strength of this book, its breadth of coverage of topics and period covered, is also a weakness, because of necessity Hughes must spend more time with some issues rather than others and ignore several entirely. For example, few of the persons mentioned in this work are women, African Americans, or Native Americans, let alone immigrant workers. Nor does the place of technology as a force of colonialism or imperialism gain mention. This is an intellectual history of major American and European white males.

Hughes last turns to the relationship between ecology, technology, and environment. He urges us to consider our moral responsibilities regarding the human-built world and what leads us to it, and he calls for change in values and activism directed against the threat of technology to our environment. The path to this change, Hughes writes, is a better understanding of technology. The twenty-eight-page bibliographic essay that completes this comprehensive book is a good place to start.

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ELLIOT YOUNG. *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border.* (American Encounters/Global

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Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 407. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Elliott Young has written several articles dealing with race, ethnicity, and revolution on the Texas-Mexico border. In this book-length work, he provides a transnational examination of a little-studied insurrection that was both a revolt against the long-running dictatorship of President Porfirio Díaz of Mexico and a reaction by Mexicans and Mexican Americans against the growing Anglo domination of South Texas. Catarino Garza's rebellion in 1891 also represented an effort by residents of the borderlands to resist the encroachment of the central power of both the U.S. and Mexican governments.

Garza and his revolt demonstrated the permeability of the border. Born in Mexico, Garza moved to Brownsville, Texas in 1877 at the age of eighteen. He soon assumed the role of crusading journalist and political activist, criticizing the Díaz dictatorship in Mexico and defending Mexicans and Mexican Americans against Anglo abuse. Garza's activities drew the unfavorable attention of authorities on both sides of the Rio Grande, and he became the target of political harassment and even assassination attempts. A newspaper article by Garza resulted in his arrest for libel; the subject of Garza's article, a local Anglo customs inspector, later shot and seriously wounded Garza. Texas Rangers then arrested Garza on charges of conspiracy to commit murder while his assailant went free.

It was in this type of personal and political context that Garza decided to turn to revolution both to "liberate" Mexicans in Texas and to overthrow the Díaz regime. What became known as the "Garza Revolution" began in September 1891. The revolution was planned in and launched from South Texas, beginning a pattern in which raiders would move from Texas into northern Mexico and then withdraw back to Texas when they experienced military setbacks. Garza drew support from Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and even Anglos. For Mexicans and Mexican Americans, the Garza revolt represented traditional values of honor, patriotism, regional autonomy, and liberalism. Most of those who actively supported Garza were Mexican citizens who had lived for an extended period of time in the United States. Local Anglo officials, interested in turning out the Mexican vote, often supported rebel activities. Garza even received the support of some Mexican military officers in the North. Despite this transnational, multiclass support, the revolt enjoyed little military success. The U.S. Army, the Mexican Army, the Texas Rangers, and some local law enforcement officials brought an end to the revolt in 1893.

Before concluding Garza's personal story, the author devotes chapters to the "ideological battle" that was part of the insurrection and to the "colonizing" of the lower Rio Grande Valley and its impact on the revolt. As a journalist, Garza appreciated the importance of propaganda and the need to reach a transnational readership. Young concludes that press coverage not only influenced contemporary opinions of the war; it also affected the long-term view of the revolt. Young places Garza's revolt against the background of the "colonization" or development of the valley by outsiders, mainly Anglo investors. This development process aggravated the already depressed conditions of many in the valley, encouraging revolt.

Although the Garza revolt lingered on into 1893, Garza himself went into exile in early 1892. His travels took him to Cuba, the Bahamas, and Costa Rica. Increasingly viewing himself as a Latin American revolutionary leader, Garza died in a failed liberal revolt in Colombia in 1895.

Young has done extensive research for this work, including the use of private, state, and federal archives in both Mexico and the United States. While often sympathetic to Garza's views and goals, the author does not betray any bias toward his subject; in describing Garza's Colombian adventure, Young calls Garza "an eternal optimist or pathologically unrealistic, or both" (p. 291). His book offers additional revisionist insights into what was certainly more than a minor insurrection on the border. The work also provides important background to the broader insurrections that would lead to the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

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Howard Phillips and David Killingray, editors. *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19: New Perspectives*. (Routledge Studies in the Social History of Medicine, number 12.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxi, 357. $90.00.

Most volumes of conference papers make me glad I did not attend. This one is exceptional. Editors Howard Phillips and David Killingray describe the meeting in Cape Town in September 1998 in glowing terms, and the papers they have selected for publication are of such quality that I am sorry nobody invited me. The editors' introduction is a model, thoughtful and bibliographically rich. The fifty-page, country-by-country bibliography at the end of the book is an invitation for others to take up the challenges that this volume throws down and investigate the most devastating epidemic of the twentieth century in more detail. The bibliography's richness slightly belies the volume's repeated theme that influenza has been neglected by historians.

The central puzzle that the editors raise, and that several of the contributors take up, is why this influenza pandemic has been so historically silent. It killed more people than World War I. It stretched postwar medical services, already depleted by four years of total war, to the breaking point. It also challenged the confidence that doctors, and their public, had developed in the power of scientific medicine to control infectious diseases. By 1918, germ theory was half a

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century old, and the causative organisms of many of the major killers—tuberculosis, cholera, plague, malaria, typhoid, pneumonia, and puerperal fever—had been identified, and strategies for their prevention and treatment elaborated, on scientific grounds. Nevertheless, the great influenza pandemic left little behind except the dead: no permanent legacies in terms of medical research or the organization of health care.

The editors have selected for publication about half the papers delivered at the conference. These sixteen essays cluster into six groupings: scientific perspectives, medical and nursing care, official responses, demographic impacts, long-term consequences, and epidemiological lessons. The authors represent an equally broad disciplinary spectrum. Anthropologists, historians, epidemiologists, demographers, and virologists are here, and they come from many parts of the world: the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, of course, but also from France, India, New Zealand, Australia, Germany, Spain, and Japan. South Africa is represented through one of the editors. It is a nice comment on the book's cosmopolitanism that China is written about by a Japanese scholar (Wataru Iijima), whereas Japan provides a comparative focus for the New Zealander Geoffrey Rice.

It is a tribute to the volume's interdisciplinary perspective that we are treated to a variety of methods. The scientists report their laboratory findings on why the influenza virus changes its immunological characteristics ever so often, the demographers crunch numbers and regret the quality of their statistics, the social historians read diaries and correspondence, and the anthropologists offer models for the virus's spread through households and small communities. The level of analysis varies greatly: Iijima is able to do little more than establish that the pandemic actually did affect China, whereas Ann Herring and Lisa Sattenspiel look at household patterns in three isolated communities in the Canadian subarctic. The authors all accept the basic typology of the pandemic: that it occurred in three waves, and that, unusually for influenza, it killed young adults preferentially to children and the elderly. Men were also more susceptible than women, a pattern usually assigned to their greater exposure. Several authors find minor local exceptions to these generalizations, and they are mostly able to explain them by local age structures or patterns of social organization.

This is a very fine collection of essays. The level of documentation is exemplary, and the editors' introduction draws the whole together. At the same time, a reader might be forgiven for feeling, long before he or she got to the end, that the message had been made. The 1918–1919 influenza was theme and variation, but rather more theme than variation. Local outbreaks were slightly different from place to place, but they mostly involved ordinary doctors, nurses, and officials reacting as best they could to a trying situation. Perhaps there were no long-term consequences because not much was learned. The recovery of frozen bodies of victims may provide more molecular information about the specific virus type that wreaked all that havoc, and this in turn may be useful for future surveillance. But historically, the message of this volume may be that, while there is much more to be found out about, there is not much more to be learned from this greatest of all twentieth-century pandemics.

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Ibrahim Sundiata. *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914–1940.* Paperback edition. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003, Pp. xiii, 442.

Liberia, the West African republic with 3.4 million inhabitants, has a special place in the colonial and postcolonial history of Africa because it was established by freed slaves who emigrated, inspired by the millenarian vision of resettling in the motherland. They perceived their return as an exodus, with the aim not only of finding a refuge from white racism and the hardships of life in the United States but also of rehabilitating and reviving the "authentic personality" of the black man. Hence, Liberia is an intriguing case of the encounter of a vision with reality, and its history plays a central role in what is known as black Atlantic history, owing to the close link between it and the black American diaspora and the nature of the relationship between the emigrants and the African natives. This relationship was not regarded as one between colonizers and the indigenous population but as a translation into reality of the belief that there is such a thing as a "collective African personality" despite the disparate origins and traditions of the Africans.

A great deal has been written about the history of the Back-to-Africa movement, of pan-Africanism as a world view and ideology, and of Liberia. This new book by Ibrahim Sundiata is a valuable addition to the literature. It deals with several aspects of the movement's multifold history. First is the development of the Back-to-Africa idea in America, its reflection in African-American literature, and the activity undertaken to realize the idea with the support of the black community, the U.S. government, and the international community (the League of Nations). Also examined is the attitude of the Back-to-Africa movement's adherents toward the veteran Americo-Liberians and the local inhabitants and the attitude of the veteran settlers, who were imbued with many of the values of Old Dixie, toward the new immigration. In reality, the idea of "mother Africa" as a single entity, and of Atlantic partnership, were products of diasporic creation and intended for it. The Liberian oligarchy had interests of its own and believed it represented an independent entity outside that diaspora. There were also those in Liberia who described the American Africans as "black white men." The Liberian government preferred America to send money, not people.

Finally, Sundiata considers the relations between the emigrants and the local population. The former

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settled in a region from which their forefathers had not been forcibly led to America; they did not know its languages, nor did they behave toward the native Africans as "brethren in race and fate." To a great extent, they were colonialists who exploited the locals as forced laborers, and even as slaves. And although the local inhabitants were accepted by the emigrants, they had to undergo a process of acculturation into the culture the latter had brought with them from America.

The book deals with the years between the outbreak of World War I and the beginning of World War II (1914–1940) and opens with the years during which the Back-to-Africa movement became a mass movement in the "diaspora" that enlisted in its ranks about a million supporters from 1920–1924, but did not succeed in encouraging and organizing a mass emigration of millions back to the ancestral land. "Liberia, a movement long touted as the black Zion, proved to be a 'bitter Canaan' " (p. 2). Despite the efforts to arouse a mass exodus to Liberia, only about 25,000 persons actually immigrated. Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which were active in the 1920s, did not succeed. In Sundiata's view, "the Garvey plan in Liberia failed not because it was illogical or unfeasible, but because key members of the Liberian political class opposed it from the start" (p. 35), and it is difficult to argue with this claim, because it is hard to prove that if Garvey had been realistic and had managed to delimit his Negro world, he would have been more successful. It seems to me that Garvey's movement was doomed to failure from the outset.

Much space is devoted to a description of the relations that developed between the settlers and the indigenous Liberians. The former regarded themselves as the bearers of the black man's burden—namely, as those who had a cultural mission to African barbarism—and they described the former, with a sense of superiority, as semicivilized people. The author is correct in arguing that the abuse of the local population through forced labor and even slavery appears puny in comparison to the wrongs of colonial rule, and that Liberia is harshly judged because these wrongs were caused by blacks to other blacks. However, this severe judgment stems from an understandable expectation of different patterns of behavior.

In the development of Liberia, the special attitude of the American administration toward the republic and American investments in it filled an important role. First and foremost, there was the activity of the Firestone Plantation Company, which owned the country's rubber plantations. The book describes at length the policy and actions of this industrial giant and its relations with the American administration, on the one hand, and with the local oligarchy on the other, as well as the attempts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to influence American policy toward Liberia. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that from the outset Liberia was incapable of becoming the promised land of the African diaspora and fulfilling the role of embodying the mythical or symbolic Africa that was invented overseas.

The author often draws a comparasion between the return to the Liberian homeland and the return of the Jews, from the end of the nineteenth century and thereafter, to the land of Israel. The comparison is expressed in his designation of Liberia as the "black Zion," as well as in the inspiration and example that the activists of the Back-to-Africa movement found in the Zionist movement (and hence in the name they gave it, "Negro Zionism") and in several similarities that can be found in the ideology, patterns of political action, and relations between the diaspora and the motherland in both cases. These similarities are indeed intriguing, but they are, in my view, rather tenuous and exist mainly in the rhetorical dimension. By contrast, the differences between the two cases are very great: the idea of the return to Africa referred to the entire continent as the motherland, and not to a specific region of it, where a connection could be found between a living religious and national tradition and rich literature and the idea itself. The relations between the state of Israel and the Jewish diaspora differ from those between the African-American diaspora and the African continent. One basic, but very significant difference lies in the fact that in the former case these were relations with one state and not with many states, at times at conflict with one another (the idea of passing a law similar to the Law of Return enacted in Israel in 1950, namely to recognize every black person "returning home" as a citizen, was raised in the Kenyan Parliament in October 1967, and rejected).

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RICHARD SCHWEITZER. *The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt among British and American Great War Soldiers*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 225.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xxxiii, 311. $74.95.

In this exciting and thoughtful book, Richard Schweitzer takes up two large problems in the historiography of World War I. The first is the trope of modernism. Prominent figures in British culture at the turn of the last century perceived a break with the past and disagreed only about when it began. Was it after the war, or before? Was it the publication of *Ulysses* (1922) or *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), or was it *Le sacre du printemps* (1913) after all? Cultural historians have often taken the same approach. As Schweitzer shows, however, their focus on disjunctions (gaps, chasms, and discontinuities) has caused them to underestimate the force of tradition both during and after the war.

Schweitzer focuses on religious belief among men who fought in the war. He argues that the role of religion has been ignored, in part because of the "modernist" thesis and its claim that the war under-

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mined organized religion and the moral certitude that sometimes came with it. Much evidence in this book shows that the contrary was often the case, and the evidence of religious belief is not unique. Other cultural institutions, including chivalry, shared religion's role in maintaining continuity between pre- and postwar life.

Schweitzer confronts a second problem: the overwhelming abundance of evidence. Citing with admiration a Civil War historian who consulted more than one thousand collections of letters and diaries, Schweitzer claims to have examined the written records of over five hundred men, a "quasi-representative" sample of "socially differentiated British and American Great War soldiers" (p. xxiv). Given that millions of men were involved in the war, this is indeed a small sample (although admittedly not one easily surveyed); hence Schweitzer's focus on social differentiation is especially important in supporting his claims. The book divides into two sections, "Faith" and "Doubt," with a coda on Woodrow Wilson's attitude toward religion and war. In each section Schweitzer examines a spectrum of faith or doubt and differentiates views according to social group. Especially persuasive are discussions of "religion by rank" (chapter four) and "clerical nationalism" (chapter seven). The author takes pains to distinguish American from British attitudes not only toward religious practice but toward organizations such as the YMCA that addressed soldiers' spiritual needs.

Schweitzer's attempt to survey these views outside a chronological narrative results in a certain looseness that the author explanins in the last chapter, where he argues that religious response depended primarily on individual experience rather than on chronological development (i.e. responses in 1918 were similar to those of 1915). To avoid narrowing and codifying the responses of so many soldiers, Schweitzer chose to forgo a tighter structure. His work pays handsome tribute to the hundreds of men whose papers he has examined. The much-discussed views of Vera Brittain, Rupert Brooke, Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and a few other celebrities provide instructive points of contrast, but in the end they contribute less to this book than do the humble, often eloquent words of ordinary (and not-so-ordinary) men.

Only once does Schweitzer discuss a soldier whose letters I have also read (a remarkable coincidence, given the size of the archives in England and in the United States): Lt. Howard Bowser, who wrote a letter that Schweitzer cites as an example of faith doubted (pp. 116–17). "I feel like crying as Jesus did, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou ~~forgotten~~ forsaken us?'" Bowser wrote to his mother in 1917, correcting a slip of his pen. He added, "I can't pray properly. Like Thomas I want to see and feel" (my transcription). There's doubt for you, with a distinguished precedent. Bowser bounced back, Schweitzer notes, and in a letter written some months later affirmed his faith. Schweitzer does not say so, but even the first letter shows Bowser turning around: "Are we not tempted beyond what we can bear?" Bowser continues. "I suppose not. Well, cheer up, perhaps in His mercy he will show me the way. Veritas praevalebit! [Truth will prevail.] Much love to all from your very loving Howard." There, surely, is belief.

Faith and doubt are unstable entities, and so, too, is the evidence, as Bowser's letter shows. His file at the Imperial War Museum is a thick one, his ample letters enriched by quotations from the Bible and Victorian poetry. It is no wonder he had a complex view of religious belief. It is possible that other men whose views Schweitzer sampled also vacillated more than Schweitzer's survey allows. But Schweitzer samples opinions generously, and his writing is free of tendentious cant. He has produced a genuinely polyvocal book, at once a robust addition to the unending history of the war and a refreshing and persuasive challenge to the modernist myth.

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THE HOLOCAUST EXPERIENCE. Written and directed by Oeke Hoogendijk. English subtitles. 2002; color; 50 minutes. Distributed in the United States by First Run/Icarus Films.

This fifty-minute film, directed by Dutch filmmaker Oeke Hoogendijk, deals with an important and topical subject: how the Holocaust is commemorated in three sites, the Polish state museum on the site of the former Auschwitz concentration camp, the Beit hashoah Museum of Tolerance of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, California, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. It contrasts the personalized (some might say sensationalized) way young people are introduced to this complex and perplexing topic in Los Angeles with the more sober treatment of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. The way the issues are presented at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum falls somewhere between these two poles. The film's comparative treatment would have been greatly enhanced had it included a discussion of how the issue is handled by the two principal Israeli commemorative institutions, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the museum at the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz (Kibbutz lohamei hageta'ot).

For all its good intentions, the film's treatment rarely rises above the superficial. It fails entirely to discuss the way in which, starting with the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1979 and more rapidly since the end of communism in 1989, the agenda of the state museum at Auschwitz has changed in a quite dramatic manner. As a result, the dominant narrative of the communist period, which stressed Polish national martyrdom, marginalized the Shoah, and instrumentalized the site for political purposes, has been replaced by a much more nuanced and sophisticated treatment.

Similarly, the vexed question of how to commemorate the non-Jewish civilian victims of the Nazis, whose

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numbers were particularly large in Eastern Europe, is hardly touched. Rabbi Marvin Hier does refer to the "11 million victims of the Holocaust," but the way the issue is treated by the Museum of Tolerance stresses above all Jewish martyrdom. This issue has been particularly problematic for the Auschwitz Musuem. According to research conducted by one of its scholars, Franciszek Piper, which has been corroborated by those at Yad Vashem, at least 1.1 million people perished in the camp, of whom 960,000 were Jewish and another 75,000 were non-Jewish Poles. Attempts have been made to reflect these facts in the museum displays and the memorials. But this has not prevented the eruption of bitter disputes, starting with the founding of a Carmelite convent in a building within the area designated as the camp perimeter by UNESCO (it has since been relocated) and continuing with the placing of large numbers of crosses in the gravel-pit adjacent to the camp, of which one, the large "Papal Cross," remains. These matters are not mentioned in the film. The problem of how to reconcile the protection of the sites linked with the Auschwitz camp complex, of which there is a large number, and the further development of the town of Oswiecim receives very shallow treatment.

There are some valuable sections in the film. In particular, the interviews with the directors of the three museums and those responsible for the conservation of the buildings and objects in the care of the Auschwitz State Musuem and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum are most revealing. The problem of how to preserve the crumbling fabric of the camp without falsification is very well handled, and the chief conservator at Auschwitz, Witold Śmirek, shows how complex this issue is. It is not clear for whom the film is intended. Those who already are familiar with the issues it raises will find in it some interesting observations. But the wider audience, to whom it seems to be primarily directed, will leave a showing hardly more informed than they were at the outset. In the last analysis, this is a lost opportunity to present a serious analysis of this complex topic.

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DEATH SQUADRONS: THE FRENCH SCHOOL. Directed and Produced by Marie-Monique Robin. In English, French, and Spanish with English subtitles. 2003; color; 60 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

International influences are fundamental to an understanding of the production of state-sponsored terror because doctrines and techniques travel across boundaries and lead to accumulated knowledge for repression. While it is known that the United States influenced the approach to counterinsurgency employed by the Latin American dictatorships in the 1970s, the role of France has received less attention. The French, for example, had a critical impact in shaping the Argentine version of the national security doctrine and, thus, the counterinsurgency methods applied in the infamous "dirty war."

The French experience that was developed during the wars in Indochina and, especially, in Algeria emphasized the role of intelligence in counterrevolutionary warfare. This approach gave the intelligence services a central role in the repressive campaign. Torture was defended as a legitimate military device in the counterinsurgency effort. The main argument given was that military necessity demanded the use of torture in order to extract information from the enemy. Information had to be obtained rapidly in order to prevent further acts of violence. According to this rationale, the rules of war did not apply to a new type of war without clearly defined battle lines or large concentrations of combatants and weaponry. Thus the state could resort to "unconventional methods" to protect its citizens from an elusive and insidious enemy: terrorism/subversion.

Marie-Monique Robin's remarkable documentary, *Death Squadrons: The French School*, shows how the French methodology for counterinsurgency warfare was taught to the Argentine, Chilean, and U.S. military. The film presents interviews with protagonists of the French colonial war in Algeria, paradigmatic figures of the Argentine and Chilean dictatorships, and French-trained officers in the United States. Filmmaker Robin's tour de force describes how the French disseminated their know-how throughout the Americas, shaping the counterinsurgency techniques used by the U.S. military in Vietnam and by the brutal Argentine and Chilean juntas in their anticommunist crusades. The film also examines the impact of the French *doctrine de guerre révolutionnaire* on Operation Condor, the transnational repressive apparatus created by the South American military regimes.

Death Squadrons introduces, for the first time ever, extensive interviews with Argentine generals who discuss the lessons learned from France and their own views on the war against "subversion." Unaware that Robin is surreptitiously capturing his remarks with a hidden camera, General Ramón Díaz Bessone, commander of the dictatorship's Second Army Corps and leader of the ultranationalist faction of the military, explains that it was impossible to obtain information from prisoners without resorting to torture. Speaking about the program of "disappearances," a key component of the military's clandestine strategy, Díaz Bessone argues that international condemnation would have made public executions of suspected terrorists out of the question. "What could we do?" he asks Robin. "Put them in prison? If the government changes, they're set free and go back to war. This isn't a war with a foreign enemy. They'll start killing the first chance they get!" The lesson from Algeria was well learned: the secret deployment of state violence would protect the security forces from legal restraints and foreign pressures. In addition, its clandestine nature

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guaranteed the armed forces the freedom of action necessary for the annihilation of political enemies.

The film makes several accusations that merit further exploration. Particularly shocking are the remarks by General Manuel Contreras, director of the Chilean secret police (DINA) under Augusto Pinochet, about the collaboration between the Condor intelligence structure and the French secret service. According to Contreras, the Directorate for Territorial Surveillance (DST), France's counterintelligence agency, warned the DINA when political refugees in France attempted to return to their country. These people were subsequently detained, and some of them disappeared. General Albano Harguindeguy of Argentina refers to the exchange of information on enemies between the French and the Argentines in the 1970s. Whether the French security forces contributed to Condor's mission of extermination of political opponents is an open question posed by Robin's film. This question is likely to gain broad attention as Latin American courts pursue criminal investigations on Condor and its leaders.

Robin's documentary is an invaluable resource for undergraduate and graduate courses on Latin America, human rights, transitional justice, and related subjects. In combination with Gillo Pontecorvo's *Battle of Algiers* (1966), the extraordinary docudrama on the struggle for Algerian independence, *Death Squadrons* is also relevant for today's debate on the abuses committed by U.S. forces in Guantánamo Bay, Afghanistan, and Iraq. It is a reminder of the danger in accepting, as the French and the South Americans did, that nontraditional wars cannot be won within the rule of law.

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ASIA

Christopher A. Reed. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937.* (Contemporary Chinese Studies.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 391. Cloth $85.00, paper $29.95.

This is an eye-opening book. It is long-winded at times and it is not always crystal clear, especially because of the frequent chronological jumps (each of the chapters covers a period of several decades). But Christopher A. Reed brings a neglected aspect to the prominent discussions of cultural transfer in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century China. Such studies have dealt in detail with the new print products, their contents, and their importance to the creation of a Chinese modernity, but not with those who actually labored to make them. Reed's book now uncovers the importance of the "uncultured businessman" and his employees to the creation and development of a modern Chinese culture, a culture that was Shanghai-based and Shanghai-made (pp. 164, 192, 200). By highlighting the material and technical side of the matter, this book constitutes a new—if not all that different—narrative on the "triumph of Western technology" in non-Western environments (p. vii). The pattern is, once more, not one of victory and subjugation, for Reed shows very clearly how the Chinese quickly beat the foreigners at their own game (and machines). According to Reed, it was books with Chinese fonts, not missionary fonts that would be sold; it was high-quality lithographs by Chinese publishers, not those by missionaries, that made big profits; and it was Chinese-made rather than foreign-imported machines that came to dominate the market. Foreign printing devices became part of the Chinese universe and would soon be given Chinese genealogies, too. China's modern media and the technology that had created them, so it was argued, belonged to the Chinese (p. 135).

The book explains why Bruce's 1838 invention, not Gutenberg's of a few centuries earlier, was the more important to China: it shows convincingly that the type-casting machine (and the mechanized printing press) were the instruments that made it feasible, centuries after Gutenberg and his Chinese predecessors, finally to neglect woodblock printing and turn to printing with moveable letters in China. The book shows, too, how, when this foreign technology was accepted, it immediately became dependent on Chinese traditional or national considerations: the rise of the nation depended on the development of handicrafts and industry, it was argued (p. 132) and the state became one of the most important patrons of the new technology and its products.

From the point of view of the historian, this book satisfies on many counts, its thorough use of a wide array of material, from documentary to literary and anecdotal evidence, being one. From the point of view of the historian of culture who reads *and interprets* relevant texts, however, the book at times leaves something to be desired. The author cites, repeatedly, the age-old prejudice against making "private profit" (*sili*) but nowhere actually deals with its historical origins and its transformations in the contemporary discourse. The ambiguity between culture and business is much older than the nineteenth century, and many of the arguments put forth here as particular for the time and the print business can already be found in Kai-wing Chow's convincing discussions of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Chinese print culture and business in *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (2004). The book also cites the "modern" and "modernity" time and again but nowhere gives us a feel for what and whose modernity we are talking about. This is due to the fact that the primary textual evidence certainly studied by Reed has been suppressed by his own overwhelming narrative. Furthermore, the argument on the particular aesthetics of the moveable type fonts and their acceptance by Chinese readers and buyers of books is not exemplified in enough detail. To the untrained eye, many of the missionary fonts reprinted as illustrations look just as attractive as those by Chinese publishers. The sources

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cited to support the non-acceptance of the fonts are not contemporary but modern Chinese sources, which obviously have their own particular biases. Because the book does not provide enough textual evidence for the argument made, this reader is suspicious that Reed may have fallen prey to common ideological arguments that hope to belittle the foreign impact on the development of Chinese print technology.

Indeed, a critical distance from some of the narratives presented here as historical evidence is sometimes lacking. Literary texts are read at face value (pp. 19–22, 274–79); texts from the 1960s that are clearly ideologically tainted (obvious at first, as Zhang Jinlin appears not by name, but as the "capitalist") are read as factual evidence for the *actual* working conditions in the print business during the Republican period (pp. 148–53, 155). Although Reed himself concludes (p. 282) that the print shop was the world's first factory floor, and that the employees on the print business were the first victims *and beneficiaries* of the emerging captitalist system (p. 272), in the earlier discussion, he falls prey to the skewed argumentations in the secondary literature and talks of "exploitation" only.

By stressing the technological side of matters, this book is bound to neglect other aspects, and, unfortunately it does not engage with recent scholarship that looks at some of the major players in this book such as Dianshizhai huabao, Wu Youru, and Shenbao from other angles. Nevertheless, this is an important book, because it stresses one aspect usually neglected: it shows that and how *technological* changes transformed Chinese publishing and culture. And it emphasizes, convincingly, that it was the machines, even more perhaps than the words, that would make possible the much-discussed revolutions to come.

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Barbara Mittler. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912.* (Harvard East Asian Studies Monographs, number 226.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xvi, 504. $60.00.

The *Shenbao* was founded in Shanghai in 1872 by the British merchant Ernest Major. It became one of the longest running and most widely read of China's newspapers and has assumed, in various ways, a high profile in the study of modern China.

This book, an in-depth examination of the *Shenbao* during the first four decades of its operation, offers many fresh insights on the subject. The three chapters in part one explore the conditions that made Chinese readers accept so readily a foreign medium. By combing through a large body of text from the paper and analyzing it meticulously, Barbara Mittler concludes that it was the familiar literary forms, language, layout, and contents employed by the *Shenbao* that made it appealing. The three chapters in part two explore the "act of reading" (p. 245) and the way the *Shenbao* constructed its reading public. Here, Mittler shows that in an effort to reach as wide a market as possible the paper avoided targeting any one group, such as women or political activists. Nor, given the multiplicity of images and messages that filled its pages, did it promote any simple, unitary identities such as "the new woman" or the *Shanghairen* (Shanghai person).

The author's findings enable her to challenge a number of popular assumptions. One is the "power of the press." Modeled on foreign newspapers, the *Shenbao* started out by announcing its grand intention to supply new knowledge "to renew the people" (p. 14) and be "a voice of the people" (p. 15), and many readers, then and now, have taken it for granted that these aims were met. Mittler's analysis shows, on the contrary, that there was a wide gap between ideal and practice, aim and realization, making it imperative to reexamine the limits of the *Shenbao*'s real achievements, and thus the limits of its "power." In this connection, she demonstrates that while the *Shenbao*, a commercial enterprise, was free from the ideological constraints of missionary and advocacy newspapers, it was bound by other constraints. Its content, for example, was circumscribed by the economic need to make a profit by catering to the taste of a broad and varied readership and the political need to avoid offending the municipal council that ran the Shanghai International Settlement.

Secondly, Mittler challenges the assumption that the newspaper was a pure embodiment of the new. In order to overcome its foreignness and make itself acceptable to Chinese readers, the *Shenbao* used many old devices, such as familiar literary forms and vocabulary, and images from the classics. Also, far from being a motor of change, as widely assumed, it adopted a cautious approach, especially toward violent political change; it responded to change rather than initiating it.

The polyphonous nature of the *Shenbao* is richly described in the book. Commercial newspapers were, after all, a venue for the expression of many players—advertisers, editors, invited authors and reporters among them. (Still other voices, not dealt with by Mittler, were contributed by readers' letters.) The diverse and often contradictory nature of newspapers naturally leads to diverse, uneven, and unpredictable responses from readers. The author's suggestion that we need a new methodology to study the elusive relationship between newspapers and reader reception is most timely.

Several points warrant further consideration. While it is valid to focus on text, Mittler could have provided more background information on the *Shenbao*. For example, who sat on the editorial committee, and how did it operate? Identifying some of the main writers would also have been useful. Moreover, her textual analysis might have been strengthened if she had paid as much attention to the quality of the articles as to their structure and mechanics. For the reader, intangible elements such as aesthetics, coherence, and the

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power to excite and to move must surely count for as much as familiarity of language and literary style.

But these are minor flaws. The author is to be congratulated for having written an erudite and energetic work. Not only will it compel us to reassess the role of the press in China, it will also contribute by helping the many historians who mine the *Shenbao* for data to reconstruct late Qing history to use it more critically.

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XIAOYUAN LIU. *Frontier Passages: Ethnopolitics and the Rise of Chinese Communism, 1921–1945*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center and Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 240. $45.00.

This is a well-researched and well-argued volume. Relying on previously underutilized Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Soviet Comintern documents, Xiaoyuan Liu presents a thorough and valuable examination of the evolution of CCP "ethnopolitics" from its founding in 1921 to the end of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945. It is an important study for scholars with interest in ethnicity, Kuomintang (KMT)-CCP relations, and revolution in general, and a significant addition to our understanding of this critical era.

The author argues, in clearly delineated chapters, that the evolution of the CCP's ethnic policy relied less on Marxism than on China's historical tradition of frontier management. If the Leninist model for the "national question" had any real impact on the CCP, it was limited to the notion of equality in social, political, and ethnic terms. As the CCP matured, its policies toward non-Han minorities became less Marxist-Leninist and more traditional in scope. What resulted was a policy of Han-centric nationalism in which the CCP used persuasion to keep ethnic peoples within the Chinese state and reforms to win over their loyalty not only to the party but also to the state.

CCP leaders did not come to this policy easily. Always most concerned about the party's survival, they spent very little time thinking about the plight of minority peoples. In fact, during the party's early years, ethnic issues were not even relevant, because non-Han peoples lived on the frontier and not in the urban areas where the party was then concentrated. Any interest in the national question was part of the party's subordination to Moscow, not a commitment to ethnic minorities. After the KMT-CCP alliance ended in 1927 and the CCP established the Chinese Soviet Republic in Jiangxi, party leaders did address the issue of minorities. Rather than convincing them to ally with the soviet republic, they encouraged non-Han peoples to rebel against the KMT-controlled central government.

Any hope that ethnic groups might become natural allies to the CCP was shattered on the Party's epic long march that ended in the far northwest. The Red Army's conflicts with non-Hans along the route convinced Party leaders that they could not win minority support by a simple adjustment of political orientation but must focus on the ethnic climate of an area. Once settled in the Northwest, where they lived alongside Hui and Mongol peoples, party leaders adjusted to their new environment and rethought their policy.

The strategy for ethnic groups was altered drastically with the outbreak of war with Japan as nationalism took precedent over everything else in CCP policies. The party openly espoused nationalism and committed itself to defend China in cooperation with the KMT. It urged all people, including non-Hans, to unite against the invader. During this period, the CCP went from seeing itself as a "soviet state" to seeing itself as a "Chinese state"—a multinational country with the "Chinese nation" as the center. This strategy proved difficult for the party because it could not follow the Leninist model and capitalize on minorities' ethnonationalism. Nor could it ally with ethnic groups such as the Hui and Mongols who opposed the Chinese state. What evolved instead was a policy of Han-centric nationalism that was more "sinicized" than "Bolshevized."

For all its strengths, the book is flawed. Many of the ideas found in the epilogue would have been better placed in the prologue, which is difficult to understand because it appears to lack context. A twenty-five-page essay on traditional Chinese ethnopolitics is too long for any but the most devoted reader. A shorter essay on how traditional concepts influenced the development of CCP policy would have been far more useful. It would have also been beneficial if the theoretical arguments found in the epilogue were first proposed in the prologue. To understand the author's powerful argument fully, it is better to skim the prologue and closely read the epilogue before delving into the heart of the book.

PATRICIA STRANAHAN
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HANS J. VAN DE VEN. *War and Nationalism in China, 1925–1945*. (RoutledgeCurzon Studies in the Modern History of Asia, number 10.) London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003. Pp. xi, 377. $129.95.

This is an important book, challenging traditional views and getting the reader to think in new ways about many issues in twentieth century China. Hans J. van de Ven challenges what he calls the Joseph Stilwell-Theodore White paradigm that the Chiang Kai-shek regime from the 1920s through the 1940s failed because it was militarily incompetent, corrupt, and authoritarian. He states: "I will put at the center of my account what the Nationalists themselves did to mobilize their country against Japan and against imperialism" (p. 12). The author launches his revisionist work with an excellent historiographical and contextual overview that is clear, direct, and rich in detail. Each chapter includes significant historiographical comments.

Because Stilwell's critique of Chiang's regime has

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served as the foundation of most later historical interpretations, van de Ven revisits Stilwell's role and finds that he was not a good military strategist or tactician and that his intense dislike of Chiang colored reports of what was actually happening in the field. This is not, however, a slashing attack on Stilwell; the author notes, for example, that "Stilwell spent much time agonizing about the reliability of the information available to him" (p. 11), much of which was based on abysmal U.S. military intelligence. In places, van de Ven's analysis is filled with such a wealth of detail that occasional statements about where he is in his argument might bring greater clarity.

One of the strong points of this study is that the author continually makes the reader aware of the context in which decisions were made and of forces that constrained or shaped actions. Contingencies are key. The Northern Expedition, for example, was the "contingent product" of the current military situation, the geopolitical strategy of Moscow, the weakness of the government in Guangdong, Nationalist Party rivalry, and the initiatives of several warlords. Putting off the confrontation with Japan in the 1930s came because of a constellation of domestic and international realities. The Xi'an Incident and Nationalist strategy in confronting Japan in northern frontier areas reveal the "interlocking nature of international and domestic alliance politics" (p. 171). Given the author's pattern of noting the many forces that shaped each historical situation, his answer to one question seems somewhat surprising. When he poses the question of why in the end the Nationalists could not meet Japan's challenges of war, he departs from his multi-explanation approach and says simply that "China was an agrarian society that could not cope with the demands imposed by modern warfare" (p. 295). This may indeed be true, but it seems to slam the door on exploring the contingencies and complexities that likely existed.

Van de Ven's thoughts on the broader impacts of the War of Resistance in Chinese history are compelling—sometimes only in their suggestiveness, since many of the wide-ranging impacts have yet to be studied. In contrast to some who see the war as playing a substantial nation-building role, van de Ven argues that the war also largely "unmade" China. He argues that some important requirements for undergirding a modem state simply did not survive the war: "the maintenance of domestic and international trade links, regional specialization, local and regional marketing networks, flourishing urban centers, and the availability of money and credit" (p. 296). Several of those, he notes, had long-lasting consequences. He argues that, as a result of war in China from 1925 to 1945, there emerged an exaltation of militaristic culture, stemming not only from the War of Resistance but from warlordism and the peculiarly "nasty cultures of violence" (p. 95) that were offshoots of the Northern Expedition. Van de Ven points to areas for future research, among them the effects of the war on culture and processes of daily life, refugee movements, and the dislocations caused by military recruitment. He contends that while social order was relatively easy to restore after the cataclysmic Taiping Rebellion, China has only begun to move away from the legacies of the War of Resistance in recent decades.

In the end, van de Ven substantially revises the standard interpretation of Chiang and the military record of his regime. Even more important, he challenges scholars to look more carefully at the political, social, economic, and cultural devastation in the Chinese polity wrought by decades of war.

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Andrew R. Wilson. *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880–1916.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 304. $55.00.

About Chinese organized in networks to move from two coastal areas of southern Fujian Province in China to Manila, this book by Andrew R. Wilson contributes greatly to the study of the Chinese sojourner communities in Southeast Asia, a topic on which there is already a significant literature. It also has a good deal to say about Philippines history and Philippines-China relations. It is a beautifully written book, richly documented with archival material produced by the community itself, the Chinese government, and the local authorities, as well as numerous sources in Chinese, English, and other languages.

Apart from much fascinating material about a Chinese minority community in the Philippines, what makes this book special is the theoretical framework and the periodization it adopts. Concerning theory this book seeks to reduce the roles played by the Chinese and Philippines nation-states in the history of the Chinese in the Philippines. In recent scholarly debate about China, there has been a trend to downgrade Chinese nationalism. As one eminent scholar has put it (Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* [1995]), we should be less concerned with the nation and more concerned with discussions of history about cosmopolitan issues, such as the environment, poverty, women, and ethnic minorities. Wilson criticizes several scholars in the field of the Chinese sojourners in the Philippines for being "trapped within the dominant narrative of republican Chinese historiography and cultural determinism" (p. 24). The author states that his own purpose is "to offer a nuanced understanding of the Chinese in colonial Manila that is free from the biases of nationcentric historiography, be it Philippine or Chinese" (p. 219), and to shift the focus toward other forms of identity.

Periodization is related to nationcentric historiography. Thus, many scholars take 1898 as a dividing point, because that was the year when American colonialism

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in the Philippines replaced Spanish, following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American war. Others emphasize the years 1911–1912, which saw the collapse of the Qing dynasty in China and the establishment of the Republic of China. Wilson rejects these years as boundaries for his own study, arguing that they are not decisive for the Chinese sojourners in the Philippines. He chooses other years that transcend these national narratives but indicate major changes in trends among the Chinese minority.

So is Wilson's interpretation more enlightening than those of the more traditional historiography? On the whole, I think it is. The fact is that Wilson's concern is Chinese in one city of the Philippines from two areas of one province in China. These communities do not necessarily follow nationally imposed dates or trends. The notion that identity must be tied to nation may have its logic, but it does not have to be the only or the most important source of identity. Wilson is quite right to emphasize state-local interactions along with national ones.

But, given this downgrading of the nation, I was struck by Wilson's acknowledgement that the Chinese in Manila were keen to distinguish themselves from local people and to maintain links with the Chinese government. The "ambition" of the title refers to the ambitious and opportunistic nature of the Chinese merchants, and, while there is nothing peculiar to Chinese culture about ambition, it appears to be to some extent tied to Chineseness in this context. Again, the "identity" of the title is definitely not only Chinese and Wilson lists features of this identity, most of them as much due to the fact that this was a bachelor transnational community as to members being Chinese. But he acknowledges that ambition and identity went hand in hand. There is plenty of room for the nation and culture in this interpretation.

It is always possible to criticize a new theory. But my main evaluation is positive. I think historians *have* put undue weight on the nation as a driver of history to the exclusion of other factors, and the point of view exemplified in Wilson's work is a good corrective. Certainly, this book contains a great deal of fascinating narrative history about the Chinese merchants in Manila, and its new approaches to theory are a valuable contribution to historical insight.

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SUSAN L. BURNS. *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 282. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Perhaps one of the distinguishing features of Japanese intellectual history was the development of Kokugaku. Scholars from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries studied classical Japanese literature and made observations concerning the nature of Japanese culture. Thus, Kokugaku is typically viewed as the ideological precursor to modern nationalism. In this book, Susan L. Burns argues that scholars of the Meiji and Taisho periods fundamentally distorted the true character of Tokugawa Kokugaku, demonstrating that Kokugaku did not signify a singular vision of Japan during the Tokugawa period but rather a plurality of visions, each focused on the nature of the Japanese "community" (p. 220). The book provides a highly detailed analysis of the works by four important Kokugaku scholars of the early modern period, including those of Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801). Three of these scholars (Ueda Akinari [1734–1809], Fujitani Mitsue [1767–1823], and Tachibana Moribe [1781–1849]) are all but unknown in the secondary literature in English, so the book contributes in a major way to the corpus of works that have already defined the field.

Burns observes that Tokugawa Kokugaku scholars focused their discussions of the Japanese community on the mythical "Divine Age," especially following the publication of Norinaga's monumental *Kojiki-den*, which was an authoritative analysis of the eighth-century historical work *Kojiki*. Burns shows how Norinaga created an idea of Japan that was based on assertions of cultural uniqueness that was revealed in the language of the *Kojiki*, which Norinaga believed was the remnant of archaic spoken Japanese (p. 75). Although Norinaga's work became widely known and influential by the end of the eighteenth century, it only became "canonical" during the Meiji period (p. 11), so that the views of other Kokugaku scholars who challenged Norinaga have faded into history. Using close readings of the works of Akinari, Mitsue, and Moribe, Burns shows how each formulated notions of the Japanese community that were distinct from Norinaga's.

In addition to the detailed analyses of the various visions of the Japanese community presented by the four main scholars of the book, it has other strengths as well. In an early chapter, Burns provides an informative narrative on the social, political, and cultural context of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A second strong point of the book is its analysis of the modern period. Burns identifies specific intellectuals of this period who shaped the prevailing interpretation of Kokugaku today, and she situates these interpretations of Tokugawa Kokugaku against the background of the effort to create a modern sense of the Japanese nation.

One of Burns's fundamental assumptions is that the Tokugawa Kokugaku scholars were incapable of pondering Japan the nation, so they formulated notions about Japan the community. This observation is an important one and reminds us of the early modern context of Kokugaku. In the effort to link Kokugaku to the modern nation, Burns argues that scholars such as Konakamura Kiyonori (1821–1895) and Haga Yaichi (1867–1927) selected one strand of the Kokugaku tradition to the exclusion of the others. This was the

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"four great men" paradigm (in Japanese *shitaijin* or *shiushi*) of Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843). According to Burns, Haga chose this lineage of scholars for their articulation of a "national consciousness" (p. 201). Burns admits, however, that the members of the "Hirata school" created this paradigm as a "legitimating device" (p. 196). If scholars such as Moribe could "rise to influence" without any "strong ties to any of the established kokugaku schools," then one wonders why the members of the Hirata school would have such concerns. Clearly, they had already formulated some narrow institutional identity for Kokugaku. Konakamura and Haga may have distorted Tokugawa Kokugaku for their own ideological ends, but this was a process that had already begun with Atsutane.

Burns rightly argues that scholars of Japanese culture and antiquity during the early modern period were not ideologically united. Although the analyses presented in this book are sometimes demanding, they help to further our understanding of an important yet often misunderstood phenomenon.

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RAY A. MOORE and DONALD L. ROBINSON. *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 409. $24.95.

Japan's present constitution has functioned for over half a century without a single amendment. Despite considerable criticism of its alien character and foreign authorship, a document that was drafted in great haste by American lawyers in uniform continues to determine how contemporary Japan is governed. Yet there was nothing casual about the extraordinary birth of this particular constitution. In the face of external challenges and domestic unease, a handful of Americans first wrote and then pressed the Japanese authorities to accept the inevitable. This process witnessed, as Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson acknowledge in their preface, "American liberalism at work as it imposed constitutional democracy during the military occupation of Japan" (p. v). They also admit that "[a]s Americans ourselves, we confess ambivalence about the Occupation's project. On the one hand, it is pleasing to observe American soldiers passing on to a conquered foe our nation's foremost contribution to human governance. It is less gratifying to encounter an irritating combination of arrogance, ignorance, and stubborn willfulness in many of those who represented America in this episode" (pp. v-vi).

What is perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that the attempt was made at all. Other Allied governments thought the idea of teaching imperial Japan more than the rudiments of representative democracy in the shape of a written constitution almost laughable. Most of those states reckoned that the best that might be hoped for in the future would be a less warlike nation; it would be the duty of former belligerents to watch Japan continually for signs of incipient militarism. Even General Douglas MacArthur confessed on occasion, in private conversations with British diplomats, to thinking that the outcome might well be less clearcut than his bombastic public statements.

Moore and Robinson have an important story to tell. Having already edited a documentary history on the constitution, their experience helps them do it full justice through a judicious balance of historical detail and generalizations drawn from political science. Their central thesis is that the making of the present Japanese constitution was a "conspiracy" lead most certainly by MacArthur and his chosen aides but joined, too, by the Japanese cabinet and individual bureaucrats. The result is seen as a joint venture, albeit an unequal one, between the conqueror and conquered, which has led to what the authors claim in the final paragraph to be a synthesis of "constitutional democracy and pacifism" (p. 338). They conclude with the thought that this "system has delivered for Japanese what the framers of 1946, both American and Japanese, wanted for them." Whether the present constitution can actually endure for much longer in its present form is perhaps less certain than the authors suggest. Article 9, the so-called pacifist section of the constitution, is surely almost a dead letter today.

The genesis of the constitution was an order by MacArthur to his staff to produce an adequate draft within the space of a week in February 1946. The brief time frame was the result of fears that the Allied governments, through the Far Eastern Commission, would attempt to take over responsibility for writing a new Japanese constitution. This could have sidelined MacArthur and wrecked his determination to work with the Japanese government to ensure that the emperor's person be safeguarded and that the throne would remain in some yet-to-be-determined manner within the nation's polity.

It was a time of crisis, too, for the conservative Japanese politicians and officials who had to accept most of what was an all-American concoction. Shigeru Yoshida's very first response was to call the draft "revolutionary" (p. 106). Yet swallowing the medicine was the only possible course for the government and the exhausted bureaucrats who had to translate and then defend the text before its many critics in the diet. In charting these daily, at times even hourly, machinations, the authors emphasize how concern for the role of the emperor greatly overshadowed debate on Article 9. Issues of translation and culture add further twists to the saga, while the role of key individuals, such as Colonel "Chuck" Kades, the driving force behind the "founding fathers," is rightly stressed. (It is surely more than time for an aspiring student of the occupation to attempt a rounded biography of the man.)

The grand result of the American-Japanese "decep-

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tion" (p. 141) was to pretend that the liberal constitution had been Japanese in origin. Of course it was not, but the fiction had to be sustained for critics abroad and to garner support within the nation. The authors of this valuable work end by reminding us that "democracies are often instituted by undemocratic means" (p. 336).

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MANU GOSWAMI. *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. (Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 401. Cloth $50.00, paper $20.00.

The question at the heart of the book is an interesting one: how did India get imagined as a territorial unit? Like many studies in recent years, it also aims to defamiliarize the nation to show that it was historically constituted. In this sense, the book does not stand apart. But it does offer a critical history of the nation from a fresh angle.

Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's work on space, Manu Goswami examines how India emerged as a national space, how it acquired a reality as geography, economy, and culture. Arguing that the existing historiography has paid scant attention to the very production of India as a distinct, bounded space, the author critiques a number of recent works for having failed to inquire into the global transformations that made possible the very imagining of India as a national space. By this she means the imperial political economy of capitalism that redefined the post-1857 India into a densely woven network of communication, capitalist production and exchange, state apparatus, and social relations. She does a creditable job of showing how the colonial state itself became an embodiment of the modern space as the British rulers reconfigured their regime and redirected its practices in light of the world economy. She invokes Karl Marx's argument about uneven capitalist development to suggest that the operation of the global economy of capitalism under imperial conditions included the differentiation of India as colonial state-space, laying the foundation for the cultural imagination of the nation.

After a wide-ranging introduction surveying the scholarly literature and setting forth the book's argument, Goswami makes her case in six substantive chapters. The most interesting is chapter eight, which offers a fascinating reading of how the *swadeshi* (literally, one's own country) movement of early twentieth century infused the concept of *Bharat* (India) as a universalist, economic entity with a particularist notion of the nation's social body as Hindu. Others have written about *swadeshi* and have pointed to its Hindu language, and to how it led to clashes with Muslims in the later stages of the movement. But what Goswami does so deftly is to identify the far-reaching consequence of *swadeshi*'s exclusionary language derived from its being welded to the language of *Bharat*. As she points out, this introduced a conflictual and contradictory formulation in the very heart of nationalist thinking that persisted all the way into Gandhian nationalism. More than any other chapter, this is the one where her argument about the imagining of the territorial nation and its contradictions is most fully and compellingly fleshed out. Also impressive is the chapter on the pedagogic processes by which the idea of India as a territorial unit was disseminated through geography textbooks (chapter six).

As a sustained account of how India emerged as a nation-space, this book deserves credit. But it is not without flaws. The author is absolutely right to place the formation of modern nation as an aspect of global transformations, but this is not an entirely new argument. Indeed, much of the recent South Asian scholarship has critiqued the nationalist historiography's claim that the nation emerged autonomously. But so intent is Goswami in pressing her claims to originality that she dispenses with previous scholarship too hastily. Moreover, the account is stronger in sketching the broad picture of spatial production than in describing the details of the experience of space. I would not count this as a weakness but for the invocation of Lefebvre, who placed a great deal of emphasis on the concept of the space of the everyday in which people produce and live symbolic representations. This is an important part of his theory of space, and one that can be fleshed out only by close attention to how space is experienced. Without this account, the production of space appears primarily as an outcome of large, structural forces, and the work of imagination comes across as its cultural component or superstructure. Something of this impression lingers after reading the book. These criticisms aside, Goswami has written an important book; it is strong on the "big picture," and it reminds the readers of the connection between modern nation and capital.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

GISELLE BYRNES. *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 222. $35.00.

The Treaty of Waitangi is probably the single most prominent feature in New Zealand's nineteenth-century historical landscape. Essentially a cession of some degree of sovereignty to the British crown, it was concluded between Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson and around 540 Maori chiefs over several months during 1840.

In the ensuing one-and-a-half centuries, the crown perpetrated numerous breaches of the treaty's provisions—a fact it tentatively confronted only as recently as 1975, with the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal was established as an on-going commis-

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sion of inquiry into these breaches, with the power to recommend to the crown appropriate resolutions. In the years since 1975, the Tribunal's jurisdiction has been extended, and it has become one of the most prolific producers of New Zealand historical material—material that has been collected and arranged in order to assist with the resolution of Maori claims to the Tribunal. As with many other cases of reparations on a national scale, the work of the Tribunal navigates its way through the cultural and political sensitivities of the affected parties, something that has gradually conferred on the Tribunal itself an almost sanctified status. To dismantle this edifice and to lay out the pieces for analysis is therefore a task demanding considerable personal fortitude as well as intellectual rigor. Giselle Byrnes's seminal work does exactly this.

Byrnes explores the potentially forbidding territory of assessing the "objectivity" of the Tribunal, citing first the specter of political influence that hovers over its operations (the fact, for example, that the Tribunal is governed ultimately by an Act of Parliament), and moving on to consider what the author observes is a postcolonial process of restitution for historical grievances. These points are enough in themselves to alert the reader to one of the general underlying themes in the book: anxiety over the current pretense of the Tribunal to historical truth, honesty, and objectivity. This is a subject matter that is seldom far from the surface throughout the book.

One minor example should suffice to demonstrate the type of concern Byrnes has over particular aspects of the Tribunal's work. The troublesome "Principles of the Treaty," devised at various stages by the Tribunal because of difficulties it had in applying the actual text of the treaty to specific claims, come under Byrnes's vigilant eye on more than one occasion. She draws attention, with appropriate academic restraint, to the bad history and sloppy law that has spawned some of these principles, although she is too polite to put it so bluntly. Her approach—and one ingredient in the success of this work—is the thoroughly methodical and dispassionate analysis she delivers. In every chapter, she plunges deep into the quarry of Tribunal reports and cites a compelling range of examples to fortify her positions. There is never a sense in which evidence is "guided" to conform to a preconceived argument. Rather, the abundance of evidence presented by Byrnes offers its own proof of the positions she assumes. Thus, in the case of the treaty principles, they become one of many ingredients in what Byrnes correctly concludes is "the 'fantasy' sub-genre of alternate history," a conclusion reached only after an exhaustive survey of the relevant literature.

Certainly, an achievement of this book is the sense of proportion and balance apparent throughout. Byrnes manages to challenge without being iconoclastic, a fact that reassures the reader that this is a volume dependent on the best techniques of historical examination. The Tribunal's work in the field of history is never dismissed outright. Instead, Byrnes's approach is to highlight both methodological and philosophical deficiencies, without any unpleasant polemical barbs. Another great strength of this book is that, in just 200 pages, a kaleidoscopic range of concerns relating to the role and position of the Tribunal's historical work is put on display. There is sometimes a tendency in academically oriented works of this nature for the themes to become wrapped up in groggy theoretical considerations, offering only the occasional glimpse of a case study here and there that either illustrates or disproves whatever hypothesis is under consideration. Byrnes has studiously avoided this path, and the result is both satisfying and provocative. Almost on every page, there is some new insight, a fresh perspective on a familiar event, or a challenge to the reader relating to aspects of the Tribunal's operations and goals.

In ways too numerous to catalog here, Byrnes has produced a truly seminal work. To date, there is no other book that even comes close to being such a robust, detailed, and insightful critique of the Tribunal's sweeping foray into New Zealand's history over the past 170 years. Moreover, it is the work of an academic who is fully at ease with her topic. Byrnes's use of a substantial body of literature, centering on historical theory but effortlessly radiating into other areas, and even other disciplines, will no doubt give this volume a commanding presence in the steadily expanding body of works relating to the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Waitangi Tribunal in particular.

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Liz Conor. *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 334. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

In this book, Liz Conor seeks to understand how the technological advances that transformed Western industrial societies into visual cultures affected women's lives in the 1920s. Conor's theoretical approach extends Judith Butler's formulation of the relationship between the feminine subject and "scenes" of signification encompassing all forms of language and meaning. She takes Butler's notion that feminine subjectivity "appears" through the performance of repetitive acts carried out within a significatory scene and argues that since the visual is a particularly privileged part of the modern significatory scene, the visual itself becomes privileged in constituting gendered identity. The modern, "appearing" woman is critically constituted by spectacle, and intervenes in the modern scene primarily in visual, or spectacular, ways.

From this theoretical premise, Conor examines the ways in which the rise of mass media, photography, and movies increased women's visibility and simultaneously rendered such visibility a mark of woman's modernity. Women's identities were intimately tied to the visual culture of the day in ways that were both liberating and confining. According to Conor, there are three aspects to this argument. First, changing

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technologies produced six "visual scenes" in the 1920s: the metropolis, the cinematic scene, commodity culture, beach culture, the late colonial scene, and the heterosexual leisure scene. Second, within these visual scenes, women were represented in an expanding range of ways, from the screen star to the pin-up girl, from the advertising image to the live fashion model. Third, and most significantly, these images could have a significant impact on feminine subjectivities by disrupting the dichotomy between subject and object. Women were not only intensively objectified as sexually different to the male subject who observed them but were able to exercise a certain amount of agency in the ways they constructed themselves as spectacle. Furthermore, this process was part of a complex power play whereby cultural inclusion or exclusion was determined through visibility and invisibility.

Conor pursues the modern woman as a series of types in a number of "visual scenes," and the book is structured around these case studies: the city girl in the metropolitan scene; the screen-struck girl in the cinematic scene; the mannequin in the commodity scene; the beauty contestant in the photographic scene; the "primitive" woman in the late colonial scene, and finally the flapper in the heterosexual leisure scene. The city girl occupies the modern city in new ways, entering offices in unprecedented numbers and appearing unchaperoned on the streets and on public transport. But the meaning of her presence, Conor argues, was crucially constructed around her visible appearance, particularly in relation to older representations of "street women" such as the prostitute. In her chapter on the screen star, and her local emulator, the screen-struck girl, she illustrates how women both appeared and cast themselves as modern within the new technologies of the cinema and photograph. In the process, however, they became suspect for being associated with the "moral lassitude" of Hollywood. The mannequin—both the real female model but more particularly her wax copy—reminded women of the importance of the visual in appearing modern, and also specified the ideal feminine body which was necessary to gain access to this modern scene. Beauty competitions, by contrast, gave women the opportunity to construct themselves as beautiful—often through photographic images—while at the same time subjecting them to judgments about the "correct performance" of the modern feminine woman. Such judgments endorsed a narrow definition of white feminine appearance as beautiful that automatically excluded women of other races who could only ever appear as anomolies in the modern scene. The final chapter deals with the flapper, who assertively claimed her place through spectacle as both a modern subject and a sexual subject.

This is a well-researched and subtle exploration that makes an original and significant contribution to our understanding of modernity and its implications for women. Although focused on the Australian experience, its findings will be of interest to scholars of modernity and gender and cultural studies elsewhere. Australia shared these developments with other industrialized Western nations, particularly Britain and the United States, making the modern girl arguably the first cultural product of globalization. In some ways it is an empowering analysis, showing women actively engaged in constructing their own "spectacle" and subjectivities. But modernity also created new ways of prescribing femininity that were intrinsically exclusive and exposed visible women to harassment and surveillance as well as potentially destructive self-scrutiny. The reader is left with the enduring complexity of women's visibility: the difficulty of both expressing the self through appearance yet controlling the meaning of "the look" adopted.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JERRY BANNISTER. *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699–1832.* (Publications of the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press; for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. 2003. Pp. xix, 423. Cloth $65.00, paper $34.95.

Jerry Bannister's book received the Canadian Historical Association's Sir John A. Macdonald award in 2003. That a book examining naval government in eighteenth-century Newfoundland should receive this honor is an indication of its quality and of its impact both on Newfoundland historiography and on legal history within the British Empire.

Newfoundland was a unique British colony in eighteenth-century North America. Dependent almost entirely on fishing and certainly not viewed by Britain as a settlement colony, Newfoundland did not receive representative government until 1832. Prior to 1729, it did not possess the legal structure of magistrates and courts common to both Britain and its settler colonies. Traditional Newfoundland historiography, which Bannister directly challenges, places the so-called fishing admirals at the center of the colony's legal system. King William's Act of 1699 made the master of the first fishing vessel to arrive in a Newfoundland port each spring the admiral in charge of resolving fishing disputes. Bannister argues that despite the celebrated role that fishing admirals have been given in Newfoundland history, usually as villains, "they did not play a central role in its legal development" (p. 29). He develops instead a strong argument to show that a different form of rule took hold in the island by the middle of the century, one controlled and delivered by the Royal Navy. The judgments delivered by naval officers in the outports of the colony after arriving in their warships, "floating surrogate courts," constituted Newfoundland's real legal system. Out of this unusual background emerged "a distinct legal culture," based

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on customary and common law. Officers were accountable to the naval governors and therefore functioned as the island's effective government.

Bannister's chapter on punishments demonstrates how justice was "calibrated" according to social rank. "Whipping was a hallmark of naval rule" (p. 254) and was used regularly in Newfoundland, but it was not used on planters or merchants. It was reserved for fishermen, laborers, or servants, who were mainly Irish. Punishments for their masters, except in the case of felonies, were usually fines. Religious sectarianism fused with colonial governance in Newfoundland, and on a number of occasions anti-Irish sentiment was clearly identifiable in the judgments issued. Bannister argues, however, that class determined punishment as much or more than religion, in spite of occasional outbreaks of anti-Catholic sectarianism. The island's propertied class, English West Country merchants and sailors, used the justice system to protect their property and to control their Irish and English laborers and servants.

Bannister confronts traditional Newfoundland historiography in his interpretation of the end of naval government and the introduction of representative government in 1832, offering instead a new explanation. He fuses the traditional emphasis on the rise of a local reform movement after the Napoleonic Wars with the pressure it was able to bring to bear, via the emergence of a colonial opposition press, to mount a campaign for representative government. But it was the close transatlantic connections with Britain, always a feature of colonial Newfoundland's government, that fostered the political machinations in the British Parliament in 1832 and transformed Newfoundland from an autocratic naval government to a colony with a representative government.

Bannister's well-written analysis of eighteenth-century Newfoundland society opens up a number of avenues for historians interested in colonial comparisons, from his intriguing exploration of the role of customary law in naval government to his insertion of the case of Newfoundland into the literature on state formation. He ends by challenging the traditional historiography of the place of Newfoundland in Britain's overseas empire. Historians of Newfoundland will not be able to neglect Bannister's study, and legal historians and historians of Britain's American colonies will find much to interest them in this provocative study of Britain's often-forgotten fishing colony.

David Murray
University of Guelph

David A. E. Shephard. *Island Doctor: John Mackieson and Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Prince Edward Island*. (McGill-Queen's/Associated Medical Services [Hannah Institute] Studies in the History of Medicine, number 20.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 187. $44.95.

This study of the medical practice of John Mackieson in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island (PEI), from 1821 to 1885, is representative of the new medical biography being written. No longer is the focus on the "great" men of medicine but rather on the day to day practices of the less noted. The years covered in the book were among the most crucial for the island including as they did ownership by mostly absentee landowners, attainment of responsible government, participation in the confederation debates, and eventual provincial status in the Dominion of Canada. Significant changes occurred in medicine as well, in disease concepts, treatment, and medical technology.

Born in Scotland in 1795, Mackieson received his medical diploma at the age of twenty, which allowed him to practice surgery and pharmacy as a country licentiate only. In 1821, he emigrated to PEI and the town of Charlottetown, both of which must have seemed like a backwater to him. Nevertheless, through his marriage and his expanding medical practice Mackieson became a "well-connected citizen" (p. xxiii). In 1833, he was appointed the port health officer for Charlottetown, in 1837 a member of the Central Board of Health, in 1847 Superintendent of the Charlottetown Lunatic Asylum, and in 1863 medical attendant to the Charlottetown jail.

David A. E. Shephard takes us through Mackieson's practice with specific chapters on medicine, surgery, childbearing, and mental illness. He quotes extensively from the case records that reveal Mackieson's concern for his patients and the health problems people at the time experienced. Indeed, the cases are so detailed that you begin to care for Mackieson's patients and are dismayed when at the end of many records you discover the individual died.

The chapter on medicine reveals a physician who practiced within the norms of his time. Cases were not diagnosed as much as described by symptom with inflammatory and respiratory problems dominating. Doctors determined what to do by observing, using their senses: "how the skin looked and felt, how the pulse felt ... the appearance of the blood that was drawn ... and how the body excreta looked and smelled" (p. 36). Treatment often consisted of the traditional emetics, purging, and bloodletting, with the use of medicinals whose effects were obvious to the eye and felt by the patient. Shephard makes the crucial point that change was not easy for physicians once they began practicing. Although medical historians have traditionally emphasized when a new therapeutic was introduced, they have not always appreciated the lag time before the practice was adopted.

In looking at the specifics of patient illness and care, Shephard reminds us of the common theme of any study of early medicine: the patient as hero. At the same time, he is sensitive to the pressures on Mackieson. Assessing the childbirth records, Shephard appreciates Mackieson's isolation in complicated cases, the hours he stayed with his patients, and the varying conditions of the woman's home that, more often than

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not, made treatment difficult. Working with the insane was even more stressful, and the frustration of trying to improve a situation that seemed to be insolvable clearly took its toll. When Mackieson became superintendent of the asylum, moral treatment was the new hope. But Shepherd tells a familiar story, at least to those who are acquainted with the history of the insane. From the beginning the asylum could not house all the mentally ill, and the situation became worse over time. No matter how forcefully Mackieson pointed out problems to the government, there was little response. Eventually he gave up trying; he was only a part-time superintendent with few staff, and the result was the low point of his career. In 1874 a grand jury found the asylum poorly managed and the conditions of the patients appalling. Mackieson was deemed at fault and he left his post as medical superintendent.

This book is a study of a physician and the problems he faced and to a lesser extent a study of a man. It reveals Mackieson's connection to the wider world of medicine but at the same time makes clear that where he practiced was as significant as his training and expertise; place mattered.

WENDY MITCHINSON
University of Waterloo

BRUCE L. CLAYTON and JOHN A. SALMOND, editors. *"Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph": Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xii, 323. $55.00.

The essays collected in Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond's contribution to the University of Florida Press's series, "New Perspectives on the History of the South," span the sweep of southern history from the colonial era to the late twentieth century. "In keeping with the best recent work," the series editor proclaims, the essays place southern women "at the center of social change and institution- and community-building over the course of the southern past." Each essay emphasizes "the agency that southern women always have held but that has largely been ignored or undervalued by traditional historical analyses" (p. vii). This emphasis allowed the editors to select some fine essays that deserve wide readership, including Anya Jabour's piece on "college girls" in the Old South, Karen L. Cox's work on the rise of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and Sarah Hart Brown's biographical essay on Esther Cooper Jackson. The editors made some rather odd thematic and organizational choices, however, that tend to simplify, rather than complicate and expand, our understanding of the southern past.

The collection had its genesis at a panel presented at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The editors explain that the disparate papers have in common an exploration of the ways in which southern women "created institutions through which they hoped to alter the course of their lives, and by extension, that of the communities in which they lived" (p. xi.). "Institutions" and "communities" are the unifying themes of the collection. The editors employ expansive definitions of institutions and communities, however. Orville Vernon Burton's essay on the Confederate homefront, for example, examines the white women of a particular community: Edgefield County, South Carolina. Pamela Tyler's essay on women's responses to Eleanor Roosevelt, by contrast, takes the entire South as its community. Cox's helpful and much needed prosopographical study of the women of the UDC stands in marked contrast to Paula A. Treckel's and Giselle Roberts's essays, both of which examine the institution of marriage. The use of communities and institutions seems so broad that they cease to be effective as unifiers for the collection.

The organizational framework of the collection suggests a certain teleological reading of southern women's history that certainly does not reflect the experiences of southern women. The title of the collection hints at the editors' view of the southern past. None of the essays in the first three sections, which cover the antebellum, Civil War, and segregation "eras," centers on organizational efforts or communities of African-American women. Readers encounter sustained treatments of African-American women only in the last section of the anthology, "The Era of Social Change." Those familiar with the works of Elsa Barkley Brown, Tera W. Hunter, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Deborah Gray White might well question why the editors put forward a reading of southern women's history that argues that African-American women's organizations and communities did not exist before 1930.

Similarly, the sections on the Civil War and segregation eras include essays on the UDC and women of the Ku Klux Klan. Both of these essays emphasize the organizational efforts of conservative white southern women who sought to advance a particular understanding of the South's past and the region's place in the nation. But essays in the final section focus exclusively on women who worked on behalf of civil rights and social justice. Taken together, Catherine Fosl's piece on freedom worker Anne Braden, Elizabeth Jacoway's study of Vivion Brewer, president of the Little Rock's Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, and Michelle Hablerland's examination of organizing women in the southern apparel industry offer a vision of twentieth-century southern women that might more accurately reflect current sensibilities than a complicated, nuanced story of the past. Women supporters of Strom Thurmond's and George Wallace's presidential bids, organizers who sought to block the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and activists who continue to mobilize to reverse the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* confirm that conservative white southern women did not disappear after World War II. This collection, however, describes a South that has become progres-

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sively liberal in its orientation, with women as the vanguard of social reform. What was once a conservative, racist, and xenophobic region has become, with the help of southern women (and the editors of this collection), a much more affirming place.

The collection also sees the South as a land of black and white. None of the essays examines Creek women of colonial Georgia, for example. Nor does the collection contain an analysis of the Hispanic, Indian, or Vietnamese women who have recently migrated to the South. Moreover, it sees the South populated almost exclusively by Protestants. Only Barbara E. Mattick's essay on the nuns of St. Augustine during the Civil War era reminds readers of the presence of Catholics in the South while underscoring the dearth of scholarship on this topic. Readers of this collection will not encounter the women of Hadassah, or other Jewish benevolent organizations, despite the vibrancy of long-standing Jewish communities in Atlanta, New Orleans, Charleston, and other southern cities.

In the preface, Clayton and Salmond thank an anonymous reviewer for praising the collection as "a splendid sampler of the very latest and best in scholarship in southern women" (p. xii). The book certainly offers a fine sampling of some of the current work on southern women's history. Its teleological version of southern history, coupled with its emphasis on the biracial and Protestant nature of the region, however, suggests that many other kinds of questions that currently engage scholars have been ignored.

SARAH E. GARDNER
Mercer University

STEPHANIE COLE and ALISON M. PARKER, editors. *Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the U.S. South and Southwest*. Foreword by NANCY A. HEWITT. (Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, number 35.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2004. Pp. xxx, 144. Cloth $32.95, paper $16.95.

The contextual introduction and five provocative essays contained in this book represent the culmination of the revised conference papers delivered at the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington in March 2000. Each contribution probes the boundaries and contradictions of the traditional understanding of race in nineteenth and early twentieth-century America as a bifurcation of "black" and "white." By exploring the multiracial environment of the Southwest, a region with strong southern connections yet distinct in its historical development, the authors raise questions about the rigidity and appropriateness of this interpretation. Together, they reveal the social interactions of men and women, immigrants and citizens, the arbiters of justice and the vigilantes, competitive groups, and the privileged and the dispossessed. While the essays challenge the racial binary, they also expose the power and seductiveness of this understanding.

Nancy A. Hewitt marks the terrain of the subsequent essays in her introduction through a discussion of her own research on nineteenth-century Tampa, Florida. She traces the complexity of racial groups and their relations with a white American government through issues regarding mixed-blood Seminoles, protection of property rights for free women of color against ousted Spanish colonial officials, the negotiation of immigrant Cuban workers and African Americans over Jim Crow transportation, and the violence between African-American and white soldiers awaiting embarkation for Cuba during the Spanish American War. The absorption with the social determination of who was "white" and who was "black," regardless of race or ethnic origin, and the identification of rights and privileges with the former and powerlessness with the latter would be a theme replicated in other places and at other times. At each juncture, meaningful alliances among the non-elite were truncated over this obsession.

In "The People's Sovereignty and the Law," Laura F. Edwards argues that white patriarchal authority in the Old South was far less stable than has been previously assumed, and that scholars have placed too much emphasis on the polarities of free and slave, independent and dependent, and male and female. Postrevolutionary American law transferred power from the monarch to "the people" leaving room for misunderstandings about the precise definition of the term and appropriate relations tied to race, gender, and class. Edwards provides examples of court complaints such as that of an abused wife, who won a divorce and saw her husband jailed for beatings that outraged "the people," and the case of a slaveholder who asked the court for redress against his female slave, who could not be disciplined and behaved as if she were the equal of the family. Such legal documentation from North and South Carolina illustrates how reputation, local interests, class status, and kinship might place constraints on the exercise of patriarchal power.

The remaining four essays move the discourse to the Southwest. Stephanie Cole and Sarah Deutsch unravel the convoluted structure of race relations in Dallas, Texas, and Boley, Oklahoma, respectively, at the end of the nineteenth century. Both scholars incorporate recent scholarship explaining the effects of strong southern ties, rising levels of immigration, the emergence of American imperialism with the Spanish American War, and the accrual of political and economic power based on the consolidation of a white racial identity on the development of these communities. Cole locates a key moment in the 1891 passage of the first Texas Jim Crow transportation law. Final passage required seven versions of the bill as legislators attempted to reach agreement on the correct wording of exactly to whom the legislation applied. But settlement on white and Negro designations only set off further debate on where growing numbers of Asian, Mexican, and Indian residents were to ride. As Cole asserts, several racial vocabularies full of inconsistency

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and contradiction competed as white Dallas attempted to define who belonged and who did not. The Oklahoma Constitution in 1907 defined the white race as all persons not of African descent, but that did not make issues of citizenship rights and empowerment any clearer. Deutsch analyzes the differing visions for Oklahoma among the Creek Indians, Afro-Creeks, Creek freedmen, southern black migrants, and whites. The simultaneous construction of the black community of Boley and the resistance to federal mandates by Creek dissidents known as Snakes, who opposed land allotment and the abolition of Creek nationhood, created complex fractures and coalitions.

In "Muerto por Unos Desconocidos (Killed by Persons Unknown)," William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb open a fresh dialogue on the history of vigilante violence in America. Their comparative statistical analysis of Mexican and African-American lynchings offers new points of reflection on mob action, execution styles, and the strategies of resistance. They identify race and economic competition as motivating factors for lynching in the West and dispute the traditional interpretation that lynchings took place because of the absence of established legal institutions. The authors maintain that the number of Mexican lynchings is comparable in proportion to their population with that of blacks. They believe Mexican lynchings have been dramatically undercounted by scholars because of the inconsistent use of the terms " black" and "white" in the sources reporting the violence.

Neil Foley concludes the volume with his essay, "Partly Colored or Other White," which extends into the twentieth century Carrigan and Webb's explanation as to why Mexican and African-American protests to vigilante violence could not find common ground. Suffering legalized discrimination, blacks could at least bargain on the basis of their American citizenship. Most often viewed as foreigners, upwardly mobile Mexican Americans, by necessity, insisted on a "white" identity, denying their Indian and African backgrounds, in order to fight discrimination. Civil rights organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens and the American GI Forum, resisted alliances with those considered nonwhite.

This book succeeds admirably in engaging the racial diversity of the Southwest, exposing the socially constructed limitations and dilemmas of America's insistent racial dichotomy, and enhancing the scholarship on race and class negotiation. It is less successful with issues of gender. Except for Edwards's essay, gender seems an afterthought. Nevertheless, this fine collection raises the challenge for further research into the perplexing history of race in America.

LINDA W. REESE
East Central University

QUINTARD TAYLOR and SHIRLEY ANN WILSON MOORE, editors. *African American Women Confront the West, 1600–2000*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. 390. $34.95.

The explosion of women's history in the past generation has been one of the most remarkable achievements in the historical profession. Yet this sizable output of scholarship has done little to advance our knowledge of black women's history in the American West. The historian Ann Firor Scott acknowledged this omission in 1990 in part when she referred to black women's voluntary organizations, in contrast to those of their white female counterparts, as the "most invisible of all." This impressive collection of seventeen essays and an oral interview, edited by Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, contributes enormously to our understanding of black western women across time and space. This anthology includes essays on black women from the era of Spanish colonial rule in New Mexico, the role of African-American women in the civil rights struggle in the nineteenth-century American West, the attempt of southern black migrant women and their families to adjust to life in western cities, and the myriad contributions of black women to the modern civil rights movement. The anthology also contains twelve engaging vignettes of black women and their collective struggle to maintain their dignity and to find their place in the American West. These insightful portraits, several of which are drawn from primary sources, range from the first woman of African ancestry to settle in New Mexico in 1600 to Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher's successful challenge before the United States Supreme Court in 1949 to enter the University of Oklahoma law school.

Organized in broad chronological units, the essays cover some familiar ground in western history, but they also carve out many new areas of inquiry. Lynn Hudson's essay on Mary Ellen Pleasant, the entrepreneur and civil rights activist, is drawn from her recent book on Pleasant, while Ronald Coleman explores the life of Jane Elizabeth Manning James, a black Mormon woman in Salt Lake City, Utah. Coleman's essay is revealing because scholars know painfully little about the lives of black women in the interior western states and even less about the connection of Utah's small African-American community to the Mormon Church. Similarly, Susan Armitage's contribution, an abridged oral history transcript of Ruth Cave Flowers, an African-American teacher and the first black woman to graduate from the University of Colorado at Boulder, reveals the obstacles that African-American women like Flowers faced in an interior mountain state to find suitable housing and employment and attend integrated schools.

The World War II era represented a demographic watershed for many western states, as black southern migrants left the segregated South to work in west coast shipyards and defense industries in unprecedented numbers. Pacific coast states such as California, Oregon, and Washington received the largest number of migrants, and African-American women were as conspicuous as their male counterparts in this westward movement. As Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo demonstrates in "Women Made the Community: Af-

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rican American Migrant Women and the Cultural Transformation of the San Francisco East Bay," black women made their mark and, in some instances, as Moore has shown in her work on Richmond, California, transformed the African-American community culturally and socially. Lemke-Santangelo, however, shows that this process of cultural transformation was not limited to a single city but spread to many East Bay cities as well. Southern traditions such as cooking, quilting, gardening, practicing folk medicine, and collective parenting, writes Lemke-Santangelo, thrived in East Bay black communities and helped to knit these disparate communities together during a time of social dislocation. Yet black women also migrated to western cities like Las Vegas, Nevada, as Claytee White reveals in " 'Eight Dollars a Day and Working in the Shade': An Oral History of African American Women Migrants in the Las Vegas Gaming Industry." Lured west by high paying jobs in the hotels and casinos, these female migrants, principally from the states of Arkansas and Louisiana, saw even domestic and personal service employment in Las Vegas as preferable to agricultural labor in the South.

This collection makes its greatest contribution, however, in illuminating the varied and complex roles that black women played in the modern civil rights movement. Merline Pitre, for example, reveals that an African-American woman, Lulu B. White, played a pivotal role as president of the Houston, Texas, chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in eradicating segregation in Texas and the Southwest. Pitre's essay, which analyzes White's role in the integration of the University of Texas law school in 1950, is all the more revealing because she was also locked in a leadership struggle with moderate black males, a phenomenon certainly not peculiar to the western states.

The roles that western black women played in the Black Power phase of the civil rights struggle is illuminated deftly by Jane Rhodes's insightful essay, "Black Radicalism in 1960s California: Women in the Black Panther Party." Rhodes demonstrates that black women neither shied away from radical politics in California nor settled for traditional female roles such as clerical staff or helpmates in the Black Panther Party. Drawing on the scholarship of Belinda Robnett, Rhodes argues that African-American women, although influenced by gender and religious conventions within the African-American community, nevertheless "sought a viable place for women in the [Black Panther] organization" (p. 349). Numerous women, accordingly, devoted themselves between 1969 and 1977 to an impressive array of community programs such as providing free breakfasts to impoverished school-aged children and offering adequate medical services to the poor and destitute.

This superb anthology, which also contains an interpretive essay by Moore and Taylor, is a significant contribution in the study of African-American women's history. Although an anthology cannot be exhaustive, the omission of black female politicians from this collection is disappointing, for their experiences reveal new roles and unexplored challenges for African-American women. These articles, nonetheless, will do much to correct the omission and the invisibility of African-American women from the history of the West.

ALBERT S. BROUSSARD
Texas A&M University

RONALD RADANO. *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 417. $27.50.

For centuries, would-be masters of black music have struggled to specify its essential properties and fix its elusive meanings. Black music has been both hailed as a testament of African-American cultural continuity, soulfulness, and resistance and belittled as evidence of racial pathology and cultural inferiority. Black music has centered blackness as difference even as its production history and broad appeal expose the fallacious assumptions of race-based logic. In his provocative study, Ronald Radano challenges historical and contemporary tendencies to place race before music, or music outside of the reach of race. Black sound and black music are more aptly understood as products of a remarkably potent "racio-social discourse" that marks the "crossroads of modern racial understanding" (p. 232). From Euro-African encounters to the jazz age, Radano's work traces how modern race thinking and black music marked intertwined phenomena, investing black performance and a variety of genres with essential properties, myths of origin, and social power in ways that buttressed as well as eroded racial hierarchy in American society.

Refusing to naturalize black music or release the vexed category from its specific contexts of production and interpretation, whether under slavery or afterward, Radano combines ethnomusicology, black cultural studies, poststructuralist theory, and social history to survey over three hundred years of production and reception of African and African-American sound and music. Exploring how Eurocentric biases produced problematic textual and interpretive silences in the historical record, and analyzing such silences, Radano points to the movement from sound to "music" and musical notation as revealing moments of struggle and racial anxiety for European and Euro-American aesthetic and political interpreters. Radano's "activist postcolonial reading(s)" of sources on black music include British colonial writing, early modern travelogues, colonial ethnography, European philosophical tracts, Christian evangelical accounts, writings by Caribbean and North American slave owners, and works by European, Euro-American, and African-American intellectuals, philosophers, composers, and educators. Uncovering moments of strategic racial essentialism, Radano convincingly shows the textual production of black music as serving a multiplicity of claims about

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race, difference, and power at various historical junctures. European and Euro-American reception of African and African-American-generated sound, music, and rhythm constructed black music variously as confirmation of African difference, "African diasporic humanity," racial and sexual threats to European civilization, and later, evidence of spiritual transcendence and cultural wholeness.

Building on historical findings about the everyday forms of interracial contact in the antebellum South, Radano explores how slave songs, works by African-American musicians at country dances, and sacred songs performed in the context of Christian revival meetings infused black music with complex, even contradictory information about racial difference. Such interracial musical encounters and conclusions about African-American musical talent and humanity vied with powerful competing socio-musical claims, namely the "modern European musical conceptions of others" in which black sound and music necessarily occupied a subordinate position.

This book offers stimulating readings of texts on music and race that supplement the extraordinarily rich body of work on African-American social and cultural history and the forms and localities of racial formation in the United States. Beyond its interdisciplinary scope and critical energy, its most valuable contribution for historians most likely lies in its carefully theorized, compellingly argued, and richly documented analysis of music as a site of social and cultural contestation. As historians increasingly seek to incorporate music into their work, Radano's clear, incisive modeling of "music" as a performative, textual, and social phenomenon that must be interrogated historically rather than essentialized is particularly welcome.

As accomplished a work as this is, however, a curious silence haunts it. Although Radano takes pains to recover evidence that can clarify how the study of black music offers fresh vistas on the racialized "partiality of American society," he gives only cursory attention to the implications of the repeated conflation of black music and male bodies in his sources. The lack of critical discussion of where African and Euro-American female music makers or audiences fit in the history of black music limits the depth of understanding that this book can provide concerning black music's interrelationship with the history of gender, sexuality, and women's place. Why should European, Euro-American, and African-American evaluators find black music synonymous with male bodies, voices, texts? How might the erasure of African, African-American, or Euro-American female contributions to the production or consumption of black music from the historical record further the social and cultural work that elite interpretation of black music performed (e.g. measuring humanity, registering difference, discovering "hot" rhythm)? Such an omission is perplexing given the extensive work on such questions in cultural history and cultural studies of music. Further research into these dimensions of the discursive properties of black music across time and space is still needed to sharpen our understanding of music making, race, and individual and national identity formation.

DEREK W. VAILLANT
University of Michigan

MICHAEL BROYLES. *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. 387. $40.00.

Michael Broyles's ambitious and stimulating study traces the history of American musical mavericks: creative visionaries who, by choice or circumstance, largely resided outside of the musical and cultural mainstream. The eighteenth-century hymn composer William Billings and the antebellum symphonist Anthony Philip Heinrich, Broyles shows, were mavericks largely by circumstance, isolated by the lack of viable musical networks in the early United States. After the mid-nineteenth century, commercial song publishing, the musical stage, and above all German-trained classical composers created such networks, and now mavericks were those who defined themselves in opposition to this status quo. The young Leo Ornstein's pianistic modernism guaranteed him only a brief vogue in the 1910s, while for decades Charles Ives pursued a career in insurance, scorned musical professionals, and composed dissonant works in isolation. In 1922 modernist composers began to organize their own societies, publications, and concerts. Carl Ruggles, Charles Seeger, and Henry Cowell paved the way for striking iconoclasts such as John Cage and Harry Partch. Shifting post-World War II orthodoxies in art music—involving twelve-tone serialism, free atonality, and minimalism—then led new nonconformists, such as Frank Zappa and Meredith Monk, to carve out startling compositional and performative identities.

Broyles's work partially retraces familiar territory. Magisterial music histories by H. Wiley Hitchcock, Gilbert Chase, Charles Hamm, and others all discuss these composers (at least through Partch) and trace a tradition of rugged individualism. Broyles's initial chapters on Billings and Heinrich, while engaging and substantive, add little to what we already know and mostly provide an extended prologue to the rest of the book. Alleged maverick traditions since the Civil War, however, receive nuanced and innovative treatments, and Broyles's sensitivity to the sociological complexities of the maverick phenomenon becomes evident. He asks early in his study, "to what extent are the mavericks a historical, cultural, or mythic creation of publicity, their own or others" and "to what extent are they the result of a filtering process that occurs somewhere in our collective consciousness, by which we glorify, transform, and in some cases re-create our artists to fit our perceptions or our fantasies?" (p. 2). Americans' own construction of the maverick tradition proves critical. Broyles brilliantly shows how, after World War II, Cage exploited sophisticated audiences' yearning for a particular brand of folksy, irascible, orientalist

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iconoclasm, while serialists such as Milton Babbitt gained academic cachet by tapping into an acute faith in scientific progress. Similarly, in the twentieth century Billings and Heinrich were rescued from oblivion by musicologists seeking the origins of American musical maverickdom. Broyles concludes the Americans' persistent construction of a musical maverick tradition reflected their adherence to myths of individualism, which successfully diverted them from deeper (and more problematic) traditions of community identity.

The analytical final section of Broyles's book, "The Legacy of the Mavericks," circles back to his main subjects and explores the intellectual and cultural trends that defined them as mavericks. Broyles identifies signs of decay in the tradition and its construction beginning in the 1960s, as his inspired inclusion of Zappa especially shows. An autodidact who only slowly mastered rock guitar playing (ostensibly his primary musical skill) and who was sketchily instructed in composition, Zappa used vulgar theatrics aimed at teen audiences to grope toward a tightly controlled performance art that increasingly succeeded at reinvigorating the fundamental vitality of the musical stage experience. Alternatively Monk, like Cage and Partch, has battled Western music's emphases on rationality and science but gone beyond them by rejecting all instruments but the human voice. Monk encourages Broyles to end his study with an optimistic paean to contemporary redefinitions (or deconstructions) of the idea of music itself—a celebration that seems to rekindle the idea that an actual, valid maverick tradition is still at work.

The curiously miscellaneous reference in Broyles's title to "other traditions" suggests that his tracing of maverickdom—as a tradition and as a cultural construction—should be construed only as a tentative initial investigation, designed to encourage more sweeping future reinterpretations of American music history. Scholars likely will want to go beyond his exclusive focus on European-American composers in a nation rich with African-American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American musicians (many of whom were also definitely mavericks). America's musical cultures also long made female creators de facto mavericks, composing in rooms of their own; Broyles only briefly touches on their experiences. The subtleties of identity politics in the United States militate against broad assertions about maverickdom. For example, while Broyles rightly considers Aaron Copland a mainstream composer and makes him a minor figure in his book, in certain contexts his Jewishness, his homosexuality, and his populism made him a maverick, if only temporarily. While we await further investigations, though, we can enjoy and profit from Broyles's scrupulous and elegantly written reinterpretation of a major current in the history of American music.

BURTON W. PERETTI
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ARNALDO TESTI. *Stelle e strisce: Storia di Una Bandiera*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri. 2003. Pp. 140. €9.50.

A common experience for European visitors in the United States—one that Arnaldo Testi aptly recalls in his remarkable book—is that of marveling at the insistence with which the American flag is displayed almost everywhere and on every occasion. The reaction is usually a mixed one, of surprise, perplexity, even embarrassment, and sometimes annoyance, national flags being to Europeans, independently of one's own political stance, clear symbols of patriotism if not outright chauvinism. But, as often happens in this field, things are rather more complicated, especially as far as the relationship between American culture and the "Stars and Stripes" is concerned. And this book, written by an outstanding Italian scholar well-known both in Europe and in the United Sates, is a very useful tool for anyone who is interested in knowing more about that relationship. Of course, one may wonder (and I myself feel inclined to do so) if this is not yet another form of "American exceptionalism": every aspect of the American national life becoming a sort of peculiar experience, to be separately and differently approached, encapsulated, studied, and explained. It may or may not be so. But one thing is certain: the metaphorical density of so many phenomena that involve American culture (and above all American material culture) and the way in which they become (and define themselves as) impressive symbols, within and without the United States, are matters of study as well as of wonder.

The end result of a post-September 11 university course in Italy (and the expanded version of a previous article), this book explores the many ways in which that relationship has manifested itself since the Revolutionary War—and the many faces that the national symbol took on during more than two and a half centuries. At the very beginning of his book, Testi writes that "the American flag born during the American revolution accompanied the manifold developments which followed it, and was itself a cultural terrain of dispute and confrontation. Whatever it represents, the 'Stars and Stripes' is a bloodthirsty totem" (p. 13).

One is then led through the various stages both of the process through which a definite (tangible) "form" of flag was designed and finally accepted (a dialectical process too often neglected, and which contains many interesting implications) and of the varying meanings (positive/negative) that the "flag as metaphor" has assumed ever since in different historical, social, and cultural situations and contexts (the postrevolutionary period, the Civil War, the turn-of-the-century years, World War I and its aftermath, World War II and the following decades, until our own times). In the 140 pages of this small-format book, the history of the flag as object and metaphor is followed in all its relationships to politics, everyday life, culture, and literature.

Testi's book has many strong points and a minor

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flaw. It is written in a captivating style; it is superbly documented and finely argued; it is short and incisive; it explores a wide range of cultural, historical, and political issues, from those revolving around "flag etiquette" to Walt Whitman's poems and Jasper Johns's flags, from the flag's use as yet another instrument of Americanization of the immigrant working classes to the various controversies dating from the turbulent 1960s and 1970s. For each facet of such a broad and complex subject it offers interpretations and explanations, because, as Testi writes, "since the Revolution, a multiplicity of ideal and social traditions had emerged, diverse and in conflict among themselves, experimental and unaccomplished, contaminated and uncouth, in which freedom for some could mean non-freedom for others—and each tradition claimed to have the 'stars and stripes' on its own side" (p. 72).

The one minor flaw, in a book so dense and attentive to the many guises in which the relationship between the American flag and American culture has manifested and manifests itself, is that of not taking into account a situation in which the "totem" served still other aims and purposes: the appearance of a rigid, shining stars-and-stripes flag against a black sky, on the pock-marked face of the moon—the source of innumerable controversies. I am sure Testi has many interesting things to say about that, and I remain curious to know them. But this is really a minor flaw, in an essay that is otherwise complete and very stimulating, both for a European reading public and (I am sure) for an American one.

MARIO MAFFI
Università degli Studi, Milan

WARREN M. BILLINGS. *A Little Parliament: The Virginia General Assembly in the Seventeenth Century*. Richmond, Va.: The Library of Virginia. 2004. Pp. xxi, 284. $30.00.

The approaching 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown provides an opportune moment for reassessments of the early years of England's first permanent settlement in America. Warren M. Billings's succinct study of the General Assembly of Virginia in the seventeenth century makes a significant contribution to recent literature (much of it his own) detailing innovative adaptations of English law and government in the colony, and it will surely become the standard account of the subject.

The book is divided into three parts. The first explores the assembly's development over the course of the century, beginning with its creation in 1619 as part of reforms sponsored by the Virginia Company of London to breathe new life into the ailing colony. When the company collapsed five years later and the colony was placed under crown jurisdiction, the assembly's constitutional legitimacy became uncertain (Charles I made no reference to the assembly in his proclamation of 1625, which formally designated the colony a royal dominion), but colonial governors continued to convene assemblies nevertheless, finding them useful for the implementation of legislation. During its early years, the assembly sat as a single body that incorporated the House of Burgesses, the Council of State, and the governor, but following the arrival of Sir William Berkeley in 1642 the assembly evolved into a bicameral legislature that took on an impressive array of parliamentary powers. In this period, the assembly reached the apogee of its influence, viewing itself as the "wellspring of sovereignty in Virginia" (p. 39), with authority over virtually every aspect of the colony's affairs. After 1677 and the debacle of Bacon's Rebellion, however, the House of Burgesses' broad powers were steadily eroded by an increasingly assertive imperial government in London anxious to reverse the consequences of neglect of the previous half century and to reassert crown control by supporting the governor and council, a trend that necessarily distanced royal governors from their assemblies.

Derived from the author's extensive biographical files, part two provides an assessment of officeholders—governors, councilors, assemblymen, speakers, and clerks—in terms of the functions of their office and diversity of their backgrounds. As in earlier chapters, this section underlines both the similarities between English and Virginia practice and important departures and shows how Virginia officeholders often combined the roles of numerous English counterparts. The direct representatives of the monarch, royal governors exercised executive, legislative, judicial, and military responsibilities, as well as having supervisory authority over the church. Burgesses fulfilled similar legislative functions as members of Parliament at Westminster, but for much of the century they also acted in a judicial capacity as a final court of appeal.

Part three expands upon the foregoing by examining the work of assemblymen and thereby illustrating the creative interplay of Old World precedents, colonial exigencies, and improvisation. Although the General Court (the colony's superior court) echoed English assizes and quarter sessions in dealing with criminal offenses and regulatory cases, it also exercised jurisdiction over a range of civil, maritime, and ecclesiastical matters that would have fallen to a complex hierarchy of different courts in England. Wherever possible, assemblymen borrowed from English practice and custom, but in some areas unique to conditions in the New World they had to create their own precedents. Perhaps the clearest examples of the latter were the growing body of laws dealing with Indians and enslaved Africans. The assembly played a highly influential role in defining and legitimizing chattel slavery in Virginia by enhancing the authority of masters while stripping away the rights of slaves. By 1705, Billings writes, "colonial law regarded slavery as the permanent condition of most African Virginians, and it deemed them things rather than persons" (p. 207).

In this authoritative account, Billings gives full expression to the General Assembly's critical role in

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the government of the colony, which not only survived a resurgence of centralized power in the final decades of the seventeenth century but also provided the foundations of colonial resistance in a greater imperial crisis yet to come.

JAMES HORN
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

WARREN R. HOFSTRA. *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shendoah Valley.* (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 410. $49.95.

"Old" Virginia in the eighteenth century was the Chesapeake tidewater extended westward through the piedmont to the eastern wall of the Blue Ridge Mountains. This was the late colonial Virginia of a waterborne tobacco trade, few towns, plantations, and African slavery. "New" Virginia, beginning during the 1730s, lay beyond the mountain wall in the great valley, first in the "lower" (i.e. northern) Shenandoah River valley, particularly in a new county, Frederick, and its courthouse seat, ultimately named Winchester. By 1800, the valley was well settled, or "planted," and new, especially in contrast with the old eastern commonwealth. The valley boasted a bustling string of commercial towns southward from Winchester past Stephensburg, Strasburg, Woodstock, New Market, Harrisonburg, Staunton, Lexington, all well-connected by roads to local hinterlands where farms were small, slaves few, and wheat—most bound to Philadelphia and Baltimore shippers—was king.

Warren R. Hofstra has devoted much of his professional life to Frederick County's origins and the valley's lush development; and this dense and well-argued volume reflects well on the interdisciplinary series—"Creating the North American Landscape"—in which it appears.

The valley's eighteenth-century European settlers were less often eastern and English than German and Scots-Irish, who arrived mostly via Pennsylvania. Hofstra meticulously matches their rural cultural mentalities with the geology and land covers of the Shenandoah subregion. Settlers spread out on individual and family farms by creeks and where dominant deciduous woods indicated rich land, land they often recognized as derelict Indian agricultural settlements. This is an oft-told tale of Euro-American frontiering: common men and women dispersing ever westward, establishing independence (they called it "competence") on cheap "new" landscapes. There is truth here, except that Hofstra establishes that the planting of New Virginia was first of all an imperial imperative. The aggressive French empire in North America threatened to link Canada and Louisiana in the Ohio Valley, not only thwarting British territorial ambition but disrupting Native American nations and directing endless war eastward. The Shenandoah was already the highway to battle and revenge between southern tribes and the Iroquois. So London and Williamsburg wisely offered enormous transmontane land grants to men who would populate the Virginia frontier with armed European farmers loyal to Britain, not unlike General Oglethorpe's contemporaneous plan to create a yeoman Georgia to protect plantation Carolina from the Spanish and warring Indians.

Imperial policy and war, indeed, made the Shenandoah's first county and its seat simultaneously vulnerable and permanent. The long North American prelude to the Seven Years' War rendered Winchester a mighty fortress, built by Colonel George Washington himself, and bound hinterland farmers to Winchester merchants who supplied flour and meat to Fort Pitt and other British frontier bastions. Government cash payments for wartime valley provender accelerated an ongoing transition from an exchange economy toward a modern cash-based one. As Hofstra lavishly illustrates, valley farmers and tradespeople had ever been business-minded, insisting upon meticulous double-entry bookkeeping for every exchange of labor or use of animal power, commodities, or imported trade goods, often settling balances with small amounts of cash. During the war, however, as the valley's rural and forest products flowed outward in all directions and unprecedented volume, Winchester merchants began to offer goods at discounts to buyers offering cash. The alluring simplicity of cash exchange reverberated throughout the rural hinterland, tying it more efficiently to the valley's growing network of towns.

With victory over the French and relative pacification of Native peoples, the valley became a provisioning way station for waves of civilian migrants headed for Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The world of wheat—and of corn, cattle, hogs, and sheep—made by thousands of small-scale producers linked by excellent roads to functioning market towns would long endure. This was essentially the same economy that General Phillip Sheridan expropriated and burned in 1864, but which survived to reconstruct itself and thrive until at last, after World War II, the Shenandoah version of eastern yeoman production succumbed to the tsunami of giant-scale industrialized agriculture.

JACK TEMPLE KIRBY
Miami University

PATRICIA E. RUBERTONE. *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2001. Pp. xxi, 248. $40.00.

Inanimate objects speak to those who will listen to them. For historians, the things that speak loudest are books and manuscripts. But not all scholars listen only to words on a page. Archaeologists make nonwritten objects speak. Oral historians collect wisdom maintained by specific members of a community. They listen in the most literal sense.

Patricia E. Rubertone is an archaeologist whose excellent study of Rhode Island draws its strength from

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the fact that she has tried to integrate all three kinds of evidence into her book. The setting for much of her analysis is a Narragansett graveyard discovered in North Kingstown in 1982. Now known by the infelicitous name of RI-1000, this parcel of land has yielded new insight into the history of perhaps the most unusual of the thirteen mainland Anglo-American colonies.

According to the standard wisdom of American history textbooks, Rhode Island's colonial history was dominated by a single individual, Roger Williams, who had an influence over his colony greater than any other colonial magnate, with the possible exception of William Penn. But unlike Penn, Williams was no favorite of a monarch. Rather, as textbooks emphasize, he was forced to leave the province of Massachusetts for his views. In Rhode Island, he recognized the central importance of Native Americans to his nascent community's success. As a result of that observation, he studied the Narragansetts and wrote *A Key to the Language of America*, published in London in 1643. The book remains crucial to scholars' understanding of Rhode Island's history and the early contact history of the Narragansetts.

But, as Rubertone shows in painstaking detail, Williams's book needs to be read in context, both for what it contains and for its many silences. She makes this argument because the text was not a simple grammar. It was also a work of ethnography written by a man with no formal training in the subject and whose prior understanding of Native Americans was shaped at least in part by English promotional literature. The *Key* was important when it was published and came to play a central role in later understandings of both Williams and the Narragansetts. In this sense, Williams's text was a key not only to the Narragansett language but also to unlocking the secrets that Rhode Island's past contained.

Rubertone's book places Williams's text at its heart, and he and it remain the primary focus for the first two of three parts—the first part dealing with Williams's biography and the ways that later residents of the state and historians understood him, the second focused more precisely on his book. She shows how virtually every history of the state has relied on Williams's book, including histories of the Narragansetts, which became "laden with myths and legends that even today have refused to die" (p. 49). This process had a devastating impact on these Native Americans. "By freezing Narragansetts in time and fixing them rigidly in place," she writes, historical writing became a form of "entrapment" that "was used to deny the existence of the actual Narragansett people and their complicated histories of conquest, resistance, and survival into the present"—a process that "left them outside of the forces that shaped American society" (pp. 63–64). Pushed aside in this way, the Narragansetts became detribalized, their common lands sold off in the late nineteenth century. As far as the United States government was concerned, the Narragansetts as a specific people no longer existed.

But Rubertone's careful analysis of Williams's work, combined with what she has learned from tribal oral historians and especially the archaeological record, have exposed that lie for what it is: an effort, as common as it was tragic, by the descendants of European immigrants to eradicate an indigenous population. The Narragansetts did not disappear, nor was their legacy limited to the comments that Williams made about them in his work. Instead, careful analysis of RI-1000, which dominates the last third of the book, and other evidence reveals their continuous history.

Rubertone has written her book so that it speaks not only to archaeologists but to anyone interested in either the Narragansett past or the history of Williams or Rhode Island. Some historians might find her repeated criticisms of Williams's shortcomings as an ethnographer a bit unrealistic, and others might wonder if he was influenced by the work of Thomas Harriot (not mentioned here), who had produced with John White and Theodor de Bry an illustrated ethnography of the Carolina Algonquians over sixty years before Williams published his *Key*. But her central point here, supported by the analysis of RI-1000, is that it is impossible to understand the colonial era without paying attention to all of the available evidence. The trick is to listen.

PETER C. MANCALL
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NANCY SHOEMAKER. *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 211. $29.95.

Nancy Shoemaker approaches the history of early contact between Indians and Europeans from a new perspective: that they shared a set of assumptions about land, political authority, records of events, alliances, gender, and race that provided them with a common cultural ground on which to interact. It is an intriguing idea for which she makes a plausible case. Scholars have spent so much time focusing on cultural differences, she suggests, that they have ignored commonalities. Shoemaker does not deny the existence of difference. Indeed, most chapters end with the ways in which interaction between Indians and Europeans "enabled them to see their differences in sharper relief and . . . construct new identities that exaggerated the contrasts between while ignoring what they had in common." (p. 3)

Contrary to the widespread popular notion that Indians had no concept of owning land, Shoemaker contends that Native people as well as Europeans "conceptualized land as sovereign territory" (p. 15). They marked their land by painted posts, commemorated events with piles of stone, drew meaning from natural features, and designated specific tracts as the territories of particular peoples. Indians also had

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kings, whom Europeans called chiefs, so they understood rank and power when they visited European courts, but the excessive consumption and materialism that connoted power in Europe offended rather than awed them. Indians also understood alliances, which they divided into two types. "One dish and one spoon" (p. 85) alliances joined equals, while another kind of alliance permitted a weaker nation to move under the protection of a stronger one. According to Shoemaker, Europeans had corollaries to both, but they refused to follow mutually understood rules governing alliances because "acknowledging universal laws of international diplomacy would jeopardize colonization" (p. 85).

In perhaps the best chapter, Shoemaker demonstrates that Europeans and Indians valued records of the past, but Europeans inscribed them on paper and Indians in memory. Mnemonic devices aided the oral recounting of events; these often proved to be as reliable as written records, which easily could be distorted, destroyed, or lost. Indians and Europeans also distinguished between men and women in terms of appropriate behavior and relative power, and both not only recognized physical differences in human beings but also gave meaning to those differences. Europeans and Indians constantly measured each other against their own understanding of ownership, alliance, and power and found the other lacking. Europeans saw Indians as inferior and emphasized those features of Indian culture that supported this view, while Indians regarded Europeans as corrupt, greedy, and lacking virtue.

In articulating the "bedrock of shared ideas" (p. 3), Shoemaker generalizes in ways that are sure to make historians of Native America and Europe nervous. Her treatment of gender, for example, does not really take into account the diversity in the status of women in various Indian societies: Cherokees and Creeks were neighbors in the Southeast and shared many beliefs and practices, but Cherokee women exercised far greater autonomy and power than Creek women. Nor does she deal with the ways in which variations, such as religious orders for Catholic women, modified a generalized European construction of gender. Furthermore, except for brief sections at the end of chapters, she pays little attention to change or the process by which Europeans and Indians ultimately came to consider themselves to be different. In the context of the book's overall impact, however, these are small matters. In these elegantly written and scrupulously documented essays, Shoemaker persuasively argues that an acknowledgment of commonly held ideas is essential to understanding the construction of difference. This alone should encourage scholars in the field to rethink the encounter, no mean achievement for any book.

THEDA PERDUE
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

EMILY BINGHAM. *Mordecai: An Early American Family*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2003. Pp. x, 346. $26.00.

Using the letters, diaries, newspaper articles, and books written by one of America's earliest Jewish families, Emily Bingham weaves an evocative story of the Mordecai family that unfolds over three generations, from the Continental Congress to the razing of Richmond by the Union Army. Bingham uses methodological techniques and scholarly sources in an innovative way to bridge the personal history of one family with the history of the nation at large. Moreover, she uses a narrative voice in the telling of that history. In some places, the book reads as a novel; in other places it is more stilted, confined by the language and events Bingham's historical subjects chose to share with one another and consequently, through Bingham, with us.

The Mordecai saga is both a surprisingly familiar and unfamiliar story. At the interpersonal level the story is compelling, as we watch the family struggle with issues of religious expression, doubt, and the meaning of being a "good" Jew. Since Jews rarely experienced religious and ethnic persecution in the early United States, the Bingham family worries were primarily about intermarriage and the appeal of Christianity, as the first generation attempted to hold the next generation to traditional (and even untraditional) Jewish practice, liturgy, and thought. Religious tolerance carried its own kind of danger. Without stringent boundaries between the self and the other, how could one survive as "uniquely" Jewish? This struggle for an "authentic" Jewish identity began in earnest when young Jacob Mordecai and his wife, Judy, broke from the established Jewish communities of New York and Philadelphia and moved, first to Virginia and later to North Carolina. While there are many compelling tales in this rich set of narratives, it is the story of Rachel Lazarus, Jacob Mordecai's beloved and spirited daughter, that provides us with some of the best examples of how this Jewish family struggled to assimilate as southerners, as patriots, and as middle-class whites.

Rachel's keen intellect brought her into contact with the work and thought of such contemporary heavyweights as Maria Edgeworth and Mary Wollstonecraft. It is through Rachel's words, actions, and perspectives that we gain some important insights into the nascent stages of feminist domestic history (a topic largely ignored until recently). The Mordecai women, Bingham notes, inherited a protective family covenant that fused bourgeois domesticity and religious liberalism into one set of guiding principles. This covenant matched what Bingham calls the "enlightened domesticity" of that time. Both the covenant and "enlightened domesticity," at least at the theoretical level, assumed that men and women had the same capacity for reason and virtue. Enlightened domesticity and the Bingham covenant depended on men and women working closely together in cultivating a "domestic life that promised a supportive, loving family capable of worldly accomplishments" (p. 6). Thus, the public

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world of success was intimately tied to the private world of virtue.

Rachel Lazarus (frequently at the forefront of contemporary thought) used traditional assumptions about gender in a proactive way. If a woman's rational capacity was equal to a man's, then "did it not follow that they, more than fathers, controlled the child's development into reasonable adults?" (p. 139). Domestic feminists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used such reasoning as one strategy to gain more control of the private sphere and later as a rationale for obtaining women's suffrage.

The major power of this book is the way in which Bingham shows us how the Mordecai covenant merged with the broader American dream. This fascinating book can be read as a methodological treatise on who writes history and from what perspective. In this book, assimilation is not a one-way street, either as a process or as a straightforward description of becoming American. Nor is this just a story about the religious conundrum that assimilation supposedly entails. It is about the complex interaction between the individual and society in the making of identities. Bingham never lets us forget that identity is constructed and reconstructed according to time and place and that it is multifaceted. The Mordecais were not just a Jewish family in early America, but southerners, patriots, and Americans who happened to be Jewish.

Debra Renee Kaufman
Northeastern University

Susan M. Stabile. *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 284. $39.95.

This book is a study of the "memory practices" that flourished among a coterie of educated, elite women from the Delaware River Valley—Elizabeth Fergusson, Hannah Griffitts, Deborah Logan, Annis Stockton, and Susanna Wright—between about 1760 and 1840. Under a regime in which men were accorded superior mental abilities and women were associated with feeling, the only kind of knowledge conceded to women was memory. Of course, men had their own style of memory, too, but whereas this public memory stressed shared origins, universal meanings, and continuity with the past and future, domestic memory took on the character of genealogy: local, particular, ahistorical, and materially inhabiting the physical space of the home. The first was appropriately embodied in print; the second, in the private world of scribal publication, here epitomized in the commonplace books, letters, and thousands of poems circulated among the five women. Public memory has long overshadowed domestic memory, Susan M. Stabile contends, and it is her project to recuperate the latter, the better "to place women at the center rather than the margins of early national history" (p. 9).

Stabile offers a rich analysis that illuminates the Enlightenment logic defining seemingly disparate objects and activities as explicitly mnemonic. These included domestic architecture and shellwork houses; commonplace books; penmanship; the exchange of souvenirs among friends; and mourning practices and the material culture of death. Because the human mind was likened to a house, with memory located unprepossessingly in the back of the brain, women's domestic spaces could become "memory palaces." The links between physiology and architecture were further expanded to encompass the art of penmanship. Thus the same nervous system that transmits experience into the memory stimulates the hand to translate those memories into script. Stabile further argues that the very stuff of handwriting was conceptualized according to the same metaphors. As rags are converted into paper, so are memories converted into writing; as the nerves transport memory, so does the pen; ink, like blood, flows from the heart, creating the systoles and diastoles—the heavy downward strokes and lighter upward lines—of contemporary penmanship. And script, like the house, holds and exteriorizes memories through the geometric principles and somatic aesthetics that animate both handwriting and architecture. To sustain memories of their own youths, friends, and departed loved ones, women turned to the material world, perceiving similarities between mnemonic objects and their referents. The mirror, portrait miniature, fan, and silhouette, exchanged among these female friends, functioned as metonyms of the face, mind, and heart. Similarly, mourning objects metaphorically recalled the bodies of their dead.

Stabile characterizes her work as an anatomy rather than a history of the mnemonic arts, and historians may accordingly feel some discomfort with her approach. This "book abandons chronology," she writes, "and mimics the way remembrance actually works" (p. 13). She cites Deborah Logan's diary by volume number, for example, so that the reader cannot know if the entry quoted dates from 1815 or 1839. Stabile locates her subjects in a loosely defined eighteenth century, arguing that even as they composed and collected and mourned into the antebellum period, they were looking back on earlier decades and remained loyal to the mindset and customs of their youths. The treatises and manuals that Stabile consults—on topics that include embalming, memorization, japanning, physiology, architecture, penmanship, physiognomy, and cosmetics, among others—are an intellectual feast, but they span a good two hundred years. There is little attempt to discriminate among sources from different centuries, or to consider which ideas achieved real currency among this literary circle. As a result, analyses based in readings of these sources are sometimes only weakly echoed in the words of these Delaware Valley women.

For Stabile, gender is *the* category of analysis. Her argument that the activities of her subjects exemplify quintessentially female memory practices is a strong one, although the class status of these women leads one to wonder to what degree such practices, and the

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principles behind them, engaged women of the middling and lower orders. Nevertheless, Stabile offers an invariably stimulating corrective to recent works on civic culture and public memory in the early republic.

TAMARA PLAKINS THORNTON
State University of New York, Buffalo

GRETCHEN TOWNSEND BUGGELN. *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790–1840*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2003. Pp. xiv, 312. $39.95.

Gretchen Townsend Buggeln's interdisciplinary study of how and why New Englanders constructed their many new houses of worship during the fifty years after the American Revolution brings together scholarship in religious history, material culture, art history, architecture, and cultural studies. With fifty-three illustrations—images of churches, cityscapes and village greens, architectural drawings, and other visual documentation—this is a well-written, gracefully produced book. Buggeln concentrates on Congregational and Episcopal construction, and most of her data is from New Haven, Hartford, and Litchfield County, but she does not entirely exclude Baptist, Methodist, and Universalist churches. Her focus on certain areas in Connecticut enables her to describe in detail the creation of a regional style with enduring cultural value. A brief epilogue traces the (misnamed) "colonial" New England church as an American icon into the twentieth century.

The shift from "meetinghouse" to "church" buildings has been the subject of previous studies, including J. Frederick Kelly's seminal *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses* (1948), Edmund Ware Sinnott's *Meeting House and Church in Early New England* (1963), and the edited collection of essays from the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, *New England Meeting House and Church, 1630–1850* (1979). "Modern" churches of the 1790s and early 1800s were reoriented along the lines of English churches, with "the main entrance . . . through a central projection or portico in one of the short gabled ends, surrounded by a tall tower capped with a steeple or cupola." Inside, "long, front-facing pews replaced irregular box pews, and a lower pulpit stood at the end opposite the front door" (p. ix). The dual function of serving as town hall disappeared. These more expensive, fashionable structures were designed specifically as sacred spaces in the changing political and economic world of the new republic. With the market revolution, greater financial resources allowed church members and supporters to endow their communities with buildings, furnishings, and ritual accoutrements that simultaneously honored tradition and encouraged more refined sensibilities. Buggeln goes farther than previous studies in explaining the mechanics, politics, aesthetics, and social-cultural context of this remarkable wave of new construction.

Following an opening chapter on the vision, commitment, materials, and know-how required for a community to erect a new church, Buggeln links these projects to the burgeoning economics of the region. "Building Committees, Fund-Raising Schemes, and Churches as Capital" explores how religious communities recreated themselves without tax support in a new era of competition and refinement. As "people of means" who "knew the marketplace well" undertook ambitious projects on behalf of the community, viewing church buildings as commercial assets (p. 44), it is not surprising that questions arose about who owned church property. The third chapter, "Architectural Style and Identity," argues that in the religious free market architectural style served a branding function. "Congregationalists tended to build in the 'modern' style, fitting themselves in with the fashionable neoclassical architecture of the day" while still imagining their churches as embodiments of Reformed theology. Others embraced architecture that made alternative statements, in essence criticizing the "cultural accommodation" of the church that had been the standing order (p. 75). Episcopalians built neo-Gothic churches, evoking permanence, tradition, and liturgy. Baptists, Methodists, and others then on the margins adopted a plainer style—for both financial and theological reasons.

Despite their differences, Episcopalians and Congregationalists shared a culture of refinement that shaped their worship decor. A culture of sentiment emerged from New England revivalism's emphasis on "sense," with church buildings and furnishings designed as means to awaken religious feelings. Two chapters, "The Sacred and the Sentimental" and "Religious Architecture and Community," explore how such developments as decorous worship; organs and choirs; carpeted and heated interiors (now called "sanctuaries"); and lower, broader pulpits placed closer to the people aimed at civil refinement along with moral and spiritual redemption. Congregations thus "were not just building for themselves, but participating in a regional, even national, assertion of faith and progress that would be marked by white steeples" (p. 176). This fine study shows how building projects enabled New Englanders to renew traditional commitments to "creed and community" and also "energize[d] spiritual life" (p. 227) in a vastly changed culture.

CHARLES E. HAMBRICK-STOWE
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NORA PAT SMALL. *Beauty and Convenience: Architecture and Order in the New Republic*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 155. $29.95.

Although characteristic of early nineteenth-century New England towns, the two-story, symmetric house with ell was widely misunderstood, asserts Nora Pat Small. Those houses were "too presumptuous for early republic reformers, not quaint enough for mid-century romantics, not old enough for late-nineteenth-century

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antiquarians, [and] not lavish enough for twentieth-century architectural historians" (p. 43). While this kind of house, commonly tagged a Federal, has been central to the region's picture-postcard image, its importance for Small lies in the spirited, three-cornered debate among contemporary moral reformers, architectural designers, and Yankee builders over its meaning. Her examination is premised on the belief that extant buildings, despite subsequent alterations, are primary documents whose meaning can be ascertained through fieldwork and archival research, the latter of which in her case primarily consisted of public records. Small persuasively fits her book into a budding cross disciplinary scholarship on vernacular New England first developed by Abbott Lowell Cummings, but then advanced by the likes of historical geographer Michael Steinitz and architectural historian Thomas C. Hubka.

Focusing on the four decades after the revolution in Sutton, Massachusetts, which lies in the industrializing Blackstone River Valley, Small nicely situates these houses as symbols employed by three constituencies with differing agendas. Moral reformers like Yale president Timothy Dwight regarded New England's farmers as the wellsprings of the nation's virtue. Believing that they should live humbly, neatly, and within the means of their (lower) social station, he claimed that those Yankees who were either remodeling existing homes or building new ones in the more substantial two-story-with-ell style had fallen into degeneracy and corruption. Meanwhile, architects and designers, such as Charles Bulfinch and Asher Benjamin, appealed to the same rural audience to fashion "a landscape based on the absolute beauty of classical forms, and the natural beauty of objects designed to fit their purpose, that is, objects designed for convenience" (p. 25). On that foundation of classicism, the republic would, they thought, stand strong. The third constituency, and the focus of Small's study, was Sutton builders. Reared in the simple life, they were devoted to the republic and lived in the classical tradition; but, contrary to Dwight's advice, they adapted to the market economy and society. Challenging the argument that cultural change was initiated by elites in metropolitan centers, Small argues that these Yankees built their two-story edifices, using an ell instead of the traditional lean-to, because "an ell permitted the main house block to speak for itself aesthetically, while also conveying the separation of public and private, or formal and service functions that characterized modem living" (pp. 55–56). While defining beauty and convenience as they saw fit, they thus "attacked one of the presumed components of classical republicanism—that the virtue of 'the many' derived in part from their deference to, or respect for, the few" (p. 24). In so doing, not only did they reveal the spirit of the American Revolution, but they engendered the wrath of moralistic reformers.

All the while, "every aspect of Sutton life was being transformed by industrialization" (p. 68). Contrary to the picture drawn by later romantics, the agrarian and industrial economies were interdependent. As farming became more specialized, with fewer farmers producing more goods, Yankees introduced the so-called New England barn, whose larger size, linear orientation, and frequent use of cellars differentiated it from earlier barns, which rarely survived into later years. Agrarians also revised the farmstead by building fences and stone walls to delineate space, by constructing specialized outbuildings, and by adding special features in the ell to economize women's labor, such as an indoor well or a chimney with oven and kettle. Some farm owners began to produce industrial goods at home, or work up to ten months of the year in nearby factories, or purchase shops in town. Nevertheless, these Yankees could still be conservative, as when they retained a post-and-beam frame until late in the century.

Notwithstanding the turbulence of industrialism and capitalism that other observers regard as determinants, as well as her own elaboration on the economic bases of architectural change, Small maintains that, of all causative factors, culture predominated. "Money permitted, and work and living requirements demanded a new order," she concluded, "but popular perceptions of beauty and convenience actually shaped the reordering of the post-Revolution rural New England landscape" (p. 102). Her argument would have been more convincing, however, if the record included actual testimony by the builders. It must be asked further if such classical or republican notions affected the breadth of New England's construction, or if they had any influence on the farm's actual workings. Small's book nicely shows the differing perceptions about the New England farmstead, but perhaps other clues could have been used to integrate the buildings into its labor system, natural landscape, family life, and market influence.

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SUSAN DUNN. *Jefferson's Second Revolution: The Election Crisis of 1800 and the Triumph of Republicanism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 2004. Pp. ix, 372. $25.00.

Susan Dunn's book focuses on the election of 1800 and recounts in her earlier chapters the familiar, but significant events of the 1790s leading up to that critical vote: the conflicts over Alexander Hamilton's financial program, the Whiskey Rebellion, the Jay Treaty, the election of 1796, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. Chapters seven through ten concentrate more specifically on the election of 1800 itself. The last three chapters deal with the aftermath of the election and summarize the political history of the country up to Andrew Jackson's victory in 1828.

Dunn points out that virtually all of the political leaders of the early republic "idealized and advocated

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unity and harmony" (p. 39). But despite this strong antiparty sentiment present in American society in the 1790s, political parties were organized, and the Republicans especially mastered the art of political organizing. Indeed, by the end of George Washington's second term of office, "Parties—alternatively unrecognized, scorned, and condemned by Republicans no less than by Federalists—had already become a feature of the young republic" (p. 72).

After a brief flirtation with the idea of a coalition of unity between Federalist President John Adams and Republican Vice President Thomas Jefferson following the election of 1796, Adams also yielded "to the spirit of party," thus making "Harmony and unanimity . . . a short-lived dream" (p. 90). Parties had become "part of the fabric of American politics," and "their power had to be harnessed and exploited to make government work" (p. 93).

Four years later, the political polarization reached a crisis point when Jefferson and his running mate, Aaron Burr, each received the same number of electoral votes. The election of 1800, according to Dunn, demonstrated that "not only did two adversarial parties exist, but that members of those parties were disciplined and voted with their parties." "Could anyone seriously conclude," she asks, "that political parties did not yet exist in America?" (p. 195). A further indication of political maturity was that the Federalists accepted "defeat" and transferred "power to their political enemies" and waited "patiently playing the part of the loyal opposition—for the next election" (p. 217).

The persistence of strong antiparty sentiment seems to puzzle the author. Jefferson's statement in his 1801 inaugural that he wished to "*obliterate the traces of party*," for example, challenges her perhaps premature announcement of the birth of political parties. Indeed, she notes that the "notions of a permanent opposition and of two equally potent and legitimate political parties had not yet come of age" (pp. 223–24). However, the presidential election of 1804 signaled that "Two-party politics seemed to be back" (p. 259). Dunn concludes that it was only with the second party system in the 1820s and 1830s that "a two-party system of government finally stepped to center stage . . . It had taken decades for a party system and the idea of a permanent opposition to be institutionalized, absorbed, and integrated into American political culture" (p. 270).

While few would dispute that there had been this profound change in the American political landscape by the 1820s, the author gives little assistance in helping to understand the transformation of how, why, and when a two-party political system developed in the United States. There seems to be a conflict between her timeless and static model of modern political parties and behavior that she uses in an effort to disentangle the politics of the early republic and the unique reality of the politics of that era. She recognizes the deep and divisive polarization that existed but often fails to explain the events within the context of the time. There is a whiggish perspective to the work that anticipates the outcome rather than examining and analyzing the process.

There is no careful, systematic analysis of the incremental development of political parties. What role did the events of the previous two decades, including the American Revolution, the failure of the Confederation, the ratification of the Constitution, and the French Revolution, have on public men as they attempted to respond to the growing bitterness and conflicts of the 1790s? How did the political leaders of that decade reconcile their deep distrust of parties with the increase in partisan activity? What role did organizations like Democratic-Republican Societies play in shaping the politics of the period? How did events like the Whiskey Rebellion and threats of western secession influence political perceptions and actions?

Finally, there is never a satisfactory discussion of the nature of the conflict itself. At one point, Dunn opines that "Class and economic self-interest trumped geography" in determining political divisions (p. 142). Yet, at another, she contradicts herself and states that "There seemed to be a sharp geographical divide in the country as well as ideological one" (p. 193).

Dunn provides an interesting and well-written, albeit flawed, account of a very dramatic period in American history. She fails, however, to present a clear, coherent, and convincing argument to answer important questions surrounding the election of 1800.

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PETER J. KASTOR. *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America*. (Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 311. $35.00.

Like most good works of history, Peter J. Kastor's sophisticated investigation of the Louisiana Purchase and its aftermath addresses a topic we thought we already knew well enough; takes us through a more complicated, sometimes even quite confusing exploration of its details; and finally concludes with the kind of insight that not only offers a fresh perspective on a familiar-seeming issue but opens up larger questions that reach far beyond the focus of the book itself. This book is a work of impressive intellectual maturity that brings Louisiana—and therefore Kastor himself—into the center of an important and very timely discussion about the contested meanings of citizenship, statemaking, and nation-building.

In most accounts, the standard story of the Louisiana Purchase starts and generally ends with Thomas Jefferson's remarkable real estate deal in 1803. Seen from the perspective of the nation's capital, this quick diplomatic coup gave Jefferson and his Republican allies a sense of immediate achievement in shaping national destiny, while leaving their Federalist oppo-

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nents to grumble in feckless frustration. But seen from the perspective of the people of Louisiana—or, as Kastor wisely reminds us, the various *peoples* of Louisiana, the Euro-Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans who inhabited the region—the Purchase brought into sharper focus the significance of a longer-standing and much more complex social and political history. Different people had different stakes in the process of incorporation, and they all played a role in defining how that process would play out. When they considered the implications of incorporation into the United States, then, their response could not easily be taken for granted, Kastor continues, either by policy makers at the time or historians now: "Instead, Louisianians could pick and choose their attachments" (p. 29).

The various processes of picking and choosing attachments provide the main narrative strands for the rest of the book. Louisiana's white people quickly came to understand that their counterparts in the United States often looked upon them with skepticism and even scorn, exaggerating their corruption and doubting their ability to become fit citizens in a republican society. At first, white Louisianians responded with understandable resentment at the government's apparent reluctance to extend the full benefits of republican government to a newly incorporated territory. Over time, though, they took a different approach, seeking to prove their loyalty and legitimacy. The main way they did so, Kastor notes, was by ensuring a stable slave regime and, beginning in 1806, creating an even more stringent racial code than existed anywhere else in the nation. Indeed, Louisiana's Black Codes effectively excluded all people of color, enslaved or free, from the national community, and "white Louisianians became among the first people of non-British ancestry to assert that whiteness trumped any other form of difference" (p. 83). Thus racism became a means for Louisiana's white people to define their republicanism.

Not surprisingly, people of color in Louisiana understood the implications of these race-based restrictions, and they too responded with understandable resentment of their own. Black slaves repeatedly ran away and occasionally revolted, thus confirming the worst fears of the always-wary white authorities. Native peoples became even more committed to maintaining their autonomy and, as they had learned so well to do, playing the United States and the European powers off against each other. In general, the more Louisiana's racist regime enforced distinctions between whites and nonwhites, the more it created the conditions that caused increased anxiety.

The tension between attachment and anxiety came to a head with the outbreak of the War of 1812, when New Orleans's strategic location made it an obvious target of British attack. Here again Kastor takes a seemingly well-known event, the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, and gives it a deeper meaning by casting it in its local context. He argues, in fact, that there were really three battles: first, Andrew Jackson's famous victory over the British forces in January 1815; second, a longer-lasting pattern of unrest on the part of slaves and Indians that increased with the advent of the British and continued to challenge the security of the city's white supremacists; and, finally, a struggle between Jackson and the city's residents that pitted military against civil authority. Kastor concludes that "in each case white Louisianians claimed victory in one form or another" (p. 154), but victory still underscored the extent of their uncertainties.

On the whole, Kastor does a fine job of demonstrating that these two much-celebrated yet often oversimplified events, the Louisiana Purchase and the Battle of New Orleans, represent parts of the same story—not just a regional story about state-making in Louisiana, but a much larger story about the process of nation-building, with all the conflicts and contradictions inherent therein. In that respect, it is a story not just for American historians but for many readers of the *AHR*, and perhaps even one that modern-day nation-builders would do well to ponder.

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KRIS FRESONKE and MARK SPENCE, editors. *Lewis and Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 290. $21.95.

During the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the membership brochure of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation invited people to join up and "Live the Spirit." The foundation's mission is "to stimulate public appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's contributions to America's heritage." It supports education, research, development "and preservation of the Lewis and Clark experience." A hundred years ago, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were celebrated as agents of triumphant nationalism; today's celebrations must try to be more inclusive. Lewis and Clark are heroes for every generation, and their journey is America's odyssey—the nation followed the path they blazed to the West.

The late Stephen E. Ambrose's bestselling *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (1996) remains popular with its vision of the expedition as an emblematic triumph of men against the wilderness. Books, magazine articles, and websites about Lewis and Clark abound. A collection of essays with no strong connecting theme and a critical tone might seem redundant, discourteous, and even downright heretical. Much of what is presented here as fresh treatment will not seem so new to scholars of Lewis and Clark or even to readers who have kept up with the bourgeoning literature. For every scholarly article, there will be hundreds of Lewis and Clark baseball hats, commemorative coins, Sacagawea cook books, and soft toys of Lewis's Newfoundland dog, Seaman (the Montana

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Historical Society offers all of these items for sale). Yet the Lewis and Clark expedition *was* an epic journey and a major event in the nation's expansion; it deserves to be written about often and from many perspectives, and this compilation offers more perspectives than most. Some of the essays are rather narrow in their significance, but the collection as a whole offers a useful interdisciplinary exploration of "what mood we are in toward this pair of explorers, and why" (p. 6).

There are essays on the Lewis and Clark journals as literature; the Lewis and Clark expedition and the American Philosophical Society; Lewis and Clark as physicians; the centennial celebrations in 1904; Sacagawea as Cogewea in Mourning Dove's 1927 novel; connections between linguist and scientist C. S. Rafinesque and George Shannon (the youngest member of the expedition, who got lost a couple of times); the expedition and the Louisiana Purchase as "a constitutional moment"; and a review of trailside commemorations. The most significant contributions, however, are surely those that remind us how fuzzy is the line between revered history and myth making.

The Lewis and Clark bicentennial offers opportunities to step into an imagined past. Reenactments allow participants to "relive the adventure" and tour operators package segments of trail experience as journeys of individual self-discovery. "What excites people today," writes editor Mark Spence, "is to imagine being in the shoes of Lewis and Clark. No one, it seems, tries to get inside their heads" (p. 229). Living history "does not lead to deeper understandings of the past, nor does it let us see how the past shapes our world—it too often leads to shallow escapes from the deep historical problems of the present" (p. 233). Native voices return us to those problems. As the nation learned during the Columbian Quincentennial in 1992, including these voices can be troubling, but excluding them reduces American history to a shallow monologue. Can the national commemorations accommodate the suggestion made by one of the Native contributors to this volume that the towering heroes be relegated to the roles of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, "minor flunkies" (p. 10) in a larger national tragedy? Might not, as another Native contributor suggests, some of the millions of dollars being spent on roadside plaques and tourist information be better invested helping to preserve some of the Native languages Lewis and Clark heard, the languages in which the expedition was first discussed and described?

There is some repetition between chapters in the book, and there are some errors. Lewis dies in 1808 (p. 2), but survives until 1809 (pp. 26, 42). Epidemiological catastrophe is said to first hit the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras in 1837 (p. 120), but the Indians themselves told Lewis and Clark that their villages had suffered massive depopulation from smallpox years before the expedition.

It is possible to love the Lewis and Clark journals without embracing the values others attach to them and without ignoring the dark side of the expedition and what followed. It is equally possible to criticize heroes, scrutinize their actions, and reject their elevation to demi-god stature without denying the scope of their achievements, the centrality of their role, or their enduring historical significance. The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation are not only "the stewards of the Trail," they are "the keepers of the story." The Lewis and Clark story is an origin story; it has gone through many versions and embellishments but it remains vital to America's sense of itself. We are likely to learn most from it if we treat it with some of the skepticism we customarily reserve for other people's origin stories. The best essays in this collection do that.

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THOMAS HALLOCK. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749–1826.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 289. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Thomas Hallock's book is a revamped and revised doctoral dissertation, but it comes closer to making the transition than do most dissertations and it is a remarkably engaging—if sometimes infuriating—piece of reading. Hallock himself alludes to the problem of his work providing a "contextual thicket" (p. xii) for his reader. In that he is assuredly correct.

Part of the difficulty with the book is that it cannot decide what it is or wants to be: it comes close to being environmental history but it is not; it comes close to being literary criticism but it is not; it comes close (often too close) to being a narrative history of a particular literary canon but it is not. It is also not another hand-wringing harangue about ecological imperialism; it is neither one-sided in its approach to the actors on the historical stage or the scripts they translate into performance, nor is it ignorant of the motives and goals and objectives or all the players—whether they be frontiersmen, promoters, or indigenous peoples. So what is this book? To my mind, it is best read as a primer on how to interpret, in the light of both the past and present, the "travel" writing (defining that genre in the broadest possible way) of a particularly important and transitional period in American history: the period between the opening of the imagined West as portrayed in Lewis Evans's remarkable maps of the 1750s and the closing of the wilderness and opening of the frontier as symbolized by James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* (1823). Evans's maps and Cooper's book, not coincidentally, frame the time period and the literature with which Hallock deals. The time frame also roughly coincides with the beginnings of Enlightenment science writing in North America and the transition from Jeffersonian "natural history" to the American pastoral romanticism that infused travel writing from the 1830s to the post-Civil War period.

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Hallock provides us with insights on how to read texts as variable in content and intent as Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), William Bartram's *Travels* (1791), the Nicholas Biddle edition of *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (1814), and Cooper's *The Pioneers*. In doing so, he provides a basis for the transition between regional or geographical literature (for example, Jefferson's *Notes*) as the justification for the benevolent progress model of American westering and the more aggressive and dispossessive attitudes (see Philip Freneau's works on "the unsocial Indian") expressed in the literature emerging after the initial settling of the old Northwest Territory but before the great migrations to the farther west that represented the culmination of the theme of Manifest Destiny. The organization of the author's critical evaluation of regional literature is chronological. He begins with analysis of the writings from the imagined and contested trans-Appalachian West of Evans's Pennsylvania and John Filson's Kentucky before the American Revolution and moves to the opening of the region as symbolized in Jefferson's extended views of Virginia. From thence it is a small geographic leap (albeit a great philosophical one) to the settlement of the cis-Mississippi frontier and its redefinition as borderland to the broader trans-Mississippi West as represented by the journals of Lewis and Clark and the travel accounts of Bartram. And, finally, Hallock concludes by drawing loose parallels between the travels of Timothy Dwight and Cooper's *Pioneers* and the settlement (or "civilizing") of the Old Northwest.

But if the organization of the literary analysis moves along chronological lines, the analysis itself does not. There are consistent themes that run unchanged throughout the literature from Evans to Cooper: the relationship between the environmental change of a new economic order and the social conflict between American and American Indian; the shaping of the mythical and unsubstantiated noble savage (Shepard Krech's "ecological Indian") as a part of the landscape; the continuing definition and redefinition of wilderness. Hallock has much to teach us, despite the persistent obscurity of some of his ideas, not the least of which is that American writing about place maintains some consistency across space and time and that consistency is the presence of the Other in the landscape. For Evans, drawing his maps of Pennsylvania in the 1750s, the "Other" may have been American Indian. For Washington Irving, writing about the farther West in the 1830s, the "Other" may just as easily have been the "white savages" of the midlands frontier. This book is not an easy or comfortable or comforting read. But it is an important one.

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STERLING F. DELANO. *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 428. $29.95.

Why no comprehensive, scholarly history of the most celebrated American utopian community has appeared until now is a puzzle. Because Brook Farm was linked to the circle of New England Transcendentalists that gathered around Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller, some account of it appears in most histories of the antebellum era. Sources for a full-scale study have long sat in archives, and in recent decades various editions of Brook Farmers' letters and memoirs have been published by Joel Myerson and others. Lindsay Swift's elegant portrait in *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars and Visitors* (1900) may have cowed later writers. More likely, Brook Farm fell victim to a divide between literary and historical scholars. Literary chroniclers of the "American Renaissance" share Emerson, Fuller, and Nathaniel Hawthorne's bemused attitude toward Brook Farm but like them lose interest once the community adopts the French utopian Charles Fourier's theories. Historians, on the other hand, tend to submerge Brook Farm's Transcendentalist identity in the broader communitarian movement of the 1840s. What one of Brook Farm's patrons called an "unnatural union" of Transcendentalists and utopian socialists produced scholarly commentators who split into disciplinary camps partial to one or the other.

This divide has finally been bridged by an English professor, not a "new historicist" leaning heavily on theory but one who successfully adapts the traditional methods of literary biography to communal history. Sterling F. Delano has produced a detailed group biography of the Brook Farmers that blends careful historical scholarship with Swift's humanistic approach. Delano's focus is on Brook Farm's leaders, especially its admirable founder George Ripley and a handful of his associates who persevered through Brook Farm's brief but important life. The author follows these ministers, reformers, and artisans—alas, almost none were farmers—from the community's founding in 1841 as an informal experiment in Christian equality to its decision to join the Fourierist movement two years later and its collapse and dispersal in 1847. Speaking mainly through the Brook Farmers' own words, Delano brings alive their hopes, trials, and frustrations as they converged on an idyllic site along the Charles River and began to confront the realities of group living and the market economy.

Although Delano favors individual stories over intensive analysis of social and cultural issues, this is the first study to nail down the slippery details of who joined Brook Farm, how it was run, and what members produced. Thus we learn that the community's ninety residents accommodated perhaps a thousand visitors a year, that most members rotated work tasks (one of Fourier's requirements), and that despite purchasing a dairy farm the community had to buy milk from outsiders during its first two years.

On Transcendentalism and Fourierism, the two poles of Brook Farm's magnetic field, Delano also adds pertinent information. By the time Brook Farm was established, the battle against religious orthodoxy

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that had linked Transcendentalists in common cause was superseded by disputes over what should replace it. Delano suggests that Ripley's vision of a model community of equals joining manual and intellectual labor owed more to his Unitarian mentor William Ellery Channing and to Fourierist ideas than to Transcendentalist debates. In contrast to Swift and Perry Miller, Delano seconds the claims of Charles Crowe and myself that Brook Farm's conversion to Fourierism was not an abrupt change of course but the logical result of compatible objectives and growing ambition. As Delano shows in convincing detail, with Brook Farm's economy in disarray and a communitarian craze sweeping the nation, Ripley, Charles Dana, and most Brook Farm leaders became willing to trade some of their experiment's spontaneity, middle-class atmosphere, and New England provincialism for the greater social inclusiveness, organizational rigor, and national publicity promised by the Fourierist alliance.

That this bargain did not work was due partly to Fourierism's cumbersome work arrangements and distracting lecture tours. An outbreak of smallpox and a fire in 1846 that consumed Brook Farm's nearly finished communal residence sealed the community's fate. But the real cause of Brook Farm's collapse, according to Delano, was the community's inability to find profitable lines of work, hampered by infertile land and an inconvenient location but especially by Ripley's impractical leadership. Chronic financial woes, not the entry of Fourierist serpent Albert Brisbane into the garden (as Swift would have it) or members' betrayal of their own ideals (as Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* [1852] implied) constituted the "dark side of utopia." In fact, while Delano cautions against taking members' gauzily nostalgic memoirs at face value, he praises their devotion to communal ideals, their abolition of domestic service, and the festive atmosphere they maintained even after the conversion to Fourierism. This book is less melodramatic and more balanced than its title.

Focused on individuals and governed by a traditional narrative, Delano's study may not satisfy historians looking for fresh interpretation of Transcendentalism or Fourierism, theoretical contributions to the literature on utopian communities, or extended analyses of Brook Farmers' ties to abolitionism, feminism, or the labor movement. Delano is reluctant to generalize, and his controversies with scholars are mainly factual and relegated to endnotes. Strict chronological organization creates some repetition and divides up the book's coverage of key topics.

These, however, are minor weaknesses, flip sides of the book's strength as an absorbing group biography. Delano's study fills a gaping hole in the literature on Transcendentalism and American utopianism with solid research, tempered judgment, and narrative flair. It should become the standard reference on Brook Farm and the required starting point for more specialized studies of that ever-fascinating community.

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PETER KAFER. *Charles Brockden Brown's Revolution and the Birth of American Gothic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 249. $39.95.

This book is an inventive, often entertaining, and richly interdisciplinary investigation of how Charles Brockden Brown came to write gothic literature in an American context that, on the surface, would seem resistant to such strains. Peter Kafer interweaves biography, history, and literary readings to show that Brown's pioneering forays into gothicism stemmed from his informed sense that the nation's birth was attended by injustices and horrors, that the past could not easily be shaken off, and that the age of reason and enlightenment was haunted by irrationality in myriad forms. The first part of the book lays out historical and cultural contexts running from the 1650s to 1798—including the American Revolution, Quaker history, and transatlantic literary and philosophical trends—situating each with reference to Brown, his family, or his immediate communities. The second part builds on these backgrounds to explicate Brown's major works: *Wieland*, "Carwin," *Arthur Mervyn, Ormond*, and *Edgar Huntly*, all written or published in a fury of productivity between 1798 and 1800.

The book's main contribution lies in the degree to which it digs beneath theoretical or historical generalizations to substantively locate the "ground zero" (p. 129) of American gothicism: its commitment to embedding Brown's fictions in local, familial, and personal facts. Kafer shows, for instance, how details of *Wieland* (spontaneous combustion, mysterious voices) echo Quaker imagery found in the writings of Brown's ancestors. Most centrally, Kafer uncovers how thoroughly Brown's novels draw from his traumatic experiences in revolutionary Philadelphia, particularly the persecution of his Quaker neighbors and the arrest of his father. To say the book is grounded in specificity, however, is not to say that it is limited. Indeed, as Kafer shows, Brown's life story intersects at peculiar angles with major historical events, movements, and figures. The book thus also presents a well textured study of Brown's moment, including lively, often irreverent glimpses at early national luminaries.

Kafer's ability to meaningfully trace out the labyrinths of connection and experience beneath Brown's stories is supported by a wide-ranging grasp of religious, political, cultural, and intellectual history, and, most importantly, by a prodigious amount of primary, archival research, ingeniously analyzed and deployed. Kafer carves his argument out of what is (and what is not) found in letters, diaries, family histories, pamphlets, tax records, and maps, as well as literary texts. The degree of original groundwork here is epitomized

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by the fact that Kafer literally did the "footwork" to confirm that *Wieland*'s setting corresponds exactly to the site of a temple built by a radical pietist sect (p. 226, n. 5). Along with substance, the book has a notably engaging style. A writer with an academic background, Kafer has an eye for the narrative as well as historical possibilities of Brown's life—a life that, at least from a latter-day perspective, can seem rife with uncanny coincidences (Alexander Hamilton may have stolen from the Browns' house; John Adams was responsible for imprisoning Brown's father). The book offers a fascinating story, told with appropriate doses of drama, humor, and irony.

Among the book's chief pleasures are its rich detail and the confidence with which Kafer turns bits of data into argument. At times these pleasures can verge on dangers. Occasionally, one feels that the author has indulged in details for their own sake (for instance, in lining out the hierarchy of Quaker meetings); and Kafer's usually deft speculation occasionally seems just a bit tenuous. For instance, I am not convinced of the identification he makes in his discussion of *Edgar Huntly* of the "savages" with the Scots-Irish in Pennsylvania. This is not to say he is wrong, just that a sense of a final clincher seems missing there. But—appropriate to a book about gothic literature—details that at one point seem gratuitous have a way of resurfacing into relevance and revelation; and Kafer's willingness, once he has braided his rope of hard facts, to take conjectural leaps is what gives the book its energy. Its detective work is captivating, and Kafer's delight in uncovering hidden connections comes through in the writing.

Readers with some foreknowledge of Brown's writing, early national literature, or contemporary history may have an advantage over the general reader; however, because Kafer is careful to explain and describe, and avoids academic jargon, the book is highly readable and could appeal beyond academic bounds. Overall, this is an illuminating study that augments our sense of Brown's originality and significance by demonstrating how he fashioned the materials at hand into subversive reminders that there were shadows to the American experiment.

JUDITH RICHARDSON
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LORIEN FOOTE. *Seeking the One Great Remedy: Francis George Shaw and Nineteenth-Century Reform*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 224. $39.95.

In concluding her compelling study of Francis George Shaw and his times, Lorien Foote reminds the reader that "most Americans . . . ignored the larger meaning of Shaw's life" (p. 179), which was his lifelong search for an alternative American social system, an obsession culminating in his conversion to Henry George's single tax proposal and a close friendship with the reformer himself. Foote's purpose is twofold: first to rehabilitate "Frank" Shaw as a significant contributor to the American reform tradition; and, more important, to correct the received opinion of historians of the nineteenth-century that the American Civil War served as a sharp divide between antebellum utopians and postwar scientific reformers. Shaw's busy career, powered by inexhaustible reform energy, largely proves her point. "Older reformers," she explains, "Shaw among them, and some from the younger generation joined together in movements that had explicit links to antebellum radicalism" (p. 164).

No single explanation, Foote argues, can account for the variety of late nineteenth-century reform enterprises extending from the proposals of the medical and legal communities to calls for moral uplift and dozens of civic enterprises. In reality, she explains, "there were many different houses though they often shared occupants" (p. 164). Shaw's daughter, Josephine Shaw Lowell, the organizer of the scientific charity movement, inhabited one of these reform houses and her father, a convert to the single tax, another: loving father and daughter generations apart in their diagnosis of and proposed cure for American social ills.

The image of the extended household complete with family, friends, veteran collaborators, and new recruits supplies Foote with the setting for her striking group portrait. "Frank" stands in the center of a shifting but constantly widening circle of like-minded seekers after utopia. Shaw, together with his equally determined wife Sarah and their children (chief among them son Robert Gould Shaw and daughter Josephine) form the dramatic core of the author's story. Soon after Frank's sudden withdrawal from the world of business in the late 1830s, his extended family unit grew rapidly and soon embraced Brook Farmers, Transcendental prophets, Garrisonian abolitionists both black and white, and proponents of women's rights, all of whom soon gathered under the banner of the Union war effort against slavery. In the process of fighting for freedom for African Americans, Foote makes clear, Shaw's initial determination hardened into an unshakable resolve to set the freedman up on his own land.

The Civil War also introduced Shaw to the uses of government in achieving his ends. During the war and the following years of Reconstruction, he was deeply involved in the Sanitary Commission, the Port Royal Experiment, the New England Loyal Publication Society, and the National Freedman's Relief Association, among many other organizations. The war was also the cause of the Shaw family's bitterest tragedy, when son Robert together with his all-black Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment were mowed down by Confederate defenders on the parapets of Fort Wagner. When Confederate General Hagood announced that Shaw's body had been tossed into the common trench with his fellow black casualties, Frank made his famous rejoinder: "We can imagine no holier place than that in which he lies, among his brave and devoted followers, nor wish for him better company—what a bodyguard he has!" (p. 120). Thus began the process of memorializing his son and publicizing his martyrdom, a heart-

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felt paternal tribute that Foote in a particularly effective chapter, "Creating a Myth," describes as "one that would alter the way Americans viewed the Civil War and African Americans" (p. 121).

His son's death and his own vision of the freedman's future led Frank Shaw back to his initial starting point at Brook Farm, with its promise of true individual freedom combined with communal responsibility. But his wartime lessons had taught him the indispensability of government. Out of his conversion to the principle of government action came Shaw's intense loyalty to George's call for a national single tax program. Shaw became an avid follower and loyal advocate of "the last great remedy" until his death in 1882.

The immediate future of American reform, however, lay with Shaw's beloved daughter Josephine Shaw Lowell, a grieving Civil War widow who turned to urban charity organizations as an outlet for her benevolent impulses and who trained an entire younger generation in the techniques of scientific Progressive reform. In this sense, perhaps, the Civil War belatedly split the American nineteenth century in two—if not for Frank Shaw himself, at least for his children. It is precisely this fascinating cross-generational account that makes Foote's book such a lively and compelling piece of narrative history.

JOHN L. THOMAS
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STEPHEN P. RICE. *Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 230. $49.95.

In this highly original and creative book, Stephen P. Rice uses a number of unusual sources to address the question of how "members of a nascent middle class manage[d] to promote and defend their social authority in the face of troubling and divisive questions about work and mechanization" (p. 4). In doing so he brings new insights to three well-studied aspects of antebellum American history: labor relations, class formation, and the impact of industrial technology.

Analysis of what might be described as the "head and hand" analogy forms the core of this volume. Daniel Webster used a variant of it when he told the Boston Mechanics' Institution about the need "to facilitate the co-operation of the mind with the hand" (p. 57). Rice convincingly demonstrates that these and other observations made at mechanics' institutes should be understood to refer to cooperation between managers ("heads") and workers ("hands"). Similar concerns animated antebellum educators who created manual labor schools such as Lafayette College to insure that future managers worked with their hands as well as their minds. Popular physiology textbook writers and speakers such as health guru Sylvester Graham also stressed the importance of physical exertion in coordinating mental and manual functions. For Rice, these and other examples represent a conservative, middle-class movement to emphasize social harmony and downplay conflict between mental labor(ers) and physical labor(ers). Unlike working-class radicals such as Seth Luther, who stressed the opposition between laborers and managers, these generally middle-class proponents of cooperation between head and hand hoped to legitimate their managerial authority while acknowledging the important role played by the hands.

Rice explores a second set of analogous relations, between man and machine, in the opening and closing portions of his book. The first chapter brilliantly encapsulates this issue using Johann Maelzel's automaton chess player as a symbol. This machine, first displayed in the United States in 1826, tantalized audiences for more than a decade with the mystery of whether it was truly a chess-playing machine or merely a sophisticated hoax. For Rice, this enigma illustrates the developing ambivalence of humans' relationships with machinery and provides the ambiguity in his title, which leaves open the question of whether the worker was "minding" the machine's commands or merely watching over it. In other words, was the human subordinate to the machine or the machine to the human?

The final chapter, on steam boiler explosions, further explores this ambiguity. The antebellum public was fascinated by these deadly events, and newspapers frequently reported on them in gruesome detail. Because contemporaries often understood steam power as providing something of a life force to otherwise inanimate machines, such deadly explosions were perceived as analogous to worker revolutions. To be properly controlled, steam boilers must be properly managed, middle-class writers believed. Therefore, steam engineers must become trained experts—"heads"—in order to superintend their machines properly. Rice concludes, "The image of the steam engine properly regulated by the qualified engineer thus enabled antebellum Americans to conceptualize the relation between human and machine, between head and hand, and between manager and worker in terms that would ensure the authority of the former over the latter" (p. 144). Rice's argument is largely convincing; his few transgressions tend to be sins of omission rather than commission. He might have traced continuities with earlier language that emphasized the natural harmony between the three preindustrial orders of mechanics, merchants, and farmers. He might also have considered workers' reactions to the head and hand analogy. Stimulating one's mind might not have been considered conservative by people such as Seth Luther who were anxious to use their heads to construct a more egalitarian society. After all, Karl Marx himself envisioned a communist utopia in which men were not confined to use of head or hands but might "hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening [and] criticize after dinner." Finally, besides head and hand, orators and writers often included a third body part in the analogy: the heart. Pursuing the subtexts associated with the inclu-

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sion of the heart in the head and hand analogy might have allowed for more consideration of issues such as manliness, femininity, and the cult of sensibility in the construction of antebellum working and middle-class culture.

Still, Rice has largely succeeded at a very tricky project, teasing out meanings from rhetoric that at first glance often seems, at best, tangential to his central concerns. This is a book that anyone interested in class in the antebellum period should read. It is made all the more pleasurable by Rice's well-polished and entertaining prose.

LAWRENCE A. PESKIN
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ANGELA LAKWETE. *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 232. $45.00.

One of the most enduring myths in American history concerns Eli Whitney. Countless textbooks recount how slaves cleaned the seeds from cotton by hand until Whitney miraculously invented the cotton gin in 1794. Central to this myth is the old dichotomy of the industrial (and industrious) North versus the agricultural (and lazy) South: it was Whitney, the Yankee inventor, who brought mechanical progress to technologically inept southern planters and slaves. Thanks to Whitney's invention, planters began growing huge cotton crops and slavery became economically viable. Following the simple causality found in too many textbooks, Whitney's gin sustained slavery and led inevitably to the Civil War.

Remarkably, while American historians have overturned similar myths, Angela Lakwete is the first to probe the connections among the cotton gin, slavery, and innovation in the antebellum South. By examining how cotton was cleaned—or ginned—Lakwete reveals that Whitney did not invent the cotton gin and that southerners could be quite innovative.

Lakwete traces ginning from the fifth century C.E., when women in Africa, Asia, and the American Southwest cleaned cotton using a long thin roller on a flat surface. By the seventeenth century, artisans in India had developed a hand-cranked *churka* with two rollers. Seeing cotton as a potential cash crop, British colonizers transferred the *churka* to the Caribbean and North America. Since there was a shortage of labor and a strong demand for cotton, Lakwete shows how white mechanics and enslaved Africans in the Caribbean built larger, foot-powered models.

Demand for cotton grew rapidly at the end of the eighteenth century as inventors in England mechanized cotton spinning. Recognizing this demand, southern planters turned to cotton and employed roller gins. Hoping to cash in on this shift to cotton, Whitney patented a wire-toothed gin in 1794. Whitney's gin, however, produced tangled, low-quality fiber, prompting southern mechanics to replace the wire teeth with circular saw blades. Whitney sued these rivals for infringing on his patent, and although he won several court cases, he was unable to stop them from manufacturing saw gins. In scrutinizing Whitney's technical contributions, Lakwete joins Edwin A. Battison, Merritt Roe Smith, and Ken Alder, who have previously demonstrated that Whitney did not invent interchangeable parts for firearms; interchangeablity originated in France and was perfected in America by other gun manufacturers.

Having dealt with Whitney, Lakwete chronicles the experiences of antebellum gin manufacturers in New England and across the South. Since most gin makers were small, evanescent enterprises, Lakwete found them by combing through newspapers, patent litigation, census records, city directories, and credit reports. In several cases, she takes us inside these enterprises to show how gins were built by both white and slave workers. Lakwete documents that the South should not be considered a technological backwater; in terms of gins, at least, King Cotton stimulated innovation.

In chronicling gin manufacture, Lakwete suggests how the design of gins was shaped by several tensions. However, because she organized her material into chapters on different gins—saw and roller—it is difficult to understand how planters—perhaps the key social group—made strategic choices in deploying the cotton gin. Depending on location, a planter might grow long or short-staple cotton; while the roller gin was used with long-staple crops, short-staple planters preferred saw gins. It is unclear whether these preferences were based on plant biology, culture, or economics. A planter wrestled with a tradeoff between quantity and quality; textile manufacturers paid more for long fibers, but it was hard to produce quality cotton in volume. Over the years, gin makers introduced innovations promising to increase both quantity and quality, but Lakwete does not clarify whether these innovations effectively addressed this tradeoff. Planters must also have evaluated gins in terms of the skill needed to operate, and one wonders if they sought gins that could be run by unskilled slaves. Finally, cotton prices declined during the antebellum era, and Lakwete does not explore how price changes affected how planters deployed gin technology. Lakwete could have balanced her investigation of the gin manufacture with a closer look at how these machines were actually used by planters. Only by looking at how planters made choices about technology and labor can we understand why slavery survived as an institution.

Nevertheless, Lakwete has achieved an important goal—to lay to rest the myths surrounding the cotton gin. She has demonstrated that Whitney did not heroically invent the cotton gin and that southerners actively improved a technology so necessary for King Cotton. Through close study of the technology itself, Lakwete challenges us to revise our understanding of slavery in American history, and for this reason, her

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book was awarded the 2004 Edelstein Prize by the Society for History of Technology.

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Bridget T. Heneghan. *Whitewashing America: Material Culture and Race in the Antebellum Imagination*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 204. $45.00.

Bridget T. Heneghan draws on a diverse array of archaeological, literary, and other textual sources to support the thesis that "whiteness," as a racial category, was constituted through a discursive relationship between gentile practice and material goods. White goods, such as ceramics, gravestones, houses, and women's clothing, became popular in the late eighteenth century among the elite as the white/black racial binary that has come to characterize American society became entrenched. White goods were not only more popular as the nineteenth century progressed but became more highly valued than nonwhite items.

In favoring white materials, Heneghan suggests, the white elite was legitimating the racial hierarchy and making assertions about the relative worth of white versus black persons. So pervasive was the reification of whiteness through white materials, argues Heneghan, it is evidenced in the literary works of white authors like James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, and Herman Melville, among others. Indeed, African-American authors such as Frederick Douglass and Linda Brent were also aware of the materiality of whiteness and sought to problematize and counter it in their abolitionist writings.

Heneghan focuses on a limited number of issues, stating her thesis in her brief introduction and then offering four chapters that focus on particular aspects of that thesis. In the first chapter she presents the majority of the material culture evidence, predominantly derived from archaeological and literary sources. Because Heneghan's entire thesis hinges upon whether her reader is convinced by the evidence presented in this chapter, I will give some attention to this portion of the work.

Heneghan is not an archaeologist, but she is more aware of the literature from this field than most historians. She is particularly influenced by James Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten: the archaeology of Early American Life* (1977). Deetz first described the whitening of tablewares, gravestones, and houses as part of what he termed the "Georgian Mindset." He used a structuralist model to explain what he saw as a complex of changes in material life from the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century reflective of a change in American world view. Deetz's work predominantly provides the white material culture side of Heneghan's thesis.

Heneghan then turns to materials from sites occupied by enslaved African Americans, primarily in the Chesapeake and Carolinas. Her goal was clearly to create a parallel synthesis for African Americans to complement Deetz's. To do this, she argues that while planters were surrounded by whiteness, their enslaved people were provisioned in earthtones. This is the weakest part of the chapter and, in my opinion, of the overall book. Her assertion that enslaved people were provisioned with dark ceramics is based on data from one site in a part of the country where there were vibrant Native American and African pottery traditions that enslaved people culturally favored. If Heneghan had looked at areas outside of the Chesapeake, such as Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, and Tennessee, and had looked at plantations occupied later than the 1810s, she would have found that enslaved people were using materials remarkably similar to those of the white elite. Part of this shortcoming can be attributed to the age of her historical archaeology citations. The most recent are from the mid-1990s. A tremendous amount of new research has been published since that time. I would suggest that this part of the argument is not necessary to the book's thesis. Heneghan's work emphasizes the role of white goods in reifying whiteness in white households, and her African-American literary sources are playing upon their (predominantly white) audiences' preconceptions in their narratives.

The first chapter ends with an in-depth consideration of materiality in Brent's narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861). Heneghan is at her best here and convincingly demonstrates that Brent was aware of the ways that her enslavers and her audience communicated racial entitlement and superiority through material culture. She shows how Brent plays upon those understandings intentionally in her text. Chapter two, takes the next step in the thesis, linking white materiality to a racialized class identity explicitly, focusing on changes in housing designs, the development of the dining room, and the elaboration of table settings and etiquette during the nineteenth century. Chapter three builds on the relationship between whiteness and gender, including a discussion of grave art, while the final chapter explores the relationship between the hygiene movement's emphases on purity and cleanliness in conjunction with whiteness and racialized notions of beauty.

Overall, Heneghan has presented an intriguing study of how racial privilege was constructed and naturalized through everyday practices in the antebellum period. The work should be of interest to anyone studying this period, particularly those with an interest in materiality and literature. Heneghan is to be commended for her attempt to integrate very disparate lines of evidence in a meaningful historical analysis.

Laurie A. Wilkie
University of California, Berkeley

Michael O'Brien. *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860*. Chapel Hill:

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University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 587; xi, 591–1354. $95.00 the set.

The past few decades have witnessed a dramatic increase of interest in the intellectual history of the Old South, and Michael O'Brien has figured prominently in that resurgence. These volumes embody the fruit of more than twenty years' dedication to the works and lives of antebellum southern intellectuals. Their more than 1,200 pages testify both to his immersion in the sources and to his analytic virtuosity. And the book's publication obliges anyone who pretends to an interest in southern—or American—intellectual history to grapple with their arguments. Not all will agree with O'Brien's interpretations either of specific texts or of the nature of southern society and culture. But even those who disagree with specific points or the broad interpretations will learn much from this often brilliant and always provocative book.

O'Brien divides his study into two parts, each with a distinct purpose. Volume one is, in O'Brien's words, "partly social history, in which intellectuals are implicated in the broader patterns of society and it is presumed that their thoughts are explicable by what went on around them" (p. 7). This volume includes some of O'Brien's strongest passages, notably his engaging depictions of southerners' observations while traveling abroad. Focusing on the ways they embraced the "modern passion for classification, both natural and social," he reflects on the roles of race, sex, ethnicity, class, and place in their sense of personal and social location (p. 8). The ensuing chapters, which attend less to content than the form of intellectual activity, explore southern society's ordering of intellectual interactions "from the most informal of discourses (conversation) to the semiformal (letters, diaries) to the most formal (the printed word as it was read, then as it was written)" (p. 9).

Volume two, in contrast, turns to what O'Brien calls "the social and metaphysical imaginations" (p. 9). Beginning with chapters on southern historical thinking, southern literature, political and economic thought, and the proslavery argument, O'Brien then devotes the final chapters to philosophy and theology. He concludes with an epilogue on the ways in which several members of the Old South's youngest generation sought, with varying degrees of desperation, to impose order on their increasingly threatened world.

In O'Brien's view, southern intellectuals continuously struggled to bring order to the confused world around them, a world that resisted ordering. Throughout, he emphasizes southerners' engagement with European intellectual currents, especially Romanticism. His evidence should lay to rest the dismissal of southerners as benightedly provincial. Emphasizing the breadth and depth of their interests, he focuses on three successive "moments" in southern thought during the fifty years he covers: first, a "late Enlightenment phase" of men such as John Taylor and Thomas Cooper; then the Romantic generation that included Edgar Allan Poe, William Gilmore Simms, and James Warley Miles; and finally "a sort of early realist generation" that included William Henry Trescot, Henry Hughes, James Henley Thornwell, and Mary Chestnut, although he glosses over the striking differences among them. O'Brien revealingly ends his book with Chestnut, whom he presents as the eulogist of the failed world of the Old South and the forerunner of "the literary modernism" of the twentieth century. O'Brien credits Chestnut, following the South's defeat, with grasping, perhaps more fully than any of her contemporaries, that "a discordant and unintelligible world mandated a literary form that suggested, not life's order, but its disorder" (p. 1191). Chestnut's recognition "that the will could [not] transcend alienation" (p. 1188) inaugurated the advent of a new intellectual order that displayed little faith in God or science—or in humans' ability to understand much less order their world.

With this ambitious and stimulating portrait of antebellum southern intellectual life, O'Brien has placed us all in his debt. Unfortunately, his decision not to engage the secondary literature also obscures the invaluable contributions of the countless scholars who have laid the foundations for his work. And, notwithstanding O'Brien's mastery of his subject, his volumes fail to explain what, beyond a yearning for order, made these men and women "southerners"—what distinguished them from their northern or western intellectual contemporaries. Occasionally O'Brien acknowledges that life in a slave society influenced the perceptions—and questions—of southern intellectuals. More frequently he portrays them as intellectuals first and as members of a distinct society second, thus abstracting their thought from their place: a slave society increasingly threatened by the political and ideological might of the North. Virtually all of O'Brien's subjects grounded their work in the explicit or implicit defense of southern slave society, but he resists acknowledging their commitment to the moral and social superiority of slavery to free labor as the foundation for a humane and ordered society.

O'Brien seemingly has little interest in the political implications of much southern intellectual activity. Up to a point, his preferences provide a useful perspective, especially in his refusal to reduce southern intellectuals to mere apologists. Yet the grounding of southern society in slavery infused the work of southern intellectuals with distinct commitments and sensibilities, which had profound political consequences. O'Brien's insight that slavery made southerners anxious about disorder apparently blinds him to the widely shared conviction that slavery secured a more just and humane social order than an inherently unstable system of free labor ever could. In the end, he fails to explain why these intellectuals, like most southerners, fought to the death to preserve their world from the ideas and practices that free labor societies embraced.

To raise these questions about O'Brien's arguments does not diminish the importance of his book. Thanks

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in large part to O'Brien's determined efforts, the intellectual history of the Old South has come of age. And his interpretations of that history help to insure that it will remain an exciting—and contested—subject for years to come.

DOUGLAS AMBROSE
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MICHAEL P. CARROLL. *The Penitente Brotherhood: Patriarchy and Hispano-Catholicism in New Mexico*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 260. $45.00.

Los Hermanos de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno (Brothers of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene), more commonly known as the Penitentes, evolved in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado before the U.S. takeover of the area, although precisely when is a debated topic. Their most conspicuous function was to publicly commemorate Christ's passion and death, especially during the week before Easter, but they also provided community leadership and fostered social integration. Although established as separate local entities, Penitente brotherhoods had similar organizational structures that encompassed a leader named the *hermano mayor* (older brother), the Hermanos de Luz (Brothers of Light) who were responsible for administrative functions, and the Hermanos de Sangre (Brothers of Blood) who performed penitential acts during collective rituals. Michael P. Carroll contends the Penitentes and the general practice of Catholicism in New Mexico differed from patterns prevalent elsewhere in Spain and the Spanish colonies. He then probes the significance of these divergences for understanding the Penitentes and Hispano Catholicism in New Mexico.

Carroll's first major claim is that colonial New Mexicans were only nominally Catholic, since extant documentation does not reveal they engaged extensively in practices evident in other locales of Latin America and Spain: apparitions, cults for sacred images, painted ex-votos, and the ecclesial reforms that church leaders promoted after the Council of Trent such as increased Mass attendance and knowledge of doctrine. Then he contests the common perception that the Penitente brotherhoods preserved longstanding traditions, arguing instead that their emergence was an innovative response to historical changes during the early nineteenth century. Socially, the brotherhoods flourished because their tight organizational structures reinforced hierarchy and male solidarity in a patriarchal system assailed by an increasing inability to provide land ownership for all heads of household, as well as Bourbon reforms like the requirement of parental consent for marriages involving persons under twenty-five. Religiously, Carroll avers that New Mexico's most influential priest, Padre Antonio José Martínez, supported the brotherhoods in a manner that reflects numerous Counter-Reformation Catholic priests' efforts to inculcate discipline, internalized religion, and the acceptance of behavioral scrutiny among the laity. Significantly, the Penitentes' centralization of authority, graded membership, and emphasis on obedience made them strikingly dissimilar to other *cofradías* (pious societies) in the Catholic world and "qualitatively *similar* to the 'rational' organizations usually associated with the early modern state" (p. 161). Thus the Penitentes helped modernize New Mexico even before the U.S. conquest and occupation, providing an organization that enabled Hispano residents to forge ethnic solidarity in the face of Anglo domination and, ironically, "engendered a strongly internalized compulsion to obey authority figures" (p. 186) that facilitated Anglo confiscation of land and legal authority in New Mexico.

Given the relative paucity of documentary sources on the Penitentes, Carroll's bold theses remain hypotheses, as he himself admits in several passages, particularly his Freudian analysis of early nineteenth-century Penitente rituals probing the "feelings of oedipal rage and oedipal guilt that lurk in the unconscious of all sons" (p. 210). Even when Carroll senses he is on firmer ground, his arguments are still speculative. For example, noting New Mexico's dearth of some religious expressions found elsewhere in Spain and its colonies, he concludes that the practice of patronal and other feast days, processions, Mass, initiation rites, *compadrazgo* (godparentage), and the establishment of pious confraternities in colonial New Mexico primarily reflected social norms and not religious sensibilities. But he makes no comparison of New Mexico to settlements in Texas and other areas of New Spain's northern frontier, which in fact evidenced comparable patterns of religious practice. Similarly, the argument that Father Martínez staunchly supported the Pentitentes from the 1820s on is weakened when one considers that the first extant primary document in which Martínez speaks directly about the brotherhoods is an 1833 letter advising his bishop he has suppressed the brothers' public rituals. Carroll's contention that this letter was intended to placate the bishop before he visited Martínez's parish is plausible but by no means incontrovertible.

This book raises far more questions than it resolves; its strongest contribution is Carroll's provocative challenge of fundamental assumptions about the Penitente brotherhoods and New Mexican Catholicism. Methodologically, historians may find the book's greatest usefulness as a case study for exploring the creative possibilities and limitations of examining a subject with few available primary sources. While the book is sure to spark controversy among historians of New Mexico and advocates of the Penitente legacy, through a wider lens it also exemplifies the need for historians not to become complacent with consensus presumptions about purportedly known subjects.

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The Alamo. Directed by John Lee Hancock; produced by Mark Johnson and Ron Howard; written by John Lee Hancock, Leslie Bohem, and Stephen Gagham. 2004; color; 137 minutes. Distributed by Touchstone Pictures.
Remember The Alamo. Directed, produced, and written by Joseph Tovares. 2004; color; 60 minutes. Distributed by PBS-TV.

The cry "Remember the Alamo" echoes through American history, memory, and popular culture as a call to heroism and freedom, and today the Alamo still stands as the shrine of Texas liberty and is among the most popular historic sites in the land. Not surprisingly, a story so big ended up on the big screen. Indeed, the myths surrounding the events that led up to and occurred at the San Antonio mission/fort in 1836 and the characters who died there have attracted over a dozen filmmakers, starting in 1911 and capped off in 1960 by *The Alamo*, produced and directed by and starring John Wayne. Wayne's film cast the fight as a Cold War metaphor for no-questions-asked patriotism and profiles in courage and as an indictment of what he regarded as lily-livered liberalism. Although shot in color, the 1960 film was black-and-white in its bows to white superiority and manliness. Such images and messages, already emblazoned in American popular culture, made it almost impossible for students and visitors to the Alamo to approach the Alamo story except in Wayne's terms and persona. Good men died for a noble cause.

Historians demurred. They have challenged the details of the myth and images, especially those surrounding the death of Davy Crockett, and the meaning of the event and its place in the public imagination. On the latter count, by viewing the Alamo from the perspectives of the Tejanos inside and outside the fort, the Mexicans assailing it, and even other Mexicans and "Americans" with a vested interest in it, historians over the past decade or so have discovered a more complicated story of competing political ambitions, idealism, democratic yearnings, pride, personal greed, racism, and more. What films left out, historians brought in, especially the darker side of the Texas creation story—the importance of slavery and land grabbing in the Americans' push for "freedom"—and the realism of Sam Houston in sacrificing the men at the Alamo to buy time to build an army and get a rallying cry. The myths began in 1836.

Texas-born director John Lee Hancock read the historians and took in the mythology. In this 2004 Disney version of the Alamo, he sought to provide at once an epic strong in narrative and accurate in detail. In doing so, he followed the line of most recent historians in presenting the famous Alamo defenders as a gathering of failed and even desperate men who had come to Texas looking for a second chance. Anger, angst, and avarice marked their character as much as any courage the approaching Mexican army evoked. Hancock also embraced the "new history" of the Alamo by peopling the mission/fort with Tejanos, although they remain largely a backdrop to the central Anglo characters such as Jim Bowie and Davy Crockett, and by including the black slaves of William Travis, who end up looking out for their own interest rather than slavishly joining their "master" as part of the carnage. Hancock enlisted a small army of historians to "authenticate" his film, and the result is the usual specificity in costume and setting that disguises the narrative fictions persisting in "history movies." Directors never give up the story to outsiders. Hancock pays scrupulous attention to the details of dress, uniform, speech, even tableware; skips the legendary, but heretofore obligatory, story of Travis drawing a line in the sand and asking all who would be men to step over it; and bestows a courage on the Mexicans rushing the fort in a nighttime assault that no previous film acknowledges, or evenly properly places before dawn. The film is sometimes gorgeous in its shots of Texas country, and it shows the confusion of battle much like the few contemporary accounts relate it.

Hancock also serves history well by keeping the larger compass of Texas and Mexican interest in focus, especially in showing a Sam Houston reluctant to save the Alamo. Hancock let his actors interpret their characters, with mixed results. In actor Emilio Echevarría's hands, the always enigmatic General Antonio López de Santa Anna comes off as a tangled contradiction of Napoleonic zeal and narcissism. But actor Billy Bob Thornton disrobes the Davy Crocketts of popular culture in a subtle performance showing Crockett as a man both enchanted and trapped by his own myth. The fiddle he plays on the ramparts almost pines in remorse as Thornton's Crockett contemplates having to die game to keep in tune with what history expects of him. Even the Mexicans are awed by Crockett. Drawing on a Mexican soldier's account that has caused historians to revisit the last moments at the Alamo, Hancock sends a captured Crockett out to be ungloriously executed, rather than having him go down in a blaze of glory as myth and previous films usually have it. Because we can never know what the men and women inside the Alamo thought, said, and did in their last days and moments of truth, mythmakers and filmmakers have had license to mold them as suited the conventions and needs of their own day. Hancock's purposes are not so clear. The film leaves ambiguous implications—a warning against imperialism, a paean to lost causes, a lesson in real politik, a requiem for soldierly bravery, and a swipe at stubborn codes of manliness. Therein lies its value as an index to our own ambivalence about who we are and what we must do as "Americans."

Remember the Alamo, a one-hour documentary that originally aired on the PBS series *American Experience* in February 2004 and is now available in VHS and DVD formats, shifts the focus to the Mexican Tejanos and to events before the Alamo fight. In his documentary, Joseph Tovares gives the 1836 war for Texas independence, including the fall of the Alamo, short shrift. He wants us to enter a larger world of Tejano

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culture and ambition. Tovares pays due respect to the many Tejano contributions to Texas independence and especially to the important role José Antonio Navarro played in developing Texas, bringing American (Anglo) immigrants there, and organizing Tejano resistance to Santa Anna's rise to power and efforts to bring the almost autonomous Texas province to heel. The documentary emphasizes that the Texas struggle for independence preceded the arrival of Sam Houston and company and that it was a civil war fought between Mexicans more than an American (Anglo) one against Mexicans. The documentary candidly admits its purpose to reorient thinking about the origins and meaning of "Texas independence" and to reclaim that history for Tejanos. As such, it draws on both new research and a new historical sensitivity to multiple perspectives in relating narratives and reconstructing the past. It also reminds us that, racism notwithstanding, the story of the Alamo and Texas freedom was not just one of good versus evil, white against brown, civilization against savagery. Tejanos also remembered the Alamo in 1836 as they charged Santa Anna's forces in the great victory at San Jacinto and in their own histories. For them, the Alamo was, and is, one step in a long process of self-definition rather than the touchstone for liberty. This documentary corrects many misconceptions about the time, place, and people who made Texas. It lacks the dramatic punch of narrative films and suffers from the almost de rigueur documentary intersplicing of authoritative voices, stock images, document excerpts, and recreated action that give it the look of a self-consciously constructed and somewhat sermonic lesson. But in tandem with Hancock's troubled film, which is also supported by a website with useful background materials, teacher's guides, worksheets, documents, and images *Remember the Alamo* provides a long-needed antidote to Wayne's flag-waver and the other one-note Alamos before it, and together the films invite new readings of the Texas creation story. The films speak to our age. If America has become Texas writ large, finding a "real Alamo" in the reel Alamos might force us, like Thornton's Crockett, to face up to our own myths.

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KEITH P. GRIFFLER. *Frontline of Freedom: African Americans and the Forging of the Underground Railroad in the Ohio Valley.*(The Ohio River Valley Series.) Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 2004. Pp. xvi, 169. $35.00.

This trim, concisely written volume aims to refocus studies of the Underground Railroad to emphasize African-American agency. Much as have recent studies of abolitionism, gradual emancipation, and the internal slave trade, Griffler endeavors to demonstrate that African Americans were as important as white actors in this continually fascinating historical drama. Among the first to study the Underground Railroad was Wilbur Siebert whose *The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom* (1898) first invigorated studies of histories of organized slave flight from servitude. Some forty years ago, Larry Gara (*The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* [1961]) contended that Siebert's account exaggerated the impact of slavery. Gara's viewpoint has held credence ever since. Presently, there is ample popular interest in the Underground Railroad, with innumerable guides for towns and states and dozens of children's books on every aspect of its history. Scholars Kathryn Grover, Tom Calarco, and Milton C. Sernett have written fine books illuminating the roles of African Americans as passengers and conductors in the routes along the eastern seaboard.

Keith P. Griffler argues convincingly that the issue is not so much that Siebert was wrong or exaggerated in his claims, but that his book ignored the vital roles blacks played on the railroad. This omission does not surprise Griffler, who points out in early chapters how inhospitable Ohio was to blacks, and how even the best-intentioned whites were often paternalist and condescending to enslaved and free African Americans. He gives ample coverage to the famed Cincinnati riots of 1829 and to the anti-black laws that stained the state's history. Although Griffler acknowledges the vital contributions of Quaker and other white participants in the struggle to protect self-emancipated blacks in the region, he also points out the major roles that blacks played on the violent frontlines of the crusade. The Underground Railroad, he observes, did not entice blacks but was formed to help and protect the constant stream of fugitives. Key to the success of this struggle were "first and foremost the African American communities that sprang up and gained a foot hold" (p. 74) on the northern bank of the Ohio River. Griffler contends that the reason for historical amnesia about the roles that blacks played is that they lacked any political rights or powers. While some whites cooperated well with African Americans, too many ignored their contributions. This was not lost on outside black viewers. Charles B. Ray, the famed black minister and abolitionist, commented that whites and blacks were too much cut off from each other; others bitterly claimed that distance was the white people's desire. Griffler points out that the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society "eschewed African Americans' participation in their own cause" (p. 75). Griffler's point is well taken and important. Can the efforts of a people to free themselves and to help others be lost to history because they lack political power? This question has bedeviled the histories of the politically weak for some time. The immense popular interest in the Underground Railroad suggests that Griffler's contentions are apt.

Griffler's mining of the available evidence to prove his point is admirable. He has culled data from many hitherto-untouched manuscript sources in Ohio and read through about twenty-seven contemporary newspapers and close to one hundred memoirs, reminis-

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cences, and autobiographies, using similar analytic techniques to those employed by Walter Johnson in his fine study, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (1999). Griffler also shows an admirable awareness of documentary compilations and government publications as well as a keen interest and appreciation of current studies in relevant African-American history.

There are many fascinating heroes and some villains in Griffler's fine narrative. Well-known participants such as Harriet Tubman, Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown, and Josiah Henson make appearances, but so do lesser-known but brave conductors such as Kittie Doram, who fled from slavery at the age of twelve, became a respected seamstress, and sheltered passengers for over twenty years. John Curtis lost a younger brother while they were striving to escape from slavery. Rescued, Curtis "never left the front line of the war against slavery—except to return to the South as a Union soldier" (p. 104).

Griffler has done a fine job rescuing lost stories. His objective to create a more racially balanced history of the Underground Railroad is timely and eminently sensible. This book is recommended for graduate studies in African-American and antebellum history and would make good undergraduate reading.

GRAHAM RUSSELL GAO HODGES
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MICHAEL WAYNE. *Death of an Overseer: Reopening a Murder Investigation from the Plantation South*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. 257. $16.95.

Michael Wayne has written a very distinctive, creative, and intriguing book that is a hybrid of several genres: part monograph, part mystery novel, and part manual for historical research and interpretive analysis. It focuses on the 1857 death of Duncan Skinner, a white South Carolinian working as the overseer on Cedar Grove, a plantation of 900 acres and eighty slaves located near Natchez, Mississippi, and owned by a widow, Clarissa Sharpe. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of accidental death, but after Skinner's brother questioned the verdict, a group of local planters, led by wealthy and prominent politician Alexander Farrar, initiated an investigation that eventuated in murder indictments, trial, conviction, and public hanging of three Cedar Grove slaves: Henderson (a carriage driver), Reuben (a carpenter), and Anderson (a field hand). The planters also publicly implicated and threatened John McCallin (an Irish-born ginwright, carpenter, and part owner of a store), who had lived in Mississippi and Louisiana for twenty years, and who defiantly denied the accusation. For Wayne, the central question "is not who killed Duncan Skinner or how, but why" (p. 66). His answer is that the three accused slaves found their own justice by killing Skinner to end his brutal tyranny over the African Americans at Cedar Grove, and that the planters' conclusion that McCallin instigated Skinner's murder was "almost certainly wrong" (p. 59).

To develop a persuasive argument in support of his conclusions, Wayne has deliberately adopted an unconventionally transparent method of presenting his primary sources verbatim (they are scant, as he acknowledges), critically examining their credibility, and contextualizing them by explaining the most salient features of southern and American society in the antebellum era. Readers without much knowledge of the Old South or of historians' scholarly methodology thus participate in the author's intellectual journey. In the process they encounter concise analyses of slavery, class, gender roles, southern honor, immigration and nativism, law and legal procedure, and an exemplary understanding of how historians work.

Wayne's observations about the historian's craft seem eminently sensible and significant, and his explanatory style is apt and engaging. In Wayne's words, "doing history is really just solving mysteries of one sort or another" (p. 40); "interpreting the past is basically an exercise in common sense" (p. 4); "we all view the past through the lens of our own experiences, our own personal histories" (p. 4); "the process of historical reinterpretation is never ending" (p. 5); "recognizing the fragmentary nature of the historical record is important for anyone interested in how historians recreate the past" (p. 65); "the findings of historians are less definitive, more provisional, than my remarks to this point might suggest" (p. 5).

Given the minimal evidence about the Skinner case, it is understandable that Wayne's solution to this mystery requires a good deal of "speculating on what really happened" (p. 62). He rejects the conclusion reached by the planters' extralegal investigation in 1857, that McCallin had encouraged the Cedar Grove slaves to kill Skinner so that McCallin could more readily court the wealthy widow Clarissa Sharpe. The planters' evidence for this explanation apparently was testimony coerced from the slaves by whipping, and conveyed by letter from Farrar to concerned whites in McCallin's nearby community of residence in Louisiana. The planters could not, however, pursue McCallin through legal prosecution because Mississippi law barred testimony by slaves against whites, and the only potential witnesses were the Cedar Grove slaves.

Wayne makes a plausible case for McCallin's innocence. However, his final chapter ends with a completely fictitious letter—presented as Wayne's speculation about unknown historical reality—from McCallin to his son, proclaiming his innocence in the Skinner case. This device is bound to be the most controversial part of the book. Wayne asks his readers: "Does my reading of John McCallin conform to the picture of him you have formed over the course of this book?" (p. 186). One reasonable response is that Wayne's reading does fit his analysis of McCallin, but that a similarly fictitious letter confessing McCallin's guilt would also be compatible with the available evidence. Another problematic speculation, although

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less significant, appears in the caption to an illustration: "Artist's Conception of John McCallin Based on a Photograph of His Grandson" (p. 20). Perspectival differences will yield a variety of judgments about this picture: impressively creative speculation, quasi-educated guesswork, or perhaps leap of faith.

Traditional literary stylists may find Wayne's extensive use of first and second person jarring, but this authorial choice enhances the book's appeal to a broader readership. However, Wayne's occasional sentence fragments will not help persuade that broader readership to write grammatically complete sentences.

Bold creative choices risk barbs of criticism. This book effectively conveys important ideas about the practice of history, while simultaneously telling a fascinating, though frustratingly incomplete, story about a murder in the Old South.

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JEFFREY N. LASH. *A Politician Turned General: The Civil War Career of Stephen Augustus Hurlbut*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 300. $49.00.

Biography is the most popular form of historical reporting. The Civil War is the most popular period in American history. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that every major figure in the struggle of the 1860s has been the subject of more biographical dissection than the field needs or deserves. With a wide assortment of studies available on all of the principal participants, a trend of late has been to locate a minor official for whom some source material is available, and then to produce a book in the main emphasizing how overlooked that individual has been for all of the years since Appomattox.

Fortunately, this is *not* such a book. Jeffrey N. Lash has written an honest and highly revealing study of one of too many politicians who were appointed generals in the Civil War by presidents investing in future political gains. Stephen A. Hurlbut was of that class variously termed "military politicians" or "political generals." Nash sees Hurlbut as a "militarily inclined party politician" (pp. vii-viii) and meticulously proves his point.

Hurlbut was Southern born and bred, although both his roots and his future lay in the North. Son of a Unitarian minister, he was born in 1815 in Charleston. His first thirty years were spent in the South Carolina low country. A solid reputation as an attorney contributed to Hurlbut becoming adjutant to one of the South Carolina regiments involved in the Seminole Wars. In 1845, he moved to Illinois. There Hurlbut served a term in the state legislature and became prominent in Republican politics. Indeed, a prominent theme throughout this book is Hurlbut's loyal membership in an Illinois clique of Republicans that included Abraham Lincoln, Lyman Trumbull, Elihu B. Washburne, John A. Logan, and—ultimately—U. S. Grant. Hurlbut's adult career rested with that association.

A brigadier general's commission came with the Civil War and showed how blatantly high military rank was given to prominent political leaders. Hurlbut's military career was at most only creditable. He performed well at Shiloh, received promotion to major general, and for a time led the Union XVI Corps. Yet his debits soon became apparent. The general lacked the ability to formulate strategy and to execute operations promptly. He was continually accused of using any opportunity to line his own pockets. Always present, too, was Hurlbut's abuse of alcohol, which became a self-destructive habit. He was a popular figure with his troops because he exuded courage, eloquence, and patriotism. At the same time, Hurlbut was a complete failure as a disciplinarian. This is somewhat strange, because he was capable of strong feelings. His hatred of southerners ran deep, as did his racial prejudices against blacks, Jews, and foreigners.

For a time in 1864–1865, Hurlbut commanded the Department of the Gulf. There he used his official position to further his own ends. Nash states: "His persistent intemperance, involvement in cotton and extortion rings, and exploitation of his rank for political advancement, further reduced his military usefulness and effectiveness" (p. 212). Charges of corruption were pending against Hurlbut when the Civil War ended.

Undeterred, and with the government looking the other way, Hurlbut returned to Illinois and political prominence. He was the first commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. Though repeatedly accused of corruption and drunkenness, he continued to enjoy wide popularity. In 1868, President Grant appointed Hurlbut minister to Colombia. He returned home and won election to two consecutive terms in Congress. Then came appointment as ambassador to Peru. Soon charges emerged that Hurlbut was accumulating a personal fortune at government expense. The politician-general-diplomat next got into trouble by breaking American neutrality and openly siding with Peru in the War of the Pacific. In 1882 he died suddenly in Lima. His remains were taken to Belvidere, Illinois, for burial.

In this first biography of Hurlbut, Nash has succeeded admirably in neither whitewashing nor doing a hatchet job on his subject. That is no easy achievement. Hurlbut's life spanned three distinct eras: prewar, wartime, and postwar. It would have been easy to drift into extreme judgments in each period. Yet Nash's endnotes and bibliography make it clear that the author proceeded carefully and judiciously throughout his task.

This first-class biography will have limited appeal because of its subject. Hurlbut got better historical treatment than perhaps he deserved; for as Nash emphasizes, the faults of this "militarily inclined party

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politician" seemed always to outweigh his good qualities.

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JANE E. SCHULTZ. *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 360. $34.95.

In this thorough, insightful, and carefully written history, Jane E. Schultz sifts through literally thousands of details about the many women who worked on behalf of soldiers, North and South, during the Civil War. Building upon and challenging existing scholarship, she draws forward (to the extent that sources allow) not only the privileged white volunteers, over whom a fuss was made subsequently, but the black and white working-class cooks, laundresses, and matrons who made possible the recuperation and recovery of so many men.

The book is divided into two parts. "On Duty" establishes a social history of the war years, beginning with the sheer numbers and kinds of jobs and hospitals, following with a look at how hospital workers got to their posts, how long and under what conditions they stayed there, and the ways in which they had to adjust and accommodate to the conditions, both material and social. The second part, "The Legacy of War Work," moves from social to cultural history by analyzing the development of a usable past, a "triumphal narrative of war" (p. 237). Instead of an epilogue, Schultz ends with a very comprehensive historiographic essay, a boon to historians reeling from the flood of new work on women in the Civil War.

Schultz compellingly reminds us how variegated those women at the front were. "Female hospital workers were as diverse as the population of the United States in 1860: they were adolescent slaves, Catholic sisters, elite slaveholders, free African Americans, abandoned wives, and farm women" (p. 12). Unlike much recent scholarship on the war, Schultz chooses to look at the experiences of war workers from North and South together. The differences are notable: fewer southern women left records of service, although Schultz believes many more nursed than is recorded, given the numbers of private homes turned into makeshift hospitals and the many slaves who peopled those homes (and the hospitals that did exist) without leaving an official trace. Southerners seemed less conflicted about interracial working environments (they were used to them) and were more wary of class divisions than northerners (who conversely may have been more accustomed to them) (p. 5).

Although differences around issues of class and race were considerable, much insight can be gleaned from looking at these women in concert, Schultz argues. In order to get to the front, they had to fight public disapproval, less audible in the North than South perhaps, but still present throughout the war. Surgeons, many reluctant to take on the task of training the largely unskilled, often resisted making room for women, treating them with discourtesy and worse (especially if they were African American). And hospitals were filled with contagious disease, inadequate or inedible food, and lice, as well as the ubiquitous maggot-infested wounds, amputations, and death. Those who sought remuneration often went weeks without promised pay and received little when it came. Accidents were common; space was limited; and obnoxious visitors were nearly constant.

The hospital was also a site of personal conflict. This was no utopian space of proto-feminist sisterhood but a contested arena between surgeons and nurses, and among the women themselves (when they were stationed together, which they often were not). Nurses challenged—or quietly boiled at—the orders of surgeons who at times thought of their charges as a bundle of symptoms rather than individual suffering men. They felt a special connection to the privates under their care, and not solely because their gender roles had switched—the soldier effeminized by his disease or injury, the nurse emboldened by the authority of health. Women, Schultz found, made common cause with soldiers because of their similar low status in this very hierarchical world.

After the war's end, comparatively few hospital workers went into the profession, and certainly not as a coherent group. The divisions that defined their experience of the war years went on defining them: elite white women had more opportunities to advance, while working-class and African-American women often still worked, sometimes in the same ways, but rarely for more pay or with any hope for authority or status. Middle-class white women collectively organized to demand pensions for nurses, winning a meager sum initially in 1892, but this applied only to nurses on the payroll for more than six months, excluding other hospital workers and most African-American women (who had far greater trouble negotiating the Washington bureaucracy even when they could prove their service).

Schultz's final chapter provides a fitting end to this engrossing and enlightening book. There she explores the ways in which both men and women created the history of their service, negotiating the ongoing cultural limits to women's work, the conflicts they highlighted and those they dismissed, and the ways in which the participation of so many went unrecorded. In the end, she found, none became pacifists, as their experience might have lead them to do; instead they reinforced a romantic vision of an idealized past, where young men were honorable, generous, and brave even while suffering and dying, while attentive white women hovered usefully nearby.

LYDE CULLEN SIZER
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JAMES MARTEN. *Children for the Union: The War Spirit on the Northern Home Front*. (American Childhoods.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2004. Pp. 209. $26.00.

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This book offers a vivid account of the lives of northern children during the American Civil War. James Marten takes a broad look at the war's impact on children, from those who stayed at home to the chilling accounts of child soldiers, a few as young as eight or nine years old. The book is primarily a narrative, a textured, richly detailed description of children's experience during this wrenching period of American history, showing the ways in which the war interrupted children's lives and in many cases changed them permanently.

The book begins with a look at antebellum culture, which was marked by the growing consciousness of childhood as a separate and precious stage of development. Marten describes in striking detail the way in which the war preempted the protections of childhood. Some people, like the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, sought to preserve as much innocence and happiness as possible for their children in the midst of the national tragedy. But most children were spared very little. Many had to go to work to replace a father's or brother's wages. Children were expected to be conscious patriots and contributors to the war effort, marching in political parades, cheering for the troops, picking lint and rolling bandages, and raising money for the cause. Sometimes, they were called on to read the casualty lists arriving so relentlessly in northern towns. They mourned with the country when President Lincoln was assassinated. And, in some cases, they actually went to war. The description of boy soldiers makes some of the most compelling reading in the book. A member of the United States Sanitary Commission estimated that 10,000 boys under eighteen fought for the North, many under the category of musicians, the drummers and buglers who relayed orders in camp and battle. So affecting was the notion of these boys to Americans that a genre of poetry, literature, and art developed to celebrate their story. Often the boys showed great courage and enterprise, some even achieving officer rank by war's end. But not everyone fared so well. The musicians were exposed to all the hazards of war, from camp life to disease, exhaustion, and injury in battle. Very little quarter was given because of their youth. Marten recounts the story of one adolescent soldier executed for desertion, his plea that he had left to see his mother deemed insufficient to protect him.

Another and more common cost of the war for children was the loss of loved ones, sometimes accompanied by destitution. The federal government and the states took reluctant steps toward a broader responsibility for children, granting the meager pensions to families and establishing of Soldiers' Orphans' Homes. That the country was only slowly coming to any real awareness of the problem was illustrated by the fate of most such homes, which were targets of political struggles and frequently charged with corruption. African-American children enjoyed no more protections of childhood during the New York Draft Riots than they might have experienced under slavery. Rioters burned the Colored Orphans' Asylum to the ground. The children escaped, but among the hundred dead from the five day riots were two children, a baby and a seven year old, both brutally murdered.

Not all of the book is such grim reading. Many of the children whose voices Marten incorporates were able to view the war from a relatively safe distance. But only a few of them, looking back, claimed to be unaffected by the experience. Marten shows that the war, with its losses and triumphs, shaped a generation.

Marten articulates a credible voice for northern children, no mean feat, since the materials written by children are understandably scarce. He uses children's diaries, newspapers, and memoirs, supplemented by the abundant didactic literature directed at children, and collections of adult letters and reflections. The resulting monograph is lively reading, full of compelling detail. Marten neither trivializes nor minimizes the experiences of children, and his book adds a useful perspective to an understudied aspect of both Civil War history and the history of American children.

JOAN GITTENS
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JACQUELINE GLASS CAMPBELL. *When Sherman Marched North from the Sea: Resistance on the Confederate Home Front.* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 177. $27.50.

In this concise and tidy book, Jacqueline Glass Campbell demonstrates that General William Tecumseh Sherman's march through Georgia and South Carolina and into North Carolina was an "invasion of both geographic and psychological space" (p. 4). As the Union Army invaded, it created in its own mind a "vision of the Southern landscape as military terrain," a far cry from the way in which white and black southerners saw it. Campbell gives close attention to the changing emotional states of Union soldiers, which varied in accordance with the degree of hostility and resistance with which Sherman's army was greeted. As they marched easily through Georgia, they felt an almost euphoric and certainly unrealistic confidence in their leader and therefore in themselves. For its part, Georgia came to be viewed as shameful and dishonorable for not putting up more of a fight. Such would not be the case in South Carolina, Sherman's soldiers knew. At the same time, the Union men could match South Carolina's fire-eating passions with their own "burning desire to seek revenge on the Southern state that had instigated four years of bloody warfare" (p. 35). And South Carolinian civilians "found the Northern army's knowledge of the landscape," which it had gained through Sherman's extensive use of maps, "disconcerting." Regardless of change over space, Sherman's march had a single common purpose throughout: "to simultaneously destroy the military resources and the morale of the Southern people" (p. 5).

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The "resistance" of the book's title refers to the "loyalty" of Confederate women to the southern cause. Campbell challenges recent findings, such as those by Drew Gilpin Faust, that Confederate women grew increasingly war-weary and embittered when their sacrifices for the Confederacy were reciprocated only with broken promises. Faust argued that, in the last months of the war, many Confederate women even encouraged their men to desert, thus helping the South to lose the Civil War. Campbell takes issue with this claim, arguing instead that many women in Columbia, South Carolina, "exhorted their men to remain at their posts and exact vengeance on the enemy" (p. 72). Indeed, many Rebel soldiers tried to ensure that women on the home front would discourage desertions by making the "female kin of deserters . . . the targets of reprisals." These women "suffered greater extremes of violence at the hands of Southern men than they experienced under Sherman and his hardened veterans" (p. 81). The discussion might seem to undermine Campbell's point by raising the question of whether it was really possible that the tortures visited on these women would *not* have undermined their dedication to the Confederacy? But she argues that "we cannot assume a direct link between disillusionment and disloyalty" (p. 69). Campbell further speculates that "their initial despondency might have been channeled into a demonization of the enemy, a renewed embrace of the Confederate cause, and identification with the Army of Northern Virginia" (p. 69). But that only begs the question that troubled this reader throughout: what are the stakes involved in insisting on the "loyalty" of white women and denying the possibility of "disloyalty" on the Confederate home front?

Sherman's army was no more respectful of the property and persons of the enslaved than it was of the slaveholding, and enslaved women, who were sometimes raped and assaulted, fared worse than most others in the path of the Union troops. The author's discussion of slave responses suffers from the challenge of using plantation records to access the values of the enslaved. But she nonetheless makes clear that bondpeople reacted in myriad ways: some followed Sherman's army, some remained behind; some embraced it as a liberating force, while others hid their little property and prayed for the "liberators" to move on.

Campbell makes clear that her book was written for both historians and "the Civil War enthusiast." The decision to relegate the book's argument to the epilogue might frustrate historians, but it will certainly enhance its accessibility to readers who do not wish to be burdened with historiographical or theoretical issues. Anyone interested in a well-researched account of Confederate women's responses to Sherman's march will find this study rewarding.

STEPHANIE M. H. CAMP
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MICHAEL A. ROSS. *Justice of Shattered Dreams: Samuel Freeman Miller and the Supreme Court during the Civil War Era*. (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 323. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

Michael A. Ross provides a stimulating, well-documented, and engrossing revisionist portrait of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Freeman Miller. In the last Miller biography, written in 1939, and in subsequent legal and historical scholarship, Ross emphasizes that Miller has been viewed as a misguided opponent of Reconstruction and racial equality and an agrarian who feared the decline of frontier and river towns.

The first three chapters provide a lucid documentation of Miller's life as a doctor, then lawyer, who became involved in politics in Keokuk, Iowa, defending the town against a railroad bridge that threatened to cripple an already struggling economy. Miller is portrayed as a slaveholder in his early life who began to change his views in the 1840s, in large part due to the writings and speeches of the politician Cassius M. Clay, who supported emancipation but not abolition for primarily economic reasons. As a result of this background, Miller viewed economic change and African-American rights through an optimistic vision born of his free labor ideology. In the financial panic of 1857, Miller became a champion for those who opposed the repayment of bonds issued by the city to the railroads—because the citizens never authorized them in the first place. His free labor ideology celebrated the right of ordinary citizens to rise in station and riches and not to allow robber barons to limit that right. Ross emphasizes that Abraham Lincoln nominated Miller on the basis of similar views on slavery and his willingness to uphold Lincoln's controversial war measures. On economic issues, however, Miller differed from Lincoln. These differences would inform the jurisprudential core of Justice Miller.

Ross's revisionist analysis is most pointedly demonstrated in his discussion of Miller's majority opinion in the *Slaughterhouse Cases*. He counters the conventional view of these decisions as reflecting "a growing disgust among northerners with Radical Reconstruction" and "the first step in conferring second-class status on blacks while restoring control of the South to white conservatives" (p. 201). Ross argues that the decisions' negative effect on African Americans was not at all clear at the time: "the *Slaughter-House Cases* may be read as a progressive—though ultimately failed—attempt to affirm the authority of the biracial government of Louisiana, to grapple with the horrible sanitary conditions in New Orleans, and to thwart conservatives such as Justice Field, who hoped to defeat state regulation of private property . . . When placed within the context of Louisiana politics, Miller's majority opinion . . . seems hardly a racist attempt to retreat from Reconstruction" (pp. 201–202).

The most important contribution is Ross's rejection

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of analyses of the *Slaughterhouse*, *Legal Tender*, and bond cases that are based on post-1937 constitutional scholars' faith in the national government to cure the ills of society and especially to protect the civil rights of African Americans, and the need to find nineteenth-century cases consistent with their constitutional theories rather than understanding them in light of the politics and legal theories at the time these cases were decided. For example, while some historians have charged Miller with not having a systematic approach to the law, Ross emphasizes that his contemporaries saw this quality as a strength.

Miller was a pragmatist "who sought results first and then found the arguments to justify them" (p. 80). Ross notes that in some cases Miller advocated judicial restraint, while in *Loan Association v. Topeka*, "Unable to make a constitutional objection, he relied on an expansive reading of the Constitution" to nullify a legislative act "on the grounds that it was 'opposed to a general latent spirit supposed to pervade or underlie the Constitution'" (p. 174). He cared less about espousing a consistent judicial philosophy than he did for practical results, in this case helping the needs of an indebted community. Ross concludes, "But, as always, Miller adjusted his legal arguments to meet practical political and economic ends, rather than adhering to a consistent judicial ideology" (p. 183). In correctly opposing the backward-looking vision of Miller by legalist scholars and historians since 1937, Ross overstates Miller's pragmatism and instrumentalism. This is particularly evident with regard to Miller's support of basic polity principles such as separation of powers and federalism. Although Miller supported Republican Reconstruction, he opposed efforts to reorganize the Supreme Court or to impeach Andrew Johnson because he felt these moves destroyed separation of powers. Also, Ross emphasizes that Miller's respect for federalism did not preclude protecting the rights of African Americans. In the *Slaughterhouse Cases*, the Court could allow the New Orleans law while still affirming a changed dynamic between the states and the federal courts when it came to the rights of African Americans. Moreover, Miller trusted the new biracial legislatures to uphold the protections of African Americans in state constitutions. Miller saw black suffrage as a solution to Reconstruction problems, in part because "it allowed federalism to survive by providing freedmen with a means to defend their own rights" (p. 148). Ross concludes that the ultimate victory of virulent racism and laissez-faire jurisprudence was not what Miller and the Court intended in the *Slaughterhouse Cases*.

Ross's critique of post-1937 scholarship on Justice Miller and the late nineteenth-century Court, and thus the book's originality, is overstated, given the plethora of contemporary revisionist and historical institutional scholarship. For example, political scientist Ronald M. Labbé and historian Jonathan Lurie, in *The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment* (2003), place Supreme Court decision making, and Justice Miller, in a rich social, political, and jurisprudential context that also rejects backward-looking interpretations of Supreme Court decisions from the second half of the nineteenth century.

RONALD KAHN
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RICHARD H. ABBOTT. *For Free Press and Equal Rights: Republican Newspapers in the Reconstruction South*. Edited by JOHN W. QUIST. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 266. $39.95.

The late historian Richard H. Abbott has made a significant contribution in this study examining Republican newspapers in the Reconstruction South. Until now the topic has been almost entirely neglected. Abbott uncovers a far-ranging and significant, if ultimately doomed, regional newspaper press that attempted to spread Republican ideology and the newly formed party.

Over four hundred Republican newspapers were established in the South during Reconstruction. Reflecting the rising strength of the party in the former Confederacy, the number of daily and weekly Republican newspapers increased in the late 1860s. More presses reflecting the view of the party of Lincoln rolled off printing presses in Louisiana (p. 73) than any other southern state, and Georgia (p. 19) had the fewest. Editors attempted to legitimize and remove the "Radical" stigma often attached to Republican affiliation in the South. Because the survival of Republicanism was contingent on attracting whites to the party, Abbott points out many Republican editors took a moderate political tack. As the Little Rock *Republican* reasoned, Arkansans should accept that "a man can be a gentleman and a Republican at the same time" (p. 96). Many whites in Arkansas and other states disputed that statement.

Even more than the Alliance/Populist reform press of the 1880s and 1890s, the Republican publisher's position was often an embattled one. Forced Reconstruction changes in the South produced arguably the most sulfuric and bitter period of American politics. Indeed, as Abbott contends, Southern Democrats "denied the Republican Party even had a right to exist in their midst" (p. 46). In a largely recalcitrant white South, Republicanism was anathema. So, by definition, were Republican newspapers.

In this hostile climate, starting from scratch, the Republican editor's challenge was formidable. Critical to the survival of any newspaper, gaining advertising and subscribers was always uncertain for Republican journalists. The subscribing pool was extremely finite. Most whites expressed contempt for Republican newspapers, and the party's black rank and file could not read or likely afford subscriptions. Some white Democrats set aside philosophical differences and advertised in Republican papers, but most did not as a matter of principle. Scathing attacks were directed at

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Republican editors, publishers, and newspapers by rival Democratic journalists. Rather than reply in kind, Abbott correctly notes that Republican journalists adopted a "calm and objective editorial tone" (p. 99). Not surprisingly, the life of a Republican newspaper was precarious, contentious, and often short. Abbott points out that the impressive number of Republican newspapers is deceiving. Almost half of them did not last two years, and many not even one. What did extend their longevity and influence was government printing patronage. In 1867, taking the awarding of patronage to a high art, General John Pope of the Third Military District (Alabama, Florida, and Georgia) required that local and state official advertisements be placed only in newspapers supporting Reconstruction. No life line, though, could save newspapers that presented a message at odds with the dominant racial and cultural ethos. As the Republican Party's strength diminished in the South, so did the influence of the Republican press. It was the rare journal that could compete with a local Democratic organ. One that did, the *Southern Sun*, in Bainbridge, Georgia, was (most likely) destroyed by arsonists.

Bourbon Redemption and the silencing of the Republican newspaper voice did not lessen the party press's importance. Republican newspapers did rally the party faithful. Historians profit from runs of Republican dailies and weeklies. Newspapers offer a refreshing antidote to the hegemonic and prolific Democratic press. The Tuscaloosa *Reconstructionist*, the Huntington *West Tennessean*, and other Republican papers provide a unique, grass-roots look at Republicanism. Viewed through this prism, as Abbott realized, Reconstruction can be better understood.

Because of Abbott's untimely death, the task of making revisions to the manuscript fell to John W. Quist. A former student of Abbott's, Quist has done a splendid editing job. This is an extremely useful and well researched book. A thorough appendix lists the names and life spans of Republican newspaper in each state. Inexplicably, there is no bibliography which is frustrating and a serious shortcoming. Abbott wrote in the preface that he hoped the book would draw attention to Republican newspapers as a source for future scholarship. His efforts have made that much more likely.

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.
Gainesville State College

MARK WARREN BAILEY. *Guardians of the Moral Order: The Legal Philosophy of the Supreme Court, 1860–1910*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. 298. $45.00.

Mark Warren Bailey makes an important contribution to a steadily accumulating body of revisionist historiography on laissez-faire constitutionalism. In the folklore of American progressivism, the conservative jurisprudence of limited government and individual liberty and property rights in the late nineteenth century is viewed as an antidemocratic project aimed at protecting the economic interests of business elites and established wealth. Insofar as it is seen as having a rational basis, the intellectual origins of laissez-faire legalism are thought to lie in classical political economy or social Darwinism. Challenging the progressive interpretation, Bailey approaches his subject through the accepted methodology of modern legal history, according to which law is viewed in its social and cultural context, rather than as a body of immutable principles drawn from nature, reason, or revelation. Although Bailey faults progressive historians for their moral animus against " 'bad' conservatism" (p. 19), his principal focus is their failure to understand laissez-faire jurisprudence in its cultural context. Exhibiting the "law-in-society" strand of modern historicism, Bailey proposes a more accurate analysis of conservative constitutionalism based on its involvement with nineteenth century moral philosophy and Protestant moralism.

Bailey argues that the intellectual approach of Supreme Court justices to problems of law and society in the period from 1860 to 1910 was informed by ethical libertarian concepts of individual responsibility and accountability. Nurtured, trained, and influenced by the moral imperatives of their society, judges articulated "a reasoned conservatism based upon an unshakeable belief in an individualistic, voluntaristic, and moral social order resting upon eternal metaphysical truths expressed by American Protestantism and academic moral philosophy" (p. 23). This conclusion is based on a research model that establishes, more comprehensively and systematically than previous studies, the cultural context of laissez-faire constitutionalism.

In opening chapters, Bailey describes the intellectual content of nineteenth-century college education and legal training, and the substantial body of writings in moral philosophy as a theoretical and practical science that supplied the curricular content. The educational and moral lights consulted include John Locke, William Paley, Francis Wayland Parker, Joseph Butler, Francis Bowen, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and Mark Hopkins. Subjects of moral philosophy considered include society, civilization, progress, natural science, proof of the divinity, faculty psychology, political economy, private property, justice, and righteous government. Against this background, Bailey examines the intellectual and moral formation of the twenty-three judges who served on the Supreme Court in the period under review.

Through analysis of off-the-bench writings on religion, philosophy, and public affairs, as well as legal opinions, Bailey presents the justices as representative men of their culture and society. They "saw themselves as practitioners of a moral science and possessors of a public role in guiding the nation in accordance with fundamental principles of truth and justice enshrined in both the Constitution and the common law" (p. 85). Bailey states that the interpretation of constitutional

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doctrines on controversial subjects, such as police power regulations, liberty of contract, economic due process, civil rights, and the status of overseas territorial possessions, was "not an intellectual retreat into a sterile conceptualism," as liberal legal historians have charged. Conservative constitutional law signified an attempt to apply the accepted moral theories of the day to increasingly complex issues that emerged as the United States became a modern industrial society.

Within this interpretive framework, Bailey offers a novel explanation of the Court's role as moral guardian that is based on an analogy between the theory of faculty psychology and the concept of separation of powers. Faculty psychology doctrine held that happiness in human nature depended on regulation of the powers of mind and body, in which appetite, sensibility, and intellect subsist. The doctrine of separation of powers, a structural principle of American constitutionalism and basis of judicial review, functioned as an instrument of balance and limitation between the branches of government. In the minds of the justices, Bailey argues, the separation of powers idea "meshed perfectly with the idea in faculty psychology that the desire for power deriving from the individual's self-love and the necessity of acquiring the means to attain his ends must be subject to some limitation lest it pervert the judgment and the will" (p. 118). Believing that all government tended toward excess, Supreme Court judges self-identified with "the moral faculty and its powers of perception and approbation" (p. 119).

Bailey convincingly presents late nineteenth-century conservative judges as expert reasoners in the field of libertarian individualist moral philosophy. His account also shows that in deciding cases in the Supreme Court, they acted as expert legal reasoners, approaching jurisprudential matters from an internalist perspective using accepted and customary concepts and discourse. The justices conformed, in other words, to the forms and standards that define the kind of intellectual activity required of judges in the Anglo-American legal tradition. It is not obvious, therefore, that the Court's opinions were normatively grounded on the doctrines of academic moral philosophy, to the extent implied by Bailey's research model. Perhaps that is a weakness of the "law-in-society" approach to the study of legal history.

Bailey refrains from a conclusive judgment on moral philosophic influence in the development of laissez-faire constitutionalism. He observes, prudently: "Theory was not, however, always straightforwardly applied in practice, for the chaotic business of life was rarely amenable to neat intellectual compartmentalization" (pp. 141–42). The Court's attempts to determine the proper relationship between government power and liberty and property rights "merely suggested the principles that ought to be applied to questions concerning the moral autonomy of individuals" (p. 143).

Bailey argues neither the correctness of conservative jurisprudence nor the truth of nineteenth-century moral philosophy. The point of his study is to recover the philosophic and religious dimensions of nineteenth-century society as the normative ground of legal change. Bailey's thoroughly researched and fair-minded account of the cultural context of laissez-faire constitutionalism will be of interest to legal historians. For American historians in general, this book offers a fresh interpretation of law and society in the Gilded Age that augments the recent "discovery" of conservatism as a subject of interest in academic historiography. If students and scholars are provoked to consider the truth value of the philosophical ideas and constitutional concepts dealt with in Bailey's study, the result can be accepted as a contingency inherent in the activity of being a historian.

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EARL M. MALTZ. *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Law of the Constitution*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 182. $30.00.

In this specialized but accessible book, Earl M. Maltz offers a new and sympathetic assessment of the Supreme Court's use of the Fourteenth Amendment in its dealing with issues concerning citizenship, economic regulation, political rights and civil rights in the late nineteenth century. Standard literature tends to criticize the Court and its conservative rulings for undermining radical Republicans' efforts to build a new American state and nation based on the principles of racial equality and the primacy of the national government in protecting citizens' rights. For Maltz, such criticism is not entirely fair, because the Court's interpretation of the Reconstruction amendments during this period was, instead of completely conservative, a mixed legacy. Cautioning scholars not to "understate the complexity of the forces" that shaped the decisions of the Court, Maltz argues that the guiding forces of the judicial interpretation of the Reconstruction-related amendments and laws "were the principles of distinctively legal analysis rather than Republican ideology" (p. viii).

To substantiate his argument, Maltz devotes his first chapter—the longest of seven—to examining how the key concepts that would eventually be embodied in the Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment—namely, privileges and immunities, due process, and equal protection—had evolved through a variety of cases decided by both state and federal courts in the antebellum period. Historically retrievable as far back as English constitutional theory and legal precedents, none of these key principles was "invented for use in the dispute over slavery" but had long occupied "a well-established place in general antebellum constitutional theory" (p. 3). Both antislavery and proslavery forces had used such legal principles as absolute right to protection and privileges and immunities to respectively advocate their causes. Federal courts remained at best ambiguous about what rights were to be

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regarded as "fundamental" and whether or not free blacks were entitled to absolute right to protection for much of the antebellum period until the *Dred Scott* decision.

The antebellum legal analysis had influenced the making of the Fourteenth Amendment, which is discussed in chapter two. In spite of radical Republicans' reform-minded ideology, the framers chose to construct the amendment in a language that had a "well settled meaning in American legal thought" (p. viii). The adoption of such antebellum legal concepts as "privileges and immunity," "due process," and "equal protection," in Maltz's view, modified the original open-ended nature of the amendment and "mollified" conservative and mainstream Republicans, whose support was crucial to the passage of the proposed amendment (p. 69).

With this background in mind, in the remaining chapters Maltz reviews the Court's rulings in the last three decades of the nineteenth century in four major areas: definition of national citizenship, proper division of governmental powers in economic regulation and the protection of property rights, the boundaries of federal protection of political rights and rights to sit on jury, and the constitutionality of racial segregation in public facilities. Using both well-known and less well-known cases, Maltz demonstrates that the Court's record in these areas was again a mixed one. The Court denied citizenship to a Native American in *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884) but, in *Wong Kim Ark v. U.S.* (1898), by invoking the principle of the Fourteenth Amendment, affirmed the citizenship of an American-born Chinese despite widespread anti-Chinese sentiment. The Court refused to interfere with state's power to regulate economy in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) but in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1886) firmly rejected a local government's "arbitrary use of power" to interfere with a U.S. citizen's autonomy in market economy. In *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Court sanctioned states' power to impose racial separation in using public facilities that would in actuality deprive black citizens' right to equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, but in *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1879) and *Ex parte Virginia* (1879), the Court placed black citizens' right to sit on juries under the protection of the privileges and immunity principle of the same amendment.

The mixed record of the post-Reconstruction Court is both corrective and intriguing. The judicial interpretations of the Reconstruction amendments and laws, Maltz explains, were profoundly influenced by the justices' "idiosyncratic views" and "the political context that provided the background for their decisions" (p. 171). Ideology was inapplicable to explaining the pattern of the judicial behavior of the period. The four dissenters of the *Slaughterhouse* ruling, for instance, refused to share the majority's stated objective—to "preserve the basic structure of American federalism" (p. 118)—but they later shifted to the conservative stand in other similar cases of the era. The differences between the majority and the dissenters in the case, in Maltz's view, were "less dramatic than is sometimes suggested" (p. 107). Even John Marshall Harlan, the celebrated dissenter in *Civil Rights Cases* (which invalidated the Civil Rights Act of 1875) and *Plessy* (which affirmed the constitutionality of de facto Jim Crow), would maintain segregated schools as constitutional in an 1899 case.

For lay readers, this book provides a concise and enlightening narrative of the "strange career" of the Fourteenth Amendment in the late nineteenth century. Political and constitutional historians who are familiar with the cases under discussion may also find Maltz's study valuable in that it presents a persuasive reassessment of relations between the Court and the Reconstruction amendments, supported by a meticulous and insightful study of a vast number of cases throughout the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the book's overwhelming concentration on textual analysis of court rulings in the absence of a richly researched political context and, to an extent, its current format (which is essentially a rearranged collection of previously published essays) prevent the author from making a much more coherent and convincing argument about how exactly the justices' decisions were shaped, or not shaped, by the surrounding political world. Justices do write their opinions legalistically, but the legality of their opinions, especially those written in a politically explosive period and dealing with highly politicized issues, must be read and understood politically.

XI WANG
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VALERIE SHERER MATHES and RICHARD LOWITT. *The Standing Bear Controversy: Prelude to Indian Reform*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. x, 211. $29.95.

In 1879, Standing Bear, a member of the Ponca Tribe, and others of his family left Oklahoma to return home to Nebraska to bury Standing Bear's son. He was stopped by the army, and local lawyers sought his release. Newspapers picked up the story and helped to mobilize a nascent Indian reform movement. The case also helped make Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts the leader of congressional efforts to reform Indian policy. The reputation of Secretary of the Interior Karl Shurz was damaged by his handling of these events.

In this book, Valerie Sherer Mathes and Richard Lowitt offer a modern treatment of the controversy. The strongest part of the book is the narrative of how events unfolded. Official reports and later congressional testimony often contradict one another, and the authors show how hard it would have been for the officials to know the real situation. The Ponca were a small, peaceful tribe that in 1865 signed a treaty establishing a reservation on the Niobrara River in Nebraska. By mistake, the Treaty of Fort Laramie

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(1868) included the Ponca reservation in the Great Sioux reservation. In order to protect the tribe from the more aggressive Lakota (Sioux), Congress authorized moving the Ponca to new lands in the Indian Territory, if the tribe agreed.

Officials saw their job as getting the Indians to agree to move to protect them from the Lakota and to preserve the "dignity of the federal government." A delegation of Ponca was sent to Oklahoma to evaluate the land. Most did not like what they saw, but the tribe was forced to go south anyway, and several of the very young and very old died on route. The tribe was first settled on land in the Quapaw Reserve and later on a better location in the Cherokee Outlet. Officials acknowledged that the Ponca, like other northern tribes, suffered when moved south, and that the preparations were inadequate. Those who supported the move described the land as good and the situation hopeful. Others found both to be terrible.

When Standing Bear left to take his son's body back to Nebraska, whites along the way assisted the peaceful group. General George Crook arrested Standing Bear only reluctantly. White citizens in Omaha hired a lawyer for the Ponca and a local newspaper man, Thomas Tibbles, brought the case to the attention of national newspapers. Judge Elmer Dundy ruled in *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879) that Standing Bear was a person protected by the Fourteenth Amendment and ordered his release by the army. Standing Bear was allowed to settle in Nebraska along with some members of his tribe.

Soon Standing Bear, Tibbles, and interpreter Susette LaFleche, a member of the Omaha who later married Tibbles, went on a speaking tour to publicize wrongs done to the Ponca. They were well received in Boston, and the governor of Massachusetts and the mayor helped form the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee. Senator Dawes of Massachusetts and author Helen Hunt Jackson also became active in the Ponca cause. After the speaking tour, Standing Bear went home to Nebraska. In the 1880s the Ponca in Nebraska seemed to be doing better than those in Oklahoma. By the 1890s, however, the Ponca in Oklahoma seemed to be more prosperous than those in Nebraska, and Standing Bear himself moved to Oklahoma.

Throughout most of the book, the authors seem to sympathize with the reformers and their efforts on behalf of the Ponca. In the final chapter, however, Mathes and Lowitt criticize the policies later advocated by reformers. They conclude that "Almost every individual or group [of reformers] accepted lands in severalty as the most viable solution to the Indian problem." This was true despite the fact that "the beneficiaries were not seriously consulted, and the outcome ... was disastrous" (p. 179). How did this happen? Why did sympathetic reformers come to support a disastrous policy? Did the success with the Ponca blind reformers to the problems that arose when similar policies were imposed on other tribes? These questions are not explored in enough depth.

The authors make an analogy between the situation faced by Indians after allotment and that of freedmen in the South. While both groups were poor, the comparison does not quite work, since black freedmen were needed to work on cotton plantations and usually did not receive any land after emancipation, and Indians typically were not a major source of farm labor on white-owned farms and did receive a part of the tribal estate.

This is a useful book. Mathes and Lowitt have added new insights into the history of this famous case and how influential reformers became involved. The contradictions they unearth suggest how confusing these events would have been to the people at time.

LEONARD CARLSON
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JOEL PFISTER. *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 340. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

A book that begins by fantasizing about how American writer John Dos Passos might have responded to the Monty Python film *Life of Brian*, certainly promises, and indeed delivers, an intriguing read. In this "broadly conceived historical critique that contributes to the formation of a field" (p. 13), Joel Pfister examines how, from the 1870s to the present, white Americans have projected their concepts of individualism/individuality onto Native Americans. The book is therefore a study in the cultural construction of *subjectivities* (Pfister has a fondness for italicizing). In a short review, I can barely hint at the richness and sophistication of his multidisciplinary achievement.

Although the writer denies that he has written a history of American Indian education, the first of two case studies examines the rhetoric and practices of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania from 1879 to 1918 (focusing especially on founder Richard Henry Pratt, superintendent until 1904). Utilizing Carlisle publications and correspondence, Pfister reinforces the picture historians have given of this boarding school as an instrument of assimilation and of (American) individualization. Ironically, army-like discipline would simultaneously "*workerize*" (p. 94) tribal children for humble futures in the capitalist economic system. Pfister also calls upon the voices of Native Americans, who have manifested changing tribal subjectivities by accommodating to, exploiting, or contesting assimilationist education.

The writer's near neglect of other United States government and mission schools could be faulted. Yet his demonstration of the complexity of cultural interactions at Carlisle, his creative interpretation of visual evidence, and his insightful use of the "*performance*" concept—pupils learned to perform and manipulate

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both "Indianness" and individuality—all enhance our understanding of Indian schooling.

Pfister then launches into a second (two-part) case study, suggestive of "a crucial cultural shift—and subjectivity formations shift" (p. 14). He focuses firstly on Mabel Dodge Luhan and the "Taos group" of early twentieth-century modernists (including D. H. Lawrence). They romanticized southwestern pueblo dwellers and all Indians as "objects of desire" (p. 145), seeing in them some of their own lost individuality, crushed by puritanical America. Indian subjectivities were thus "therapeutic" for these modernists. Some of them worked to help Native peoples—for example, by trying to prevent their exploitation by tourists—but Pfister sees the Taos group and their "*protomulticulturalism*" as partly complicit in commodification of Indians and of the Southwest.

The book then examines John Collier and his "Indian New Deal" (mid-1930s to mid-1940s). Pfister links the controversial Indian commissioner to the Taos group and emphasizes the complexity of his thought and actions, his concern to reverse previous assimilationist policies, his conviction that Indian communal subjectivities were not America's problem but rather part of the solution to it. Yet Pfister also faults Collier's covertly assimilationist agenda and his "top down" managerial approach: his was a "subtle form of hegemonic multicultural conquest" (p. 241).

In an afterword, Pfister argues that the overt or covert assimilationist and individualizing drives of earlier centuries persist today. Concepts like multiculturalism work to seduce the rest of humanity into an American-designed "grand Caesar salad bowl" (p. 244). Not just Indians, then, but the whole human race is in danger of becoming "individuality incorporated."

This is a demanding book. The pile-up of clauses and the proliferation of multisyllabic terms such as the glorious "ethnomodernist protomulticulturalism" (p. 175) and "Southwestern therapeutic protomulticultural modernism and modernizing" (p. 156) tax the reader. The book almost splits into three separate studies. The polysemic concept of individualism/individuality, however, and its changing constructions by various white Americans—and by contesting Indians—hold the study together and constitute its major contribution to Indian history and to American Studies.

This book is a historical, literary, and cultural tour de force—augmented by sixty pages of typographically dense but impressively erudite endnotes. However, Pfister's passionate critique of United States economic and cultural imperialism at times disturbed this non-American reviewer, himself already disturbed by twenty-first-century expressions of United States outreach. Still, the book provides a penetrating analysis of hegemonic "truths" about the supposed need of peoples everywhere for certain kinds of American subjectivities.

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ALECIA P. LONG. *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 282. $39.95.

Any book about sex in New Orleans, even a scholarly one, faces the challenge of having to meet raised—indeed, perhaps unrealistically high—expectations. The possibilities seem endless. Alecia P. Long's book concerns itself less with sex and sexual practices per se than it does with exploring the complex interaction and tensions among the sexual culture, evolving notions of race and race relations, and emerging conceptions of middle-class respectability in this notoriously decadent city between the Civil War and 1920. Yet Long maintains that while New Orleans is often thought to be unique, and while its particular circumstances must be taken into account, it nonetheless epitomized much that was true of the South in general during this period, especially concerning race. Moreover, the intersection of, and conflicts over, sex, race, and respectability in New Orleans also reflected larger trends in American society during these years on such matters as commercialized sex, modern notions of leisure time, and the rise of a distinct tourist industry. By exploring "concubinage" (legally, a relationship between two people outside marriage), prostitution, and interracial sex—or, as she calls it, "sex across the color line"—in New Orleans, and by measuring them against prevailing standards of bourgeois morality and decency, Long insists, we can learn much about American society in general. As she puts it, "sexual practices and the politics that surround them provide an important barometer for measuring and understanding other things that are going on in a society at the same time" (p. 8).

Long structures her book around five legal cases that made their way to the Louisiana Supreme Court, and she uses each case as a wedge into a particular facet of the commercial sexual culture of New Orleans. She begins by examining a long-term, undoubtedly affectionate relationship between a formerly enslaved, mixed-race woman and a white man of "respectable" background whose legal heirs sued over the disposition of his estate since the two never married. She then explores the innovative "concert saloons" that brought the combustible mix of commercialized sex, music, and alcohol to the geographical center of the city and into the mainstream of the city's economic life. Attempts to regulate these and similar establishments and the behavior they engendered led to the creation of the legendary Storyville district. Here, Long makes the arresting point that for all the notoriety surrounding Storyville as a den of legalized prostitution, it was not unique but instead somewhat typical. Efforts to regulate, rather than eliminate, prostitution had had a long history in New Orleans before Storyville. Moreover, a number of other American cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century also experimented with regulating and physically segregating prostitution

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rather than attempting to suppress it entirely, a goal that many people at the time recognized was impossible. The final two chapters examine the lives and careers of two (in)famous New Orleans madams: the white Mary Deubler, whose story, by today's standards, would be fodder for Jerry Springer; and the mixed-race Willie Piazza, who, remarkably, successfully challenged the city's attempt to segregate Storyville along strictly racial lines. Long effectively provides the broader historical context for each of these episodes and legal cases, and she shows how the testimony and other evidence they generated illustrates prevailing, albeit conflicting, notions about sex, race, and respectability. It was certainly no coincidence that the attempt to segregate prostitution and the implementation of Jim Crow laws occurred roughly simultaneously. By moving to segregate both disreputable women and all black people from respectable white society, authorities equated what they believed were sexualized and demoralized black people with lewd and abandoned women.

Despite the book's somewhat disjointed quality, owing to its sequential analyses of five more or less distinct court cases, Long must be credited with having done an excellent job of identifying and highlighting the common themes and issues that run throughout her work. She also makes a persuasive case that ideas about sex, race, and respectability were inextricably intertwined in New Orleans, the South, and the nation at large in the decades between the Civil War and the 1920s. This book will interest scholars of southern history as well as those of American cultural history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

JOHN C. RODRIGUE
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ANNE E. MOSHER. *Capital's Utopia: Vandergrift Pennsylvania, 1855–1916.* (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 249. $45.00.

Ida Tarbell once referred to Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, as "the most important industrial town in America" (p. 175). Indeed, Tarbell would be pleased with Anne E. Mosher's multifaceted analysis of this once significant industrial town. Here scholars and lay readers alike will find an intriguing historical analysis that blends urban planning, geography, landscape architecture, industrialization, and the relationship between capital and labor to tell the story of how Vandergrift developed, prospered, survived, and ultimately struggled with economic forces beyond its control.

Not unlike the situation in many nineteenth and early twentieth-century industrial towns, the relationship between capital and labor, in large measure, defined the social and economic environment from which Vandergrift emerged. To mitigate against striking workers and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in Apollo (Armstrong County), George McMurtry of the Apollo Iron and Steel Company secured the assistance of popular landscape architects Olmsted, Olmsted, and Eliot to create the new planned community of Vandergrift (Westmoreland County). McMurtry's vision was that Vandergrift be the ideal industrial town with the steel company as its anchor and affordable worker housing and pleasant urban environment as its allures.

Whether or not McMurtry succeeded in attaining his vision is subject to interpretation. Indeed, this very question seems central to Mosher's thesis and the book offers more than one explanation. Vandergrift's success ranges from altruistic notions of a utopia in which capital and labor achieved harmony in an ideal urban setting to a more determined agenda of social control, worker compliance, and economic profit. Although McMurtry and the Olmstead firm quickly differed on the plans for Vandergrift, the town was built and populated relatively quickly and became an important industrial center in western Pennsylvania. Workers remained loyal to the company, shared in what was intended as a "real estate venture" (p. 7) by purchasing and caring for property, and took part in community civic affairs. In this sense, then, McMurtry's vision had been achieved.

At least temporarily and superficially it appeared that the debate over the relationship between capital and labor might have been resolved by the construction of Vandergrift. Yet, inherent in the very design of Vandergrift were notions of the control of capital over the lives of workers. One needs to look more closely to realize that this grand experiment was certainly not without its warts. For example, unionization efforts were repeatedly defeated into the early twentieth century and workers replacing those on strike were permitted (if not encouraged) to purchase real estate in Vandergrift. Moreover, in the life memories of numerous residents consulted by the author, Vandergrift remained a "Godforsaken place" and McMurtry an "SOB" (p. 192). Indeed, organized labor, workers, and ethnics saw Vandergrift much differently than McMurtry and the company that would eventually be absorbed by U.S. Steel. In the long run, as the author points out, larger economic forces well beyond the control of the company, town residents, and workers would dictate the ultimate fate of Vandergrift.

The history is compelling and the story attractive. Yet Mosher's analysis could be strengthened in at least two areas. First, Mosher touches on the ethnic diversity of Vandergrift but could have more closely analyzed the interplay of various ethnic groups as well as their role(s) in the social, economic, and political life of Vandergrift. Second, though the heart of the book focuses on the period 1855–1916, an epilogue teases the reader with a sketch of the efforts of Vandergrift's residents to transform the town's heritage into an economic revitalization tool at the end of the twentieth century. Yet the author does not examine how difficult it is for Vandergrift—or any locale of its type—to renew itself in the staggering wake of deindustrializa-

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tion and global economics. The USX Corporation permanently closed what remained of Vandergrift's steel mill in 1988. Here, once more, is a deindustrialized community struggling to come to terms with its past while trying to figure out where it is in the present and vying for its place in the future. Without question heritage is important to these communities, yet survival may be moreso.

This book is an important contribution especially for those interested in an interdisciplinary approach to historical study and analyses. All students of history, urban planning, labor, industry, deindustrialization, and the tangentially related social sciences stand to benefit from Mosher's important work.

KENNETH C. WOLENSKY
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

JAMES R. SHORTRIDGE. *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban Kansas*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xiv, 480. $45.00.

"Urban Kansas," to most Americans, sounds like a witty, sardonic oxymoron. In the popular imagination, Kansas is amber waves of grain and little else. But, as James R. Shortridge makes clear, the story of urbanization in that state presents a significant case study in how cities develop, prosper, and decline. In this meticulously researched, exhaustively detailed work, Shortridge demonstrates that theories alone cannot account for urban development; certain intangibles complicate the story because, as he says in his final sentence, "community pride is a powerful force."

This book illuminates a comprehensive historical narrative against the backdrop of several theories of development and models for growth. Shortridge summarizes these approaches in his introduction, and it is clear that he is abundantly familiar with the strengths and shortcomings of each. Methodologically, he chose to include each of the 118 Kansas cities that have, at some point in their development, boasted more than twenty-five hundred residents. Casting such a wide net, Shortridge's analysis is necessarily encyclopedic, presenting a series of comparisons between Kansas cities heretofore unknown to many out-of-state readers.

Shortridge's driving purpose is to demonstrate that Kansas City's international renown, Wichita's regional dominance, Leavenworth's notoriety as home of the federal military prison, and Lawrence's reputation as a pleasant college town (to take a few examples) were by no means inevitable. Leavenworth once held the conceit that it would be the preeminent Kansas metropolis and entrepôt, for example, and boosters often tried to will their cities into regional dominance, sometimes in ways that were self-defeating. Historical actors, including merchants, politicians, managers, and bankers, made far-reaching decisions that condemned some towns to decline and blessed others with transportation, trade, and manufactures.

But human agency could only use the tools it was given. Shortridge as a geographer necessarily gives much emphasis to geographic and geological factors in determining the initial siting and subsequent careers of cities. The prudence of this approach is amply demonstrated throughout, as sites with better contact with transportation networks (both natural and artificial) or with access to natural resources ultimately hosted "winning" cities. But the optimal elements of a city-site shifted constantly; sitting astride overland trails and rivers was a near guarantee of regional dominance in the 1850s, but the arrival of faster, cheaper railroads in the next decade made such access obsolete. Within time, railroads would be surpassed by state highways. In the most recent turnabout, proximity to interstate highways and, to a lesser extent, airports has become the sine qua non of a successful city.

Similarly, Shortridge's study of urban Kansas shows how natural assets are important utilities for urban development. Again, desired resources did not remain static. Animal resources—initially wild buffalo but later domesticated cattle—provided a spur to industry for some cities. Mineral and extractive resources provided an even stronger influence, although often ephemeral, on urban development. Many historical studies of mining focus on gold and silver, the glamour boys of minerals, perhaps skewing common perceptions of the role of mining in Western economic development; most assume that gold and silver booms and busts are the typical story of Western extractive industries. Shortridge, in sketching the importance of coal, lead, zinc, salt, oil, and natural gas extraction, reminds the reader that while these industries have some parallels to more ballyhooed metals, they impart distinct characteristics to economic development that are no less interesting.

Most boosters would be disconsolate to learn that, if their city does not sit adjacent to a workable mineral deposit and is passed up for an interstate exit, it is doomed to founder. But Shortridge's analysis gives out hope for those short-changed by geology and transit bureaucrats. Successful lobbying for any one of a number of state or private institutions provided more than one community with an economic boost. Lawrence and Manhattan, for example, benefited from state universities, while Leavenworth eschewed higher education for a more profitable state prison; such decisions cast long shadows. Cities lobbied assiduously for every kind of institution, from the state capital to insane asylums, to remain economically viable. Those looking to locate manufacturing were often more swayed by the "small town work ethic" (or low wages) found in many Kansas cities. Thus, there is plenty of room for human play in the story.

This book is of definite interest to urbanists and historians of Kansas and the Great Plains. It offers a geographical study with true historical depth. Shortridge's painstaking research has produced as complete an interpretation of the urban development of Kansas as is likely possible in a single volume.

DAVID G. SCHWARTZ
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EUGENE P. MOEHRING. *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840–1890.* (The Urban West.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2004. Pp. xxx, 408. $39.95.

This complex, provocative, and sometimes labyrinthine inquiry into American urban-colonial conquest of the Far West examines the formation and promotion of towns and the control of intervening spaces to illustrate the close relationship between urban settlement and control of the outback. Eugene P. Moehring argues that urban networks, ties between subregional cities and smaller communities scattered through tributary hinterlands, served as the forward markers of America's colonial advance across western landscapes. Through eight structured and detailed chapters, the author traces developing urban networks in California (two chapters), Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Arizona. This process also involved powerful metropolitan centers—San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Portland, and Seattle—cities that were extending their imperial reach to distant places.

The book's analytical framework is both surprising and unexceptional. The author employs with some success Edward Said's well-known colonial/imperial constructs of deterritorialization and reterritorialization to illustrate the imperial appropriation of Native space and its transformation by successful colonizers. Said's theoretical argument, Moehring contends, forces "us to recognize that *even* America's settlement and development of the Far West cannot be fully understood outside its colonial context" (p. xxiii). There is little new in this assertion, because for more than two decades western historians have produced an impressive body of literature emphasizing the imperial/colonial forces at work in the region. This innovative work examines the marginalizing of Native Americans, the federal appropriation of Indian land, and the long reach of metropolitan capital. The extensive nuclei of urban networks that developed is part of the larger interrelated story of imperial-colonial relationships.

Some readers will question Moehring's comparisons of the roles played by cities and towns across centuries of time. Were urban networks in the Far West comparable to similar constellations in the Athenian and Roman empires? The author contends that, like the Greeks who created towns to protect strategic water trafficways, Americans established port settlements and hinterland forts to protect communication and trading networks. Their effort, however, included a dynamic that differed from the imperial worlds of ancient Rome and Athens; the outlying posts in the American West were advance representations of a rapidly expanding capitalist nation state. With the onset of the California Gold Rush, the revolutionary forces of capitalism contributed to a turbulent world of mostly laissez-faire action that had little relation to Athenian city-states or the Roman Empire. Urbanism may possess "a dynamic force of its own" (p. xx), but I would argue that it has meaning only within its own temporal context.

Moehring makes extensive use of booster literature to construct the "qualitative" details of far western urban networks, a conceptual strategy that slights recent historical scholarship in lieu of nineteenth-century publications. While booster literature is unquestionably central and important to this project, such publications are problematic if accepted at face value. Promotional publications—notoriously prone to geographical and directional error, chronological confusion, and environmental misinformation—need to be balanced against recent scholarship. Two examples of geographical confusion illustrate this point: Bakersfield, California is north, not "just south of the Tehachapi Range" (p. 34), and Fruitland, Washington, near the Colville Indian Reservation, was not "a rest stop for travelers to and from the Coeur d'Alenes" (p. 232). Errors such as these mar the author's otherwise strong theoretical argument.

In a book that touts the likes of Said and Felix Guattari, it is also striking to note repeated references to anachronistic terms such as "pioneers." Native Americans receive similar treatment in several chapters. In Utah's Provo River Valley, where Mormon settlers built a rough stockade, "Indians continued to menace the pioneers' fields" (p. 99). Elsewhere in Utah, the church hierarchy established towns "to promote social cohesion and religious unity across a hostile Indian frontier" (p. 119).

Paraphrasing promotional tracts in the Oregon chapter contributes to similar problems, including a reference to the Willamette Valley where development would convert "miles of Indian wilderness into a sprawling capitalist landscape" (p. 177). In this sense, booster literature provides a poor guide to environmental conditions. Clearing forest land in western Washington and Oregon was *never* a boon to agricultural undertakings. As countless immigrants testified, the stumps were too large and the soil too poor. Because few secondary sources shape these chapters, the reader confronts similar miscues elsewhere. Umatilla City, where the Umatilla River joins the Columbia, the author writes, proved an ideal location because of "timber and farmland close by" (p. 191). Excluding the wonders of modern irrigation, the area was and still is treeless and desert-like. Moehring also argues that Bend, Oregon's importance "lay in the site's historic role as the final supply point for Oregon Trail pioneers" (p. 194). "Farewell Bend," as it was called in 1900, was a sprawling ranch some 110 miles south of the Columbia River, the route of the Oregon Trail.

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS
Oregon State University

JON A. PETERSON. *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917.* (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 431. $59.95.

Jon A. Peterson argues that city planning emerged as a comprehensive discipline in the fifteen years prior to

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World War I. The discipline originated as a response to the problems created by "the rise of large, highly centralized urban centers" in the period the author identifies as an age of "great city urbanism" (pp. 12–13). He begins the narrative with a brief account of the nineteenth-century antecedents to modern planning, including efforts to promote sanitary reform, landscape values, and civic art. These efforts were piecemeal, lacking a comprehensive approach to the reshaping of the modern city. Consequently, even the nineteenth century's greatest achievements, such as the creation of Central Park in New York and the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, lacked sufficient vision to generate a movement toward comprehensive planning.

According to Peterson, a more comprehensive approach originated in 1902 when architects, engineers, politicians, artists, and civic activists battled to produce the McMillan Plan for the development of Washington. Peterson identifies the McMillan Plan as "the foundation story of American City Planning" (p. 78) because its protagonists confronted a broad array of issues including civic art, park design, slum removal, and the management of transportation. The result was unprecedented since it encouraged a belief that bold and comprehensive urban plans could be devised to revitalize cities and produce a more rational management by experts, who could control in some manner the market forces that promoted urban growth. Having gained national attention, supporters of the McMillan Plan attracted a diverse array of Progressive-Era reformers, who then coalesced in the aesthetic movement commonly identified with the "City Beautiful."

Charles Mulford Robinson and other apostles of this more interventionist movement argued that trained experts could prescribe rational and objective policies to achieve a true public interest. To make their case, they formed associations and published writings that promoted a variety of schemes for upgrading American cities, both large and small. Broad in their ambitions but limited in their effects upon actual cities, they realized by 1910 that the movement lacked public authority, legislative action, and institutional mechanisms to achieve desired goals. They also recognized they had failed to attract engineers and housing reformers to their movement.

The author is at his best when he analyzes the efforts of Robinson, John Nolen, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to go beyond beautification in an attempt to establish a more rigorous discipline that could perpetuate itself. Olmsted plays the most significant role in the narrative. When challenged for control of the city planning movement by the young social Progressive Benjamin C. Marsh, Olmsted became the principal spokesman for a professional and realist approach to planning. The confrontation between the two men reached its apex in 1909 at the first national conference on city planning. Behind the scenes, Marsh encouraged planners to battle openly for social justice. Olmsted favored a more conservative approach based in improving the technical skills and methods of the various groups associated with city planning, so they could establish more fully their ability to shape the physical city. His goal was to achieve a better functioning city, not to bring about civic beauty or social justice.

The goal proved elusive. A considerable gap always existed between the aspirations and the achievements of the planning profession. To overcome the gap, Olmsted argued for the creation of planning offices within urban governments as a means of encouraging cooperation among those concerned with the growth of cities. Such an office would allow trained experts a measure of influence over the market forces that governed expansion. Most often, however, state governments authorized planning commissions that became dominated by local businessmen and professionals. These commissions lacked the power to accomplish even the modest goals set by planners for the creation of a more rational city. To gain influence, planners formed an alliance with the developers of high-quality subdivisions, whose properties contained the amenities necessary to guarantee aesthetic, social, and financial stability for investors. Peterson describes the pragmatic compromise as "opportunistic interventionism" (p. 290). Well aware of the different ethos for planning in Germany and Britain, he notes that American planners worked in a society of volunteerism, lacking the public authority of their European counterparts. Adjusting to circumstances, American planners turned to zoning regulations as their most significant innovation in the period before 1920. In the United States, those in power allowed "planning no greater role—unless it wanted to be utopian and irrelevant" (p. 315). Peterson concludes that planning became a fragmented discipline that could not sustain a comprehensive vision of metropolitan development. As late as the 1960s, in another era of urban crisis, "effective planning of necessity focused on programmatic strategies backed by aggressive coalitions of business and political interests . . . not by adherence to a master plan" (pp. 326–27).

Well written, Peterson's book provides an institutional account of the key persons and events in the formation of the modern discipline of city planning as it struggled to adopt a comprehensive vision of urban growth and development. All readers may benefit from so thoughtful a composition.

Joseph C. Bigott
Purdue University, Calumet

Werner Troesken. *Water, Race, and Disease*. (NBER Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 251. $35.00.

This book's title offers a succinct description of its contents. The water consists of that flowing through the water and sewer systems of America's cities; race

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involves the percentages of blacks and whites connected to these systems in the first four decades of the twentieth century; and disease signifies (in this case) the decline in water-borne illnesses after such connections were made.

Werner Troesken's thesis is that urban blacks, whose life expectancy at birth increased from thirty years in 1900 to forty-four years in 1940, benefited both absolutely and relative to whites from these public health efforts, despite (or perhaps because of) widespread discrimination. Before water and sewer systems were built, privies could and did frequently contaminate water drawn from wells. In cities that were not yet rigorously segregated, whites feared that their wells would be infected by the privies of blacks, and when privies were separated from wells by the construction of water and sewer systems, there was no feasible way to deny blacks these services. Nor, despite racist attitudes, was there much sentiment for such a denial—an acknowledgement that at least in the case of these public services, integration, not segregation, seemed the wisest course.

With sewers, canalized water, and water filters, mortality from water-borne pathogens fell by ninety-two percent during the first four decades of the twentieth century, and typhoid fever was stopped cold. Typhoid was the most pervasive of these illnesses, and although the disease kills only a relatively small percentage of those infected (five to ten percent), it predisposes the young to heart disease in later life, leaves one vulnerable to tuberculosis, and creates a number of other disease risks, particularly those of the organs, ranging from the kidneys and liver to the brain. With the decline of typhoid, blacks, who had suffered much more than whites from the disease (in part, at least, because the latter were far more literate than blacks and practiced more in the way of preventive measures), enjoyed a substantial increase in life expectancy.

The cities of Memphis, Tennessee, Savannah, Georgia, and Jacksonville, Florida, are singled out for descriptions of the development of their water and sewer systems, descriptions that bear out the author's contention that blacks benefited from these services because whites were hoping to protect themselves. In the racist outlook of the day, "a white man could be trusted with a privy; a black man could not" (p. 89).

This is a quantitative study, as one might expect of a National Bureau of Economic Research publication, replete with figures, tables, graphs, and mathematical formulae. It is also interdisciplinary, incorporating techniques from epidemiology, demography, geography, economics, and history—techniques important for Troesken's pioneering efforts in mining the Negro Mortality Project (NMP).

The NMP was a joint effort launched over a century ago by Atlanta University and the U.S. Department of Labor with the aim of determining why mortality among urban blacks was so much higher than that of their white counterparts. Directed by prominent African Americans in 1897, the project surveyed 1,137 black families representing close to 4,000 individuals in eighteen cities and towns, seventeen of which were in the South, inquiring, among other things, about bathrooms and water closets in the home, indications of access to public water and sewer lines.

Troesken makes a reasonable and plausible argument for the importance of such access to bringing about an astonishing reduction in black mortality and morbidity in the cities—an argument that should cause us to rethink some of the tenets we hold about race relations and public health in twentieth-century America. At times, however, he strays into other aspects of the epidemiological history of the South less convincingly. It is true that typhoid and malaria were frequently confused, and although black rates of malaria do seem to be disproportionately high in many places, I am not certain that all black malaria cases should be counted as typhoid cases (pp. 61, 171–78). And yellow fever did not lie "dormant for years and then erupt suddenly" (p. 66). This may have seemed the case but, in fact, the virus had to be newly imported for any such eruption. Nor was it called "stranger's fever" because it seemed as if it were mysteriously spread about by some stranger. Rather it got the name where the disease made frequent appearances because newcomers or strangers were the chief yellow fever victims. The locals had already acquired their immunity.

In addition to the documentation provided by quantitative presentations, the book makes use of endnotes, provides a bibliography, and is adequately indexed.

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Bowling Green State University

THOMAS ADAMS UPCHURCH. *Legislating Racism: The Billion Dollar Congress and the Birth of Jim Crow*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2004. Pp. xiv, 302. $40.00.

This important book analyzes one year in the U.S. Congress, a moment that author Thomas Adams Upchurch convincingly argues constituted a key missed opportunity in American race relations. From January 1890 through January 1891, the U.S. House and Senate debated a number of bills that, if passed, would have profoundly altered the status of African Americans. With the failure of these bills, it would be another seventy-five years before Congress acted in a meaningful way to protect the rights and well being of black citizens. Upchurch's title, slightly misleads, for he explains that it was the failure to legislate that allowed Jim Crow racism in the United States.

Upchurch examines the Fifty-first, "Billion Dollar" Congress of 1889–1891, so called for its promotion of big-money interests through the McKinley Tariff bill and other measures designed to enrich the already rich. Historians of America's Gilded Age have focused on the economic program of the Fifty-first Congress and failed to recognize that the most prolonged and heated debates concerned issues of race, rather than

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money. The Fifty-first Congress was in a remarkable position to push through the entire Republican legislative agenda, for the GOP controlled both houses of Congress and the White House for the first time since 1874.

The book primarily examines the politicking surrounding the Federal Elections Bill, introduced by two Massachusetts legislators, Henry Cabot Lodge in the House, and George Frisbie Hoar in the Senate. While Republicans had discussed election reform through the 1880s, the matter became timely after the notoriously corrupt elections of fall 1888. Republicans claimed Democratic bulldozing had secured victories in more than a dozen contests, most of them in the South. With the Lodge/Hoar bills, Republican reformers proposed federal supervision over elections to end the election fraud and violence that had disproportionately targeted black voters. Southern Democrats dubbed the legislation the "Force bill," arguing that it would impose black rule on large portions of the South and bring a return to the bad old days of Reconstruction. The bill narrowly passed the House after a week of rushed discussion made possible by new House rules disallowing filibuster and other delaying tactics. In the Senate, however, debate was postponed and then dragged out over months. Finally, after one of the longest filibusters in Senate history, the bill died in January 1891 when Republicans failed to force the vote.

Upchurch argues that the bill failed in the Senate for a variety of reasons. Senate Democrats effectively exploited delaying tactics to kill the bill. Also, anti-Indian and anti-Chinese sentiments motivated western Republican Senators to ally with southern Democrats on issues involving race. We are reminded that the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, took place in late December 1890, at the height of debate about the Federal Elections Bill. Moreover, Upchurch argues persuasively that public opinion nationwide did not lend support to the notion of federal intervention to preserve voting rights of African Americans. The early 1890s were a time when Social Darwinian views had their widest acceptance, even in the northeastern states of the Republican reformers.

While this book provides the most thorough examination in print of the failed Federal Elections Bill, Upchurch also devotes chapters to other legislation relating to race before the Billion Dollar Congress. He examines the Butler Emigration Bill of 1890, proposed by southern Democrats as their solution to the race problem. The Senate bill called for a federal subsidy to pay black people who wished to leave the United States to do so. The plan linked up with earlier back-to-Africa schemes and tapped into a feverish interest in emigration that was sweeping some black precincts of the rural South. After much divisive debate, no vote was ever taken. Upchurch also examines the Blair Education Bill, which proposed the creation of a national, uniform, federally funded education system. While this measure was not ostensibly about race, it clearly would redistribute wealth to elevate the most undereducated group in the country, the South's black citizens. The Blair Bill, too, was tabled in the Senate and never came to a vote.

Most of this book's content summarizes pompous rhetoric uttered on the House and Senate floors. Yet Upchurch succeeds with good writing, thorough contextualization, and insightful interpretation. While the Fifty-first Congress focused national political attention on the race issue, Republican reformers failed to get anything done. Meanwhile, white politicians in southern states busied themselves writing disfranchisement and Jim Crow legislation. While one can never know what might have been, the congressional failure to act resonated with enormous symbolism throughout the South. Upchurch quotes (p. 21) Henry McNeal Turner, bishop in Atlanta of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who said presciently a few years earlier, "I have not deserted the Republican party, the Republican party has deserted me and seven millions of my race."

KENNETH C. BARNES
University of Central Arkansas

PATRICIA BEARD. *After the Ball: Gilded Age Secrets, Boardroom Betrayals, and the Party that Ignited the Great Wall Street Scandal of 1905*. New York: HarperCollins. 2004. Pp. xiv, 402. $25.95.

This engaging book tells the stories of James Henry Hyde (1876–1959) and the near collapse of the massive Equitable Life Assurance Society in 1905. The Equitable, a billion-dollar company when a billion dollars was real money, nearly went bust thanks to insiders' attempts to oust Hyde, a twenty-eight-year-old vice president. Young Hyde would scarcely have been worth the trouble had he not also been the Equitable's principal shareholder, son of the firm's recently deceased founder, and heir apparent to the company's presidency.

Hyde was an odd mix of naïve idealist and bon vivant. Mainly interested in French literature and New York high society, he was ill prepared for the business career he inherited. Mistaking routine corporate flatulence for high ideals, he accepted at face value the claim of one Equitable insider that the company's "officers and directors . . . have no aims . . . other than to subserve the interests of the policyholders" (p. 52). Hyde, the poor lamb, enthused that "corporations have a soul" and embody a "beautiful vision which will lead us onward and upward and forward to the great and golden future, not for a day, but for all time" (p. 54).

Understandably, Hyde's recently deceased father had arranged for a regency, with a trusted associate to serve as president while preparing his heir apparent to take over eventually. But the regent, James Alexander, lacked emotional stability. Aghast at young Hyde's lavish social life and egged on by Gage Tarbell, an able but unscrupulous vice president who sought the top job

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for himself, Alexander foolishly turned on Hyde, who, despite his hothouse image, defended himself with respectable ferocity.

The ensuing battle for control gave the public a look inside the company, revealed managerial malfeasance, saddled Hyde with notoriety, and supplied the newspapers with headlines for a year. Middle-class readers, for whom life insurance policies were a larger part of family equity then than now, followed the story closely. President Theodore Roosevelt threatened federal intervention. The New York state legislature held hearings and passed reform bills. In the end, Hyde, Alexander, and Tarbell were all forced out with considerable losses on their equity in the once high-flying Equitable.

Young Hyde had followed his father's practice of paying personal expenses out of the company till. But those losses were small compared to liabilities from bad investments involving self-dealing by insiders. The company invested a fair amount of its policy holders' cash in bonds sold by Wall Street banks whose officers happened to serve on the Equitable's board of directors. Those directors, despite making huge commissions on the sales, seem sincerely to have been unable to understand why anyone thought they had a conflict of interest.

Cash skimmed from the company would have led to reduced earnings or even losses save for the Equitable's skill in artificially inflating the value of its assets. The most egregious case was the Equitable's financially hollow subsidiary, the Mercantile Trust Company, a well-known bank. The elder Hyde had kept the Mercantile alive at one point by buying some of its stock for his personal account. To pay for the stock he borrowed cash from the Equitable and, as collateral for the loan, put up the worthless Mercantile shares. That was just the beginning of the Equitable's many dubious investments in the Mercantile, covered with creative accounting too elaborate for summary here—but the reader will get the idea.

The story contains parallels to Enron, Tyco, and other recent corporate scandals. Author Patricia Beard wisely makes little of the parallels except for some unexceptionable remarks on recurring patterns of greed and human folly. Top managers then were as self-deceivingly self-righteous as CEO's today.

As with Tyco's Dennis Kozlowski, Hyde's fall involved a lavish party; hence the book's title. But Hyde's party was in better taste. In addition to this fine book's contributions to business history, it describes New York high society a century ago with attention to detail that supplements the novels of Henry James and Edith Wharton.

JAMES HOOPES
Babson College

RUSSELL A. KAZAL. *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 383. $35.00

This is a richly satisfying book. One puts it down feeling that everything relevant to the subject has been carefully looked into, judiciously considered, and set forth in a calm, clear, and illuminating manner. The question under investigation is this: why are German Americans, who in 1900 constituted the largest, most self-assertive, and highly respected ethnic group in the country, entirely missing from the contemporary scene, even though multiculturalism and the persistence of ethnicity are leading themes in recent scholarship? Russell A. Kazal attacks this paradox, as he calls it, by analyzing the experience of Philadelphia's German Americans in the first three decades of the twentieth century and relating his findings to issues of current scholarly interest.

Focusing on one city obviously raises questions of representativeness, especially since, despite a German presence reaching back to the 1680s, Philadelphia is not usually thought of as a bulwark of *Deutschtum*. But Kazal points out that its overall size gave the city a larger German population than Cincinnati, Milwaukee, or St. Louis. Moreover, its being the headquarters of the National German-American Alliance (1901–1918) made Philadelphia the leading center of German ethnic militance before World War I. Acknowledging the atypical features of the city's "Germandom," as well as its more representative qualities, allows Kazal to draw attention to the importance of place on the macro (i.e. national) level. He pursues the same strategy on the micro level by looking closely at two Philadelphia neighborhoods—one close to center city, the other suburban—detailing their demography and social ecology at two points in time, 1900 and 1920.

The broad outline of Kazal's narrative is conventional enough: Germans, a major presence in 1900, are already concerned about the inroads of assimilation; they suffer shattering blows in World War I, are unable thereafter to recoup their losses, and ultimately disappear as a self-conscious social reality. However, two qualities work in tandem to make his account distinctive and immensely valuable: the dense texture of his exposition, and his sensitivity to conceptual issues.

The interweaving of these qualities is on display not only in the micro-analysis of neighborhoods, but also in the care with which Kazal describes the key ethnic institutions of the city's German Americans, most notably the press, the *Vereinswesen* (associational life), and the churches. In saying these qualities interweave, I mean that Kazal combines an impressive wealth of empirical data with keen insight into the role played by factors like place, class, gender, and religion in shaping the developments he describes. Thus he explains how the increasingly active role played by women helped stave off the decline of the *Vereinswesen*. He likewise emphasizes the deep divisions among Philadelphia Germans caused by differences of class and (particularly) religion, and points out how these differences affected the process of assimilation among various subgroups of Philadelphia's Germans.

Assimilation and its relation to pluralism, national-

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ism, ethnic identity, and "whiteness" are the larger conceptual issues on which Kazal brings his findings to bear. His usage of terms is nontechnical, and the discussion is free of any obvious theoretical bias. Although the argument is too subtle for adequate summary, several points stand out. First of all, Kazal acknowledges that assimilation—which he defines as "processes that result in greater homogeneity within a society" (p. 3)—did indeed take place, but must be understood in a differentiated way. That is, assimilation followed various routes over time as the relevant processes were affected by shifts in the larger social-political-cultural context, and by responses to them on the part of the different subgroups experiencing the shifts. In the case of German Americans, assimilation was uniquely affected by historical contingencies, notably World War I, which had a severely repressive effect on the expression of German ethnicity and efforts to preserve it. But assimilation was also affected by other developments (consumerism, the rise of mass culture, the union movement, and a more exclusive American nationalism) that had an impact on all ethnic groups. How Germans responded to these broader developments was conditioned by the group's internal divisions. Thus Catholic and working-class Germans interacted more directly with "new immigrant" and African-American newcomers to Philadelphia than did the city's Lutheran and middle-class Germans. This resulted in the former groups becoming incipient "white ethnics," whose consciousness of their "whiteness," already present, took on greater salience in later decades. By contrast, Lutherans and middle-class Germans resisted identification with "new immigrants" and came eventually to think of themselves as "old-stock" Americans.

Observing the beginnings of this evolution, Kazal argues, makes the experience of Philadelphia's Germans between 1900 and 1930 relevant to our understanding of today's racial-ethnic scene. Not everything in his interpretation is equally convincing, but his book gives us much to think about and even more to admire.

PHILIP GLEASON,
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University of Notre Dame

DIANA B. TURK. *Bound by a Mighty Vow: Sisterhood and Women's Fraternities, 1870–1920*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 245. $20.00.

Diana B. Turk's monograph adds to scholarship about U.S. women's higher education. It shows how women's fraternities (and yes, they were called fraternities and not sororities during the time period of the book) both empowered and constrained their members. Turk concentrates on Kappa Alpha Theta Fraternity, which she designates "the first Greek letter women's fraternity," established in 1870 (p. 13). She also weaves in some information about a number of other women's fraternities. The time period she selects makes sense as she analyzes the fraternities from their beginning through a maturation point in 1920.

The author rightly points out the challenges of writing about the controversial topic of fraternities. Some scholars have overlooked fraternities or dismissed their importance as a subject for scholarly attention due to their elitist or discriminatory policies. Fraternity supporters clearly wanted Turk to project a positive spin on their history. In order to access documents and to conduct interviews with former fraternity members, Turk had to gain their trust and the trust of those who guard their records. She gained access to important records and conducted numerous interviews. Her goal was to write a balanced account of women's fraternities. For the most part, she achieves that goal.

During the early years, the fraternities provided women with support for scholastic success in often unfriendly college environments. There was a profound emphasis on academic achievement. Members met to share literary works and critiqued each other's writings and speeches. Members selected future sisters by paying close attention to good grades as well as social standing. In some ways, the fraternities were expanding the roles for women, emphasizing that they were fully capable of doing college work and pursuing careers other than teaching after college. Fraternities helped to prove wrong those who argued that stretching women's minds with college work would damage their health. Yet, paradoxically, the fraternity members, careful to project and protect the image of what society deemed a proper woman, reinforced conservative notions of Victorian womanhood and limited their members as well.

The second generation of fraternity women was more preoccupied with appearance and social status than academics. In fact, some of the alumnae of the first generation of membership were troubled by what they considered superficial standards of selection and the lack of understanding the bonds between members that had been so important to them. By the turn of the century, fraternities had become primarily social groups. Turk does not agree with critics of fraternities who blame the Greek system for causing "divisions along social lines," pointing to such divisions in schools without a Greek system. She does acknowledge, however, that "its members—individuals and as fraternity sisters and brothers—helped reinforce divisions by pricing their entertainments high and by choosing as new members, mainly those whose wealth and social manners matched their own" (pp. 73, 74). Turk's monograph shows her familiarity with most relevant scholarship. She adds her analysis of women's fraternities to women's higher education scholarship of Barbara Miller Solomon, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, and others. Turk's comparisons of women's experiences and work in fraternities with those of women in voluntary organizations and clubs complement scholarship by Ann Firor Scott and Karen Blair.

For the most part, Turk writes an evenhanded

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analysis of the fraternities' elitism and exclusion of prospective members of different races, religions, and classes. She unveils the paradox of fraternities being created to ease the acceptance of women in male dominated colleges and then excluding others from membership. She should have been more careful in her choice of words when describing the antisemitism shown by some fraternities in the early 1900s, as in her statement that there was "by the 1910s enough concern about the extent to which Jewish enrollment was tarnishing the Anglo-Saxon character of campus life, that students, alumni, faculty, and administrators of many institutions began to discuss openly ways to restrict the numbers of Jewish students enrolled in their schools" (p. 103). (I would have preferred to see the word "tarnishing" set off by quotation marks.) A national Greek system seemed to widen the gap. Turk points out that women's fraternities took much longer than the male fraternities to recognize historically Jewish sororities as full members in the national Greek system. Not until 1951 did these Jewish sororities gain admission into the National Panhellenic Congress.

The fraternities exhibited many paradoxes. In some ways they pushed against restraints on women, but in other ways they reinforced conservative stands that confined women. For example, while they cultivated leadership qualities and had many members supportive of woman suffrage, the Kappa Alpha Theta Fraternity did not join other women's groups in support of this goal for expanding the power of women.

Overall, Turk's book is a product of exhaustive and meticulous research. She uses a wide range of primary sources and is thoroughly familiar with relevant secondary works. (Some of the important information in lengthy footnotes could have been integrated into the narrative.) She presents a mostly balanced treatment of women's fraternities. She fills in gaps left by previous scholars. While Turk makes some mention of historically black fraternities and Jewish fraternities, more extensive comparisons with them would have offered an even more comprehensive picture of women's fraternities. Thus, this monograph identifies opportunities for future scholars to pursue.

SARA ALPERN
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ANDREA HAMILTON. *A Vision for Girls: Gender, Education, and the Bryn Mawr School*. Foreword by HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 237. $39.95.

What makes an institutional biography worthy of publication? In the case of Andrea Hamilton's book, it might be the fact that this girls' school in Baltimore, Maryland, was unique from the moment it was established in 1885 until the 1920s. Or it could be because the school since then often mirrored its sister institutions. It could even be because of the school's close association with the eminent educator M. Carey Thomas and the successful author Edith Hamilton. But it should not be because Bryn Mawr School (BMS) officials tried for more than three years to suppress this book's publication. That they failed is testimony not only to the author's persistence but also to the value of the story she has to tell and the skill with which she tells it.

Hamilton divides the history of BMS into three different periods. The brainchild of M. Carey Thomas and her latter-day companion Mary Garrett, the school was known at the outset for its rigorous standards and demanding curriculum. For more than forty years its alumnae were guaranteed Bryn Mawr College admission. To qualify for a BMS diploma, even those students who did not plan to continue their education had to pass the college's entrance examination. Thomas wanted the school she founded to "inspire women across the country" (p. 21), raising not only their educational but also their life ambitions. Because she lived in Pennsylvania, Thomas relied heavily on Hamilton, who served for twenty-six years as the school's headmistress. Hamilton often found herself caught between what Thomas wanted for the school and what its teachers and students could deliver.

By the 1920s it had become apparent to many parents, teachers, and alumnae that Thomas's vision was too limited. Those parents who could afford to enroll their daughters expected more than academic rigor in exchange for the hefty tuition. They wanted a well-rounded education, one that included art, music, and athletics. They also found the school's downtown location to be more than inconvenient. It did not square with their desire for a country day school education. In 1927 the school ceased to administer the Bryn Mawr College entrance examination and began to use the College Board test for seniors seeking college admission. Increasingly at odds with parents, teachers, and alumnae, Thomas resigned from the BMS board one year later. When enrollments declined in the 1930s due to the school's high tuition and urban location, the trustees were forced to make a move that Thomas would never have accepted. Abandoning Baltimore altogether, they set up shop on the suburban campus that they had acquired in the late 1920s.

After World War II, BMS began to enjoy unprecedented prosperity. With an enrollment of 446 in 1953, the school was at full capacity, but now it lacked its earlier distinction. Many of its competitors had high standards and an enhanced curriculum. Beginning as early as 1955, the school was forced to address issues that would transform it once again. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision provoked a debate about race that led to a more democratic admissions policy in 1963. The spate of mergers between single-sex schools brought about the introduction of shared classes with the Gilman School for boys a decade later. The BMS community committed itself wholeheartedly to diversity and social responsibility in the 1980s, embracing multicultural studies and pursuing minority students whom it recruited with dedicated financial aid. True to its roots, the school also sought to distinguish itself

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from most others, staunchly defending single-sex education for girls despite the overwhelming popularity of coeducation. Joining the National Coalition of Girls' Schools as a charter member in 1991, BMS devoted itself to meeting the special needs of young women without sacrificing their right to academic rigor or an equal education.

Hamilton's treatment of what some might regard as controversial material cannot be faulted. She does not make more of Thomas's racism and anti-semitism than it deserves. That Thomas championed women's rights while denigrating Jews and blacks has been well known for years. The author also does not overplay the fact that BMS resisted desegregation, at least for a few years. It is in drawing the relationship between BMS and its historical context that Hamilton encounters some difficulty. The history of Baltimore and its suburbs makes but a token appearance. Passages placing the school into the larger context of American cultural and social history are not always smoothly integrated. In the final chapter, BMS fades into the background as Hamilton explains how the American Association of University Women and the National Coalition of Girls' Schools promoted single-sex education. Finally, the total absence of illustrations is glaring, attributable in part perhaps to the influence of those at BMS who opposed this book's publication.

WILLIAM W. CUTLER III
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TRACEY JEAN BOISSEAU. *White Queen: May French-Sheldon and the Imperial Origins of American Feminist Identity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 258. Cloth $50.00, paper $21.95.

This book is a sophisticated and engaging study of the curious career of May French-Sheldon, a white, middle-class Midwesterner, who claimed to be "the first woman explorer of Africa." Tracey Jean Boisseau's "microhistory" uses French-Sheldon's creation of a public persona that effectively capitalized on a historical moment when the imperialist ambitions of the West coincided with the ascendancy of the "new woman" to reveal the racist and imperialist underpinnings of Progressive-era politics and feminism from the 1890s to the 1920s: "Thus her career provides a lens through which we can perceive the discursive politics of empire at an early moment in the inauguration of a new set of mass cultural ideals for American women" (p. 3). Through an imaginative use of sources, including a trenchant analysis of French-Sheldon's book, *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures among the Masai and Other Tribes of East Africa* (1892), Boisseau shows how French-Sheldon fashioned a career from an unremarkable expedition to Africa in 1891 by using her gender, race, and class to maximum effect. French-Sheldon marketed her trek to Africa as a politically and scientifically noteworthy event by employing both the ideologies of female exceptionalism embodied in the Victorian "cult of true womanhood" and the images of plucky independence of the turn of the twentieth century "new woman" to her advantage, and she drew popular attention to her exploits by promoting the "hyper-racialized fantasy of white womanhood" (p. 5). The public acclaim French-Sheldon received from bringing her feminine point of view to a study of East Africans, particularly women and children, led to her induction as a fellow in the London Royal Geographical Society in 1892. In *Sultan to Sultan* and in public appearances, French-Sheldon proffered strategies for Western imperialism predicated on a philanthropic vision informed by Progressive-era reform movements in the United States and ideas about women's natural civilizing influence as an antidote to the brutality and short-sightedness of male colonizers.

Boisseau presents riveting accounts of how French-Sheldon used her notoriety to insinuate herself in foreign relations, first as a spy for a coalition of British liberals anxious to document rumored atrocities of King Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo, and later, in 1904, as an active colonizer eager to finagle a generous land concession from the government of Liberia for development of its natural resources. Both forays into international politics exposed French-Sheldon's imperialist designs and racism. French-Sheldon betrayed the group underwriting her trip to the Congo, publicly sanctioning Leopold's brutality as an indispensable tool in maintaining political and economic authority over inferior Africans, and her bullying of President Arthur Barclay of Liberia for a land grant stemmed more from her belief in her natural superiority as a white woman than from her confidence as a "new woman."

Boisseau is at her best when she uses cultural history and feminist and postmodern theory to inform her analysis of French-Sheldon's public persona as a white, female explorer in the 1890s and as a feminist icon on a lecture circuit in the United States during the 1920s. Her argument that racialized politics, imperialism, and nationalism shaped first-wave feminist identity is an important and original contribution. French-Sheldon's adventures in the 1890s, as Boisseau explains, fit nicely with the individualist feminism of the 1920s.

When Boisseau shifts perspective from French-Sheldon's crafty manipulations of gender and race to reactions to her by audiences and journalists in the 1920s, speculation driven by theory takes over the historical narrative, as is shown in this statement: "If the young women in French-Shelton's audiences yearned for (a return to) the phallic mother, they seem to find it in public representations of French-Sheldon as a pioneering foremother of the modern gal" (p. 174). Like the nineteenth-century travel writing genre Boisseau describes in which writers' incorporated tales of danger and difficulty to authenticate their narratives, Boisseau imbues the latter chapters of her book with theoretical formulations in an effort to establish broader significance. French-Sheldon is upstaged by Sigmund Freud and Michel Foucault in the process.

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Descriptions of French-Sheldon's "successful mastery of the phallus" and her "unmasked cross-dressing" (p. 175) seem strained. Boisseau's cogent argument about French-Sheldon's active public feminism can stand alone as an important contribution to our understanding of the politics of race and gender in the Progressive era and the construction of feminist identity in the 1920s.

Boisseau writes in her conclusion that "the very practice of women's history by academics and the popularization of depictions of women in history inevitably are interpreted as feminist gestures, often in disregard of particular political message or content" (p. 206). Even though scholars are less willing these days uncritically to put forth feminist role models than Boisseau suggests, her work is an important reminder that historians should not discount the politics behind the uses of feminist ideologies and identities.

KATHLEEN A. LAUGHLIN
Metropolitan State University

LEIGH ANN WHEELER. *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873–1935.* (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 251. $44.95.

Leigh Ann Wheeler's book looks primarily at women's anti-obscenity activism from the moment women took control of the movement in the first decade of the twentieth century to the early 1930s, following closely the reform activity of Catheryne Cooke Gilman, an activist from Minneapolis, Minnesota, who earned a national reputation through her attempts to regulate the motion picture industry. Unlike their male counterparts, who dominated the movement before 1910 and who focused their energies on confiscating birth control devices, educational texts, and risqué novels, women focused more on materials that children might encounter, like indecent magazines, movies, and burlesque shows, a shift that Wheeler argues helped legitimize sexual education. Through the mid 1920s, the guiding spirit behind the anti-obscenity movement was the belief in womanhood, the underlying assumption that women shared a superior moral sensibility that united them in the pursuit of protection for children. Under this banner, women forged coalitions with movie executives, organized reform strategies with producers and exhibitors, and maintained influence over various business practices and deals.

By the second half of the decade, Wheeler notes, the unity on which the campaign was based began to crumble. As it became apparent that women did not represent a unified block after receiving the right to vote and that they exerted little influence over their political parties, divisions among women became more acute and women were more likely to become targets of men hoping to exploit these differences—what Wheeler refers to as "appropriating the politics of womanhood" (p. 185). For example, when Will Hays, head of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, appointed a woman's ambassador to the motion picture industry, he not only divided women, Wheeler argues, but also forced them publicly to choose sides. To further complicate matters, suffrage allowed all women to enter reform politics regardless of whether or not they belonged to a woman's organization. During the preceding years, women's exclusion from politics meant that affiliated women's voices dominated. Once women were enfranchised, individual opinions became increasingly important and ultimately challenged the unity that had previously sustained the movement.

By the 1930s, women's control over the anti-obscenity movement collapsed. Wheeler argues that the demise of women's leadership reflected a particular form of identity politics that was grounded in essentialist notions of womanhood. Reformers like Gilman, Wheeler argues, passionately believed that men were essentially different from women. This belief not only served to unite women but also led women like Gilman to have unrealistically high expectations for female unity. Hence, when Gilman encountered women with different positions, she saw not a difference of opinion but betrayal. This essentialist notion about women also made it easier for Gilman and other activists to be more tolerant of men even if their anti-obscenity goals differed. A good example is the Catholic Church's Legion of Decency, which began to target films that many organized women supported, including sex education films. Wheeler argues that Gilman handed over control of the movement to men in the Legion of Decency despite these sharp differences because she never expected to agree with them and she did not feel betrayed when they disagreed with her. Yet because of essentialist identity politics, she could never accept similar differences of opinion from women.

Wheeler argues that growing numbers of voices helped to undermine women's control of the campaign, but the voices she makes use of are still largely confined to white, college-educated women. Other voices—working class, ethnic, and African American—are largely missing from her account. And her examination deals little with the obscene. From time to time, Wheeler alludes to the specific issues that shaped debates about obscenity, like the Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle scandal in Hollywood. But most of her discussion focuses instead on the conflicts between prominent individuals in the movement as they struggled against each other to maintain control of the campaign.

Nonetheless, Wheeler's account of the anti-obscenity campaign illuminates the importance of gender to that history; she seamlessly explores the movement as it shifted from the local to the national level; and she meticulously recounts the day-to-day struggles women faced. Along the way, she draws on an impressive list of archival sources to reconstruct women's involvement in the campaign, provides a detailed account of the victories and hardships women experienced as they

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attempted to shape the direction and goals of the anti-obscenity movement, and offers a thoughtful and well-argued addition to a growing number of studies about women activists and how their concerns for mothers and children shaped public policy.

RANDY D. MCBEE
Texas Tech University

DAVID S. TANENHAUS. *Juvenile Justice in the Making.* (Studies in Crime and Public Policy.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xxx, 231. $29.95.

Within the past decade, there have been a number of history monographs about juvenile courts, including ones about the Cook County Juvenile Court (CCJC) in Chicago, the first American juvenile court established in 1899. For this reason, it is fair to ask of this book: what is new? David S. Tanenhaus's four main contributions to juvenile justice history are his emphasis on the experimentation of the CCJC, his attention to the influences of politics and journalism, a careful consideration of institutional legal history, and his access to the CCJC's case files.

The book's six chapters examine the history of the CCJC from the 1880s when social reformers, lawyers, and judges conceived of a children's court, to the mid-1930s, when the court experimented with community organizations and neighborhood leadership for supervising delinquent youth. Throughout the book, Tanenhaus fully discusses how the volunteer and philanthropic work of female reformers, as well as the professional work of probation officers, judges, and psychiatrists, shaped and enacted ideas about reforming, not punishing, children.

One of the more interesting arguments is how journalists influenced the public's perception of the fledgling CCJC. For example, one newspaper misleadingly warned working-class parents that private associations affiliated with the CCJC could take their children away from them. In another case, when the mothers' pension program was established in 1911, newspapers encouraged impoverished mothers to apply. Judges, too, relied on journalists to promote the court's emphasis on reform, especially since so many journalists flocked to the court's daily sessions to report on the latest cases.

Another contribution, an emphasis on institutional legal history, provides the reader with a better understanding of how the juvenile court laws were shaped and interpreted. For example, in order that the establishment of the CCJC did not violate the state constitution, Judge Hurd suggested that the legislation be permissive, not obligatory. The wording of the law was careful so as to not alienate industrial schools, which especially feared they might lose their source of support from the CCJC. Likewise, through the use of nearly 200 case files, Tanenhaus was able to assess the impact of the mothers' pension law. He found that, overall, fatherless children were most often allowed to remain in their homes, whereas motherless children were more often sent to institutions.

The book concludes with a discussion of problems facing juvenile court judges today, particularly of juveniles who have committed murder. As Tanenhaus notes, judges still evoke the history of the CCJC and, true to one of the book's arguments, the court is still in the process of remaking itself through experimentation. This book is especially timely since the U.S. Supreme Court is currently debating whether juveniles of ages sixteen to seventeen who have committed murder should be sentenced to Death Row.

Despite the book's accomplishments, I found Tanenhaus's portrait of the CCJC to be too celebratory at times. To be sure, there was a great deal of experimentation with the CCJC. But what is more important to ask is whether such experimentation actually led to children's reform or their well-being. Tanenhaus does not adequately explore whether the CCJC was "successful" by any definition of the word. To be sure, the court's records indicated that recidivism rates remained high and that children were often returned to the very impoverished conditions that led to their delinquency. Nor does Tanenhaus fully examine some of the contradictions of the court's ideologies and practices. For example, probation officers' reports were more often than not shaped by their unsystematic training, their heavy case loads, their biases, and their multiple sources of information. How effective, then, could probation officers be? Similarly, he credits psychiatrist William Healy for his multivariate approach to delinquency which included a youth's physical conditions, emotional stability, environmental factors, and the influences of heredity. But Tanenhaus does not consider the sometimes unscientific and anti-immigrant biases of Healy's case studies nor his unreliable battery of tests. Most puzzling was Healy's contention that poverty accounted for a very small percentage of delinquency cases. Lastly, although Tanenhaus does occasionally discuss how social class, gender, and ethnicity influenced court decisions, I would have liked more attention given to those considerations.

These criticisms aside, the book does present new information about the oldest juvenile court in the United States. The book also forces its readers to pause and think how daring some of the CCJC's ideas and practices were. This book is a welcome addition to the existing literature and should be read by scholars, students, juvenile court professionals, and the general public.

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PETER R. D'AGOSTINO. *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascicm.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 393. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

This book by Peter R. D'Agostino argues that Italian politics—that is, the relationship between the pope

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and the Italian government 1849–1940—fashioned American Catholic identity and shaped American perception of Catholicism. As such, it provides an elaborately rich context for understanding modern Catholicism even as it undermines the canonical interpretation of American Catholic history in the work of Jay Dolan, who finds the desire to create an "American Catholicism that was modern and democratic" in the nineteenth century. Far from eager participation in the values of democracy, American Catholics unblinkingly followed papal teachings even when they were directly opposed to American political interests. Why? Because papal Rome was *the* unifying symbol for Catholics everywhere.

In 1848, when Roman citizens joined a burgeoning nationalist movement, Pope Pius IX fled the city; his territories were no longer "his," and when "the papal states" disappeared forever (in 1870), he declared himself a "prisoner" and allowed himself to be compared to Christ crucified. In 1929, Pope Pius XI signed an agreement with Benito Mussolini relinquishing his claims to the papal states and accepting Vatican City as his own sovereign space. What has this story to do with America? More than historians might have imagined: during the critical years of American nation building (1848–1948), Catholicism was Roman-identified; the center of American Catholicism was not Baltimore, but Rome with its prisoner pope, a character in the drama of secular versus sacred, the world versus the Catholic Church, democratic values versus papal politics, barbarians versus the cradle of Western civilization.

D'Agostino charts the creation, transformation, and realization of the ideology of "the Roman Question" (a pope without temporal sovereignty). Although Catholics were part of a general intellectual conversation about democracy and the future of Italy in the early decades of the nineteenth century, they effectively were removed from the discussion after 1848. The self-styled "prisoner" pope made the Roman Question a key symbol in the battle for civilization. Loyal Catholics were expected to side with the pope when he condemned the Roman republic and its values. He expected their support in the 1850s when he "restored absolutism, denied his subjects a constitution, strengthened the Roman Inquisition, forced Jews into the ghetto, and punished revolutionaries" (p. 31). Protestants who admired the values of liberal democracy were clearly enemies of the pope and possibly enemies of God. Catholic newspapers and magazines published conspiracy theories indicting papal enemies. When Ernesto Nathan, liberal Jewish mayor of Rome, delivered an antipapal address in 1910, "Catholic reactions made explicit a covert anti-Semitism embedded within the ideology of the Roman Question" (p. 85).

The transformation occurred in the early years of the twentieth century (1914–1929) when restoration of the Papal States was separated from papal condemnations of liberal Italy. Socialism, perceived as a greater threat to the church than a unified Italy, moved the pope into alliance with fascism. In addition, the Great War seemed to open new possibilities for negotiation that moved the pope to make alliances with those who could help him. Unfortunately for American interests, those allies were the enemy: the pope sided with the Austro-Hungarian Empire because it was against liberal democracy, and he supported Germany, hoping it would keep Russian Orthodox Christianity out of Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that "the Allies assumed the Holy See was in league with their enemies" (p. 106). D'Agostino clarifies the complex political issues involved in these alliances and takes issue with those historians of American Catholicism who claim that World War I brought Catholics closer to other Americans. On the contrary, he says, the war, "notwithstanding patriotic participation by American Catholics, strengthened the boundaries dividing Catholics from other Americans" (p. 131). He notices a "curious myopia [that] has excluded America and its Catholics from analyses of the reconciliation between the Vatican and Fascist Italy" (p. 158).

When Mussolini signed the Lateran Accords (1929), Catholics did not simply praise him for restoring the pope's freedom, they "forged working relationships with representatives of Fascist Italy within the United States" (p. 229). Although America was at war with Mussolini in the 1940s, "there was no American Catholic anti-Fascism" (p. 160). D'Agostino shows how the Lateran Accords gave fascist Italy a means to influence American Catholics by sending Italian priests to preach fascism and by having the Vatican silence critics of Mussolini within the American Catholic community. In addition, many "American bishops found themselves dependent upon Fascist Italy to maintain their episcopal authority" (p. 303).

This book, based on years of meticulous archival research, is groundbreaking, provocative, wide-ranging, and nicely written. As a history and an ideological analysis, it reveals "the dynamics of the international Church and its impact within American society" (p. 315). It tells a great story, and contains fascinating textual illustrations. Most importantly, it challenges future historians to rethink the history of American Catholicism in an appropriately international context.

MARY JO WEAVER
Indiana University

PENNY SCHINE GOLD. *Making the Bible Modern: Children's Bibles and Jewish Education in Twentieth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 269. $35.00.

Penny Schine Gold offers an extended examination of the American "Jewish confrontation with modernity" in the twentieth century, and she investigates this confrontation through the material changes in Jewish children's Bibles and how these artifacts formed and fractured the world of Jewish education (p. xi). Hers is a self-reflective book (she herself is Jewish and an

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educator of the young), partly driven by her own need to understand the Jewish culture of which she is a part. Schine Gold creates a work of scholarship that mixes great bibliographic and theoretical depth with stories and ruminations from her own and others' personal experiences, giving the book a personal, ethnographic quality.

More specifically, Schine Gold is interested in how second-generation Jews developed methods to acculturate themselves to twentieth-century American society. First-generation Jewish immigrants improvised a new life for themselves in America, "continuing many of the practices and institutions familiar to them from Jewish life abroad" (p. 2). The second generation was markedly different; they looked for ways to become American and at the same time create mechanisms to retain their Jewish heritage. Primary to such an endeavor was the development of educational models for Jewish youth that helped them to make sense of their Jewish heritage in their American context, and much of Schine Gold's study is based on two types of sources: "curricular material produced for Jewish children and professional literature discussing the education of these children" (pp. 8–9).

Central to her study is the Jewish Bible, particularly as it was revised and published between 1915 and 1936. During this period, the Jewish Bible became a key tool within American Jewish educational models. Schine Gold demonstrates in her study—which owes much to a wide range of "history of the book" scholarship, most notably the work of Ruth Bottigheimer—that the ever-evolving twentieth-century Jewish children's Bible is an artifact that reveals a great deal about the changing attitudes of the American Jewish community toward itself and the world around it.

One does not need to read far in Schine Gold's book to appreciate the level of complexity and nuance she has brought to her study. At every step she eschews reductionism when it comes to the Jewish religious tradition, its various American contexts, and its sacred writings. Beginning with a wonderful discussion of the Bible in traditional Jewish culture (a culture she most closely ties to the Ashkenazi Jews of the early modern period), she quickly shows that hers is a study that will take into account a multitude of factors in studying the encounter between American modernity and second-generation American Jews. She carefully describes and delineates different manifestations of the Jewish Bible and its interpretative apparatus such as the written and oral Torah, Tanakh, and Talmud, as well as the different strains of Judaism including, most prominently, the Conservative and Reform traditions in America. Her study is primarily focused on American Reform, rather than Conservative, Judaism because this strain most forcefully sought "to create new forms of and materials for Jewish education, adapted self-consciously to a twentieth-century American environment" (p. 8).

Schine Gold moves from her discussion of the Bible in traditional Jewish culture to a discussion of modernity's challenge to traditional Judaism. Her following chapters are then extended treatments of how Reform Judaism in the United States sought through various pedagogical institutions, practices, and Bible versions to challenge, defuse, and inculcate the beliefs and values to be found in certain strands of American modernity. Particularly noteworthy are her discussions of how these children's Bibles addressed key issues such as faith and science, the nature of God, and women's roles in the Jewish community.

Schine Gold's study is a treat on a host of levels. One wishes for more sustained comparison with what was going on in Protestant and Catholic Bible translation at the time to give a bit more depth to the religious context of Reform Jewish thought in the early part of the century, but this is a minor quibble. This is a wonderful book, worthy of attention from those interested in American Jewish studies, history of the book scholarship, and cultural history more generally.

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JOHN BODNAR. *Blue-Collar Hollywood: Liberalism, Democracy, and Working People in American Film*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xxxiv, 284. $42.95.

In terms of class consciousness, Hollywood's vision tilts upward with envy or down the middle with complacency: aristocrats in tuxes and diaphanous gowns waltzing through Art Deco staterooms or bourgeois families of Rockwellian mettle rubbing elbows around a bountiful dinner table. Except for the gritty gutter-snipe at Warner Brothers in the 1930s or the occasional lazy-eyed boxer or coal miner's daughter thereafter, in American cinema, a working-class hero is not something to behold.

Undaunted by the social-cinematic inequities, cultural historian John Bodnar sets out to examine that subsection of Hollywood "dramas or depictions of real life in which working people were protagonists of consequence" (p. xvii). No closed shop, his union local welcomes truckers, farmers, factory workers, teamsters, gangsters, postwar brutes, angry patriots—all the sundry and "complex ways which Americans imagined working people" on the motion picture screen from the early sound era to the 1980s. The author's decision to include gangsters in his workforce may be problematic, but so magnetic an activist is impossible to resist.

Despite a title that signals more affinities with Karl Marx than Andre Bazin, Bodnar has no ideological axe to grind on the backs of the working class. "Taking intellectual cues from Antonio Gramsci, I see political relations determined less by an older form of left/right politics or a struggle between social groups and more by a contest over signification and narrative construction," he declares (p. xxvii). Open minded and even handed, he appreciates the nuances and mixed messages of Hollywood cinema. "When it came to deploy-

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ing images of working people on screen," writes Bodnar, "a vast multiplicity emerged that was far greater than any card-carrying radical or conservative would have preferred" (p. xxix). While acknowledging that Hollywood "almost never celebrated the labor radical or the militant union" (p. 219), he argues that a full airing of working-class gripes and aspirations "was more likely to be heard and viewed in theaters than in factories and was more likely to be attuned to the outlook of women and the vagaries of national life than were most union meetings of the time" (p. 227). He uses words like "plebeian" without prejudice and "proletarian" with a straight face.

Marching chronologically through Hollywood's labor pageant, Bodnar surveys the Depression-scarred workers of the 1930s, the heroic homefront factory workers of World War II, the postwar men who did not wear the gray flannel suits, and the hard hats and hard luck stories with names like *Joe* (1970), *Rocky* (1976), and *Norma Rae* (1979). Inevitably, the beset workforce of the 1930s gets pride of place: that threatening swarm of forgotten men, ready to ignite into violence at any moment—sometimes literally, as in *Black Fury* (1935), a film that, in Bodnar's estimation, "actually eclipsed the 'radical' implications of *Our Daily Bread*," King Vidor's more esteemed 1934 paean to the salt of the earth. In terms of working-class portraiture, the author detects a major tipping point in the corporate-friendly, consensus-minded 1950s, when "the cultural burden of indigenous violence and antidemocratic attitudes was disproportionately assumed by blue collar men and women" (p. 95). Whether in the animal roar of Stanley Kowalski in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) or the whacked-out vigilantism in *Taxi Driver* (1976), the blue-collar worker was more likely to be the face of reactionary violence than the force of revolutionary change.

Of course, in a nation where plumbers, TV repairmen, and truckers are usually more solvent than clerk typists, cubicle geeks, or university instructors, "blue collar" is an imprecise index of class standing or economic prosperity. The very phrase evokes an archaic, industrial-age tapestry of sinewy auto workers celebrated on WPA murals. In the American context, class tends to be a nettlesome category—as when Bodnar demotes the high-end banker in *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) to someone living in "distinctly middle-class surroundings" (p. 100).

A more serious demerit is the lack of cinematic chops. Bodnar's is very much a pre-film studies model of cultural historical inquiry, where the motion picture is but a repository for plot, dialogue, and theme. He evinces little sense of how visual style informs ideological meaning, how close ups, camera angles, montage, and mise-en-scène serve to celebrate or denigrate the blue-collar protagonists projected on the screen. Plot descriptions abound, justifiable when discussing obscurities such as *Joe Smith, American* (1942) or *Till the End of Time* (1946), not so justifiable when discussing classics such as *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) and *On the Waterfront* (1954). Like his subjects, Bodnar sometimes seems to be punching a time clock, slogging through the day's work.

Perhaps too, in light of Hollywood's own rigid class stratification (exemplified by the strict bifurcation of "above the line" talent and "below the line" workers), some critical scrutiny might have been accorded the dynamics of the industrial site whose assembly line pours out the raw material: the company town that is Hollywood.

THOMAS DOHERTY
Brandeis University [All reviews of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

EMILY ROSENBERG. *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 236. $24.95.

Emily S. Rosenberg began her career as a specialist in U.S. diplomatic history. Her first book used a corporatist paradigm, which was then the cutting edge of the field, to analyze American economic diplomacy in the first half of the twentieth century. Even in that book, however, Rosenberg was beginning to explore the cultural dimensions of U.S. international history, an exploration that would subsequently become her special contribution to the discipline. In her second book, and in several important articles, Rosenberg emerged as one of the first historians to champion new cultural approaches to diplomatic history, folding these approaches neatly into a more traditional narrative of America's economic and financial engagement abroad. Now, with this new book, she joins the ranks of those who are exploring the interesting relationship between history and memory. If some people remain nimble thinkers, Rosenberg is one of them.

Rosenberg's book borrows heavily from the great theoretical works on the subject of memory, including those by Pierre Nora and Maurice Halbwachs, as well as the large number of books on the same subject published by American historians over the past decade or so. Indeed, this volume is the latest contribution to what is fast becoming a cottage industry of books, films, and commemorations spurred, in part, by the great history wars of the 1990s (a subject, by the way, that gets its share of attention in the last chapters of the book.) Rosenberg makes her own contribution on the theoretical side by insisting that the line between history and memory is less distinct than others have claimed and by focusing on the important role of the "media matrix" (p. 4) in collecting, circulating, and mediating our memories of events like Pearl Harbor. Rosenberg, in other words, is interested in how memories of Pearl Harbor circulate in American life, how histories of the event mix with other forms of memory, particularly those promoted in the popular media, and how meanings attached to the event change over time and are inevitably contested.

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Within this framework, Rosenberg divides her book into two parts. The first part, which is a little more than half of the volume, looks at what the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor came to mean in American culture in the first five decades after the event. It analyses this meaning in the context of four themes. These include the treacherous nature of the attack and the need it revealed for a policy of constant preparedness; the conviction, particularly among right-wing Republicans, that President Franklin D. Roosevelt used Pearl Harbor as a back door into the European conflict; the *Arizona* memorial and the meanings attached to various commemorations of the Pearl Harbor tragedy; and the role that Pearl Harbor played in shaping contested images of Japan, from a wartime view based on racist notions of the Japanese to the Cold War conviction that Japan was a reliable ally in efforts to contain Chinese communism.

The second half of the book examines Pearl Harbor as part of the "memory boom" that overwhelmed American culture in the years following the fiftieth anniversary of the event. This is the freshest part of the book and includes interesting discussions of the memory policy of the Republican ascendancy, the failed struggle to exonerate the Army and Navy commanders at Pearl Harbor, the movie *Pearl Harbor* (2002), and the way memories of Pearl Harbor influence American thinking about the tragedy of September 11, 2001. At every stage, Pearl Harbor as a historical event is situated in a contemporary political environment, its meaning is contested, and it becomes less history than symbol.

Some books are meant for a popular audience, some for an audience of academic specialists. This book is meant for both. The subject of memory as a field of historical exploration is new enough that specialists wishing to get their feet wet will find this a useful, even penetrating volume. Yet the author and her publisher are clearly hoping to reach the wider audience of readers who are caught up in efforts to harness the meaning of Pearl Harbor to contemporary events. These readers, too, could do no better than to start with this interesting and lively volume.

MICHAEL J. HOGAN
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ROBERT O. KIRKLAND. *Observing Our* Hermanos De Armas*: U.S. Military Attaches in Guatemala, Cuba, and Bolivia, 1950–1964*. (Latin American Studies: Social Sciences and Law.) New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. 224. $70.00.

The first permanent American intelligence agencies—the Office of Naval Intelligence and Military Intelligence—were established more than 120 years ago and immediately proceeded to deploy military attachés overseas. Ironically, attachés have in recent decades become virtually anonymous figures submerged in the huge United States intelligence community.

This anonymity to some degree extends to the academic community, but there is a reason. Most reports from military attachés carried security classifications, and for the post-World War II period, only a small percentage of these documents have been declassified. Fortunately, Robert O. Kirkland, a U.S. Army officer with the appropriate clearances, has opened a window on the history of military attachés stationed in Latin America. He has selected three countries during key periods in the Cold War: Guatemala, 1950–1954; Cuba, 1952–1958; and Bolivia, 1958–1964. He addresses the reporting of army, air force, and naval attachés, although the focus is on army and air force attachés. Furthermore, Kirkland provides an excellent introduction on the training (or lack thereof) of military attachés, a brief historical overview of their deployments, and a method for evaluating the accuracy of their reporting.

Guatemala was an obvious choice because the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) mounted a major (and risky) covert operation to overthrow the government of Jacobo Arbenz. The principal task assigned the attachés was to report whether the Guatemalan Army would continue to support the Arbenz regime. Surprisingly, the CIA had no credible sources within the armed forces and was forced to bring Major Manuel Chavez, an air force attaché whose tour in Guatemala had ended, back from the United States to talk with his contacts in the army. Chavez, who was much better connected than the other American attachés, and who spoke fluent Spanish, was unable to determine what the Guatemalan army would do, although he did report that his friends in the army were not happy with the Arbenz regime. The CIA went ahead with PBSUCCESS (its cryptonym for the operation) not knowing whether the army would stick with the president. Guatemalan military officers sat on their hands while Arbenz fled into exile.

Cuba provides an excellent case study of the classic dilemma that attachés faced: should they report only on the military, or ought they also cover political/military affairs? In 1952, Fulgencio Batista had returned to power in a classic coup. In December 1956, Fidel Castro and eighty-one compatriots landed on the Cuban coast and launched their guerrilla campaign. Kirkland describes the split between the ambassador (a political appointee backed by his military attachés), who did not want the United States to cut off the flow of munitions to the Batista regime, and the professional diplomats in the embassy and in the Department of State, who did. The diplomats prevailed, and the arms flow was severed in spring 1958. Kirkland and others ascribed the fall of Batista to the arms cutoff, widespread corruption in the military, and a 1956 abortive coup by younger officers, which resulted in the purging of hundreds of the best junior officers.

Unfortunately Kirkland does not provide adequate historical background to comprehend why Castro succeeded. Some historians suggest that the seeds of Castro's takeover were sown during the 1944–1952 rule of the Autenticos, a left-of-center party that

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elected two presidents in a row. The Autenticos set new records for corruption. For example, in 1948, a cabinet minister looted the Cuban treasury (apparently with the permission of the president) of approximately $80 million U.S. dollars. This degree of corruption is one reason why Batista overthrew with ease the government of Carlos Prio Socarras. Subsequently under Batista there were so-called "phantom regiments" in the army, whose commanders pocketed the salaries of nonexistent personnel. Thus both the Cuban army and the government were rotten to the core, which created the conditions for Castro to overthrow the Batista dictatorship.

The example of Bolivia describes the dilemma of air attaché Edward Fox's close (perhaps too close) relationship with general (and subsequent president) Rene Barrientos. Kirkland also corrects the historical record, pointing out that Fox was not attached to the CIA nor did he back (quite to the contrary) the overthrow by Barrientos of President Victor Paz Estensorro.

The author repetitively states that the success of an attaché in Spanish-speaking Latin America was principally based on whether the individual was fluent in Spanish and suggests that language training for all attachés is inadequate.

Kirkland's monograph breaks important new ground, and I hope that it will lead to future studies along similar lines.

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Emilie Stoltzfus. *Citizen, Mother, Worker: Debating Public Responsibility for Child Care after the Second World War.* (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 328. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

The shaping of a postwar "consensus" on the primacy of women's domestic responsibility and their retreat from paid employment was a contested and incomplete historical phenomenon, not a predetermined or "natural" outcome of the transition to a peacetime economy. Emilie Soltzfus adds a page to this story in her examination of working mothers' defense of publicly supported child care in the immediate postwar period. The story's denouement will surprise no one. Ultimately the efforts to secure permanent state-supported child care for more than a minority among the most destitute working mothers were unsuccessful because of the widespread reluctance to acknowledge women's right as citizens to work. Public child care survived in only a few locations in the immediate postwar period, and it was only in 1962, for the first time since the war, that federal funds were appropriated for that purpose. Even then, it was done within the limited framework of welfare reforms. Still, the battles that constitute the focus of this study are important, for they demonstrate "how parents politicized the issue of child care and made an early and significant challenge to the postwar resurgence of domesticity" (p. 11).

The core of Stoltzfus's analysis is based on a set of three case studies presented in chapters two through four. The battle in Cleveland, Ohio, was short lived. Despite a significant mobilization at the grass-roots level, the life of the wartime child care centers was extended for only a few months. In the case of the District of Columbia, activists were able to maintain funding for five years, although this was done by seriously limiting access to low-income single mothers, thus "effectively reshaping the District's program from a wartime public service to a postwar public charity" (p. 12). California, which was unusual in more respects than one, represents the third case study. Home to the largest federally supported day care program during the war, the neo-progressive state provided for the creation of a publicly funded child care system in 1957. Yet even in California, access to public care was restricted by income, except for specific groups, such as public schoolteachers and nurses, whose "womanpower" was prized.

The case study approach presents some problems: readers may wonder what prompted the choice of these particular locations and how representative they are of broader national debates on child care. Because of the many commonalities between the strategies and arguments used by child care activists in the three locations, and the similarities in the obstacles that they faced, a sense of déjà vu quickly sets in. Yet, the grass roots analysis that the case study approach also makes possible is effective in capturing the voices of working mothers, and herein lies one of the book's main strengths.

Working mothers appear in these pages as astute political strategists who, in their attempt to expand their social rights as citizens, crafted their arguments in response to what they thought their audience wanted to hear. In fact, they drew on a range of arguments to defend their right to work and the accompanying need for adequate child care. At first, they stressed the continuing war emergency for wives of servicemen who had not yet been demobilized. When they sought to move beyond the war emergency, they stressed economic necessity (by far the most common argument), as well as the related determination to remain off relief rolls. Only exceptionally did they evoke their individual aspirations and, in the case of California, their own contributions to the economy. Stoltzfus approaches this analysis of the activists' arguments with respect and nuance, stressing that placing "family needs at the center of their justification for work does not imply, however, that women held no individual aspirations" (p. 60). Rather, as in the case of the D.C. activists, they "understood how Congress expected a public day care program to be defended" (p. 116).

This book represents a useful addition to our historical reassessment of women's resistance to an inflexible and unrealistic ideological prescription to stay home.

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Although it is at times excessively detailed and repetitive in its description of local debates, it provides a solid reminder of the difficulties that women face in attempting to reconcile their commitment to the family with their economic need and social right to work.

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KARAL ANN MARLING. *Debutante: Rites and Regalia of American Debdom*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. 224. $24.95.

The topic of this engagingly written book by Karal Ann Marling is broader than its title indicates. In the sweep of historical and cultural context she provides for the practice of "debbing," Marling takes us from the particulars of nineteenth-century parlor teas to the secret societies of Mardi Gras, from the Harlem Cotillion to Texas quinceañeras, from the televised glamor of the Miss America pageant to the private anxieties of high school prom nights. She is openly enthusiastic about her subject and has this to say to its critics: "There is a peculiarly Victorian logic to the position that young women should not parade themselves in the public eye, nor trade upon their charm, good looks, and nice clothes . . . all such judgments on the male—or female—gaze fail to reckon with the interests of the would-be queen . . . there are many parts of the ritual so pleasurable and enjoyable that dainty arms need not be twisted much. Attention. Applause. The chance to compete, to do one's best . . . A heady sense of one's own personal power" (pp. 148–49).

Indeed, this work is likely to be of interest not only to scholars but also to a popular audience of those who participate in what Marling calls "A glorious pageant of beauty, class, and tinsel-topped splendor" (p. 127). The reader has the feeling that she is looking through the windows at beautiful young women in gowns of white chiffon and silver lamé, armfuls of American Beauty roses, "rivers of champagne" flowing through midnight suppers, and dancers swirling in Busby Berkeley-like patterns across the ballroom floor.

Yet as fun a read as it is, this book is much more than the academic equivalent of chick lit. Nor is it even primarily about gender: the real issue is class, or, more specifically, the role of women in embodying and enacting class in American society. The book is one part social history, documenting the details of these events (dress, hair, props, flowers, party favors, food, decorations, dances) and the experiences of particular debs representing particular eras. It is another part anthropological study of "virgin rituals," or, in a broader sense, the rites of passage that mark an adolescent's entry into adulthood and society. And it is a third part argument that beauty and social standing are legitimate platforms from which women—mothers as well as daughters—can assert power and influence.

The opening chapters trace the roots of debbing from the private social functions of the elite in early America to the New York "café society" of the 1920s and 1930s, a time of "celebrity debs" whose faces appeared on the covers of the country's top-circulation magazines. This section, especially the brief case study of deb Brenda Duff Frazier in the 1930s, explores the function of wealthy young women as blank slates onto which ideas about class and "taste" were inscribed and publicly communicated. The story then moves to the Midwest, becoming a study of how women have symbolized the expansion of "civilization" into new regions and cities, (literally) standing for the prosperity and modernity of those areas. Marling also surveys debbing in the African-American and Hispanic communities and concludes with a national picture of high school proms in the 1990s.

Scholars and other readers interested in beauty pageants will find Marling's history especially useful. She links the Miss America pageant, which began in the 1920s, with debbing of the same era, the time when debs became celebs and when the transition was made from single-girl functions to group debuts at which one young woman would be named "queen" of the ball. She notes other similarities: crown, gown, roses, even contestants' "platforms" of causes that paralleled the charitable themes of debutante balls. Resulting in a selection meant to symbolize "the ideal American girl," the Miss America pageant became "a debutante ritual for the masses" in a new era of mass media (p. 146).

This twentieth-century sleight of hand seems to have removed class from the process of debbing, making an exclusive ritual potentially accessible to all. In fact, such pageantry—and not just the survival, but what appears to be the spread of many varieties of debbing today—paints a picture of a country that cares more about social class, ritual, and tradition than we think. Marling's thoroughly researched book will enrich scholarship on Americans' fascination with class; it also will inspire lively classroom discussion, especially among young women.

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JONATHAN MICHEL METZL. *Prozac on the Couch: Prescribing Gender in the Era of Wonder Drugs*. Durham: N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. $24.95.

As I write this, a Food and Drug Administration (FDA) panel has just recommended warning labels for anti-depressants, such as Paxil and Zoloft, when they are prescribed for the million or so children, especially adolescent girls, who take them routinely. Studies have recently suggested that SSRIs (Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors) place kids at higher risk of suicide, just as studies of adults on Prozac did in the 1980s. Yet even skeptical psychopharmacology watchers agree that psychiatry's main job is to administer pills responsibly and effectively. To concede that the explosion in psychoactive drug use needs to be controlled around the margins, if at all, is to concede that

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a revolution has occurred in the way we think about human beings and their psychological lives.

Today's consensus that the brain is the control center of mental illness and health is the starting point for Jonathan Michel Metzl's survey of how psychoactive medications have been depicted in advertising and other spheres of American popular culture since the 1950s. As a young psychiatrist trained to offer chemical assistance more or less automatically, Metzl presents his discovery that pills have not replaced psychoanalysis as a dramatic challenge to standard narratives about the victory of biological psychiatry and the demise of talking cures during the past several decades, especially since the DSM-III was published in 1980.

Do not be misled by all the talk about a paradigm shift in psychiatry, Metzl warns. Sigmund Freud is still with us. Psychoanalytic interpretations of gender and sexuality remain deeply embedded in cultural understandings of how pills work, from the freighted relationships between male physicians and their female patients to expectations that medications can resolve an array of marriage and family-related difficulties. His argument is that "psychopharmaceuticals were shaped by the very psychoanalysis that biological psychiatry disavowed" (p. 74).

According to Metzl, his profession's disdain for the past is as wrong as it is smug, and what historian would not agree? It is precisely because wonder drugs work biochemically, claiming to circumvent the messy idiosyncracies of personal and social experience, that Metzl insists on subjecting them to the culturally self-conscious scrutiny that feminists like Mari Jo Buhle and Elizabeth Lunbeck have brought with them to the history of psychiatry. This book sets out to understand a half-century of pharmacological triumphalism in psychiatry with the help of psychoanalysis, the very interpretive framework that brain-centered psychiatry supposedly invalidated.

Respect for history is not necessarily synonymous with respect for Freud, but psychoanalysis is surely one way to bring history back in. What Metzl's book does is meditate on cultural forms and meanings; it does not document technological innovation, psychiatric professionalization, mental health policy, pharmaceutical marketing, or other topics familiar to historians of science and medicine. Its rightful place is in cultural and gender studies. In these fields, of course, psychoanalysis never died: Freud was still warmly welcomed in humanities departments long after he was unceremoniously exiled from medical schools. Scholars of visual, literary, and popular culture will consequently find Metzl's framework familiar, and his examination of "gender tensions" in various genres has much to offer them. Chapters follow Miltown through the pages of 1950s popular magazines, peruse drug ads in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* and the *Archives of General Psychiatry* during the years from 1964 through 1997, and analyze examples of "literary Prozac" from female authors including Elizabeth Wurtzel and Lauren Slater.

The book presents some evidence for a claim that has long been intuitively obvious to students of the postwar gender order: psychoactive drugs helped to maintain the authority of patriarchal and heterosexual arrangements after 1945. The era's gender geography—from "momism" (Philip Wylie's name for the national epidemic of masculinity-destroying, pathological motherhood) to Betty Friedan and the emerging feminist critique to post- and antifeminism—was mapped by pills. Metzl shows how the gendered relationships assumed and required among doctors, women, children, and pills themselves were represented and reinforced. Readers curious about how psychoanalysis was practiced or why neuroscience gained ground during this period should look elsewhere.

Metzl's fondness for clunky phrases (the "classic tropes of heteronormative sexual conquest" and "the pharmacokinetics of narrative form") can be distracting if one is not already accustomed to such obscurantism. Although his writing can be clear and engaging, Metzl's reliance on a vocabulary distant from psychiatry seems at odds with his desire to bring the gospel of history to rank-and-file practitioners. Cultural studies afficionados, however, are already drowning in exotic words and reflexivity. For them, Metzl's prose will be no more of an obstacle than his fixation on the visual positioning of wedding rings or the symbolic equation between men, medicine, and the capsules that so many Americans swallow daily.

This book's insights extend beyond the cultural history of psychotropics to the powerful, contradictory appeal of academic cultural studies today. It suggests that cultural and biological turns can be made at the same time, and sometimes by the same people.

ELLEN HERMAN
University of Oregon

SHAUL E. COHEN. *Planting Nature: Trees and the Manipulation of Environmental Stewardship in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 210. $34.95.

Tree planting is an emotionally laden activity with a long history in the United States. Shaul E. Cohen's book is a history of American tree planting. He also analyzes the utilization of tree planting by the multinational timber industry to improve its environmental image.

"As a class," Cohen writes, "trees have no parallel in the natural world . . . holding a cherished place on a human pedestal" (p. 164). Planting them makes people feel good, and more importantly, clears their consciences for continuing material consumption by allowing them to believe they are "restoring" nature's noblest creation. Cohen dates the earliest U.S. tree planting to legislation in the Virginia colonial assembly in 1624, authorizing mulberry trees to encourage a silk

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industry. Notable later examples include Increase Latham's Wisconsin report on forest destruction in that state in 1867, and the U.S. Congress's 1873 Timber Culture Act, designed to increase rainfall by adding to the number of rain-attracting trees on the Great Plains. More significant, perhaps, was the founding of Arbor Day by J. Sterling Morton in 1872.

Noting George Perkins Marsh's mid-nineteenth-century argument that forest destruction threatened environmental balance, Cohen credits the organization American Forests, established in 1875, with the greatest influence in spreading the idea of tree planting among the American population. One hundred years later, American Forests had been joined by a host of other organizations, and that organization itself had effectively been coopted by the U.S. Forest Service, an enthusiastic supporter of tree planting and timber harvesting. By 1989, 130 million trees were planted in the U.S. annually.

Cohen argues that despite such numbers, tree planting has had little effect on environmental degradation, or on environmental sustainability. The degradation, he contends, continues at an alarming pace. But tree planting is heartily endorsed by the timber industry, which abets the public in thinking that through tree planting individuals and organizations are participating in significant environmental remediation. Indeed, the industry supplies many of the trees that are planted annually. Because of its commitment to supplying the construction industry, Cohen argues, the Forest Service is complicit in ignoring environmental depletion.

Probing beyond simple numbers, Cohen suggests that the idea that nature is subject to human will is a suspect, though powerful, current in the discourse on trees. If tree planting has no arresting effect on environmental degradation, he notes, then remedial efforts are part of the problem, not part of the solution, for they offer "palliatives that ... do not address the root causes" (p. 150) of environmental destruction. The most important cause of that destruction is exhaustion of vital natural resources through their use to support and supply increasing human material consumption. If tree planting did help maintain or restore environment, Cohen asks, "how is it that after more than 125 years ... advocacy is still necessary, even more so now than before?" (p. 160). In fact, Cohen asserts, "the tree planters' discourse harnesses the special regard that people have for trees and manipulates it for profit." The timber industry is the chief beneficiary, not the environment. Rather than just planting trees, he argues, "if we are concerned about the environment, we must address the 'associated power structures, social relations, institutional configurations, discourse and belief systems' that contribute to its degradation" (p. 166).

This book is very useful for its data on the history of tree planting in the U.S., and for its summary of the argument that appropriation of the discourse of trees and tree planting by the timber industry is both cynical and profitable. Cohen includes few examples of the environmental degradation that is central to his argument, an absence that forces his reader to conjure, discover, or recall such evidence. In addition, a more thorough discussion of the methods of appropriation would have strengthened his thesis. However, Cohen's inclusion of promotional illustrations produced by the industry to show the beneficial effects of trees on the environment help to establish his principal point. So do several well-chosen editorial cartoons, including a Tolles drawing from the *Buffalo News* (1998) showing a logger with a chain saw, off to one side, impatiently looking at his watch while waiting for several tree planters happily finishing their Earth Day outing, shovels in hand.

STEPHEN HAYCOX
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ADAM ROME. *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 299. Cloth $54.95, paper $19.95.

Adam Rome's fine book adds to our understanding of the rise of environmental awareness and activism in the decades following World War II. Rome provides the reader with a thorough and comprehensive description of the phenomenon of suburban development and, in the process, contributes to the analysis of the growing environmental movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Rome's study concludes with the description of a proposed suburban land ethic, which represented the effort to reform and regulate unbridled suburban sprawl.

Rome begins by describing the postwar development of the modern housing industry. Tract homes spread across the landscape in response to the wartime housing shortage and the increasing affluence of postwar economic expansion. Within the suburbs, energy usage soared with the proliferation of electrical appliances, including central heat and air conditioning. This created one of many ironies. Affluent home buyers, as Rome explains, "were often drawn to homes designed to provide a new closeness with nature—yet they also wanted a host of high-energy comforts and conveniences" (p. 86). Poorly designed and under-insulated homes—conversely hot boxes or ice boxes—contributed to the high energy costs. The miraculous quality of central heating and air conditioning can only be understood within the context of the earlier, poorly designed homes, which made the exorbitant energy uses seem absolutely necessary, and therefore reasonable.

Rome devotes an entire chapter to the topic of "Septic-Tank Suburbia." As a baby boomer myself, and the grandson of a plumber, I found this chapter particularly interesting. By the mid 1950s, industry observers estimated that septic tanks served about one third of all new homes—perhaps 500,000 new homes and septic tanks a year. Since developers tended to

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place tracts with little thought toward soil conditions or watershed and aquifer circumstances, the septic systems often failed. Sometimes, however, they functioned properly; the septic tank in our mid-1950s southern Virginia home worked well, and contributed to the spectacular growth of a giant willow tree in our back yard. Despite such occasional success stories, septic tanks fell out of use in the 1960s, not due to residential complaints so much as the expansion of federally subsidized sewer systems. This marks an early example of one of Rome's main arguments: environmentalism arising in the suburbs was more the result of federal initiatives than residential or consumer-based activism.

The loss of open space was another issue of concern to suburban residents. As Rome explains, tract housing planners and residents, as well as a few developers, expressed a growing awareness of the ecological damage done by massive home construction in the postwar decades. Suburban residents were on the front lines of sprawl. Residents of neighborhoods on the edge of development often expressed an appreciation for the open, wild, and natural spaces just beyond their manicured lawns. Woods-traipsing children and their parents lodged fruitless protests as bulldozers cleared the neighboring forests to make room for the next tract. In another of the many ironies reflected in the book, residents rarely expressed an awareness that their own presence constituted a part of the problem, even though they occupied homes on land that had recently been forests or pastures.

The concern over lost open space generated calls for reform and regulation of land development practices. The growing concern culminated in the call for a land ethic to apply to suburban sprawl. Planners and intellectuals offered critiques of existing practices, and federal agencies investigated issues of soil erosion, water pollution, and loss of habitat for wildlife. The reform effort resulted in proposed legislation to establish The National Land Use Policy Act. Introduced by Senator Henry Jackson in 1970, Congress debated the bill for five years before its final defeat.

Rome concludes his study by analyzing the political failure of the federal reform effort. In part the defeat of the legislation represented the backlash toward environmentalism that arose in the aftermath of the oil embargo and declining affluence in the mid-1970s. At the heart of the defeat, however, were capitalism and the fundamental concepts of private property and profits. It was capitalism that bedeviled the efforts of reformers and activists in the 1970s. The conundrum of suburban sprawl is that it provides both desirable homes for consumers and great profits for developers. The land ethic idea ultimately failed to alter the basic economic realities that support suburban development.

Rome's book is insightful and informative. The tenor of the narrative is ironic and pessimistic: sprawl continues, and only the most egregious errors receive regulatory attention. Reform generally fails. The book will be of interest both to scholars seeking to understand the formation of modern environmentalism, and to concerned citizens seeking to place restraints on the continuing process of suburbanization.

MICHAEL F. LOGAN
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HAL K. ROTHMAN. *The New Urban Park: Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Civic Environmentalism*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xi, 258. $35.00.

Recently, there have been important contributions to our understanding of environmental history as revealed through the city. There is significant research that has analyzed the urban impact on environmental policy by focusing on pollution and reform in the city. But what has largely been absent is an exploration of the role of cities in shaping environmental conservation. Indeed, the study of environmental history, and particularly the study of national parks, has been dominated by focusing on the "wilderness" and the shifting ideas of nature, conservation, and preservation. Few have linked together the city, national parks, and environmental policy. Hal K. Rothman's book illustrates the important connections among local and national environmental politics, the emergence and expansion of urban national park units in the city of San Francisco, and the impacts of these forces on the wider national park system. His central argument dispels the idea that the urban units of the national park system have little significance; far from being inconsequential due to their urban location, these national parks have played crucial roles in shifting national park policy and thus influencing environmental politics.

Rothman begins by examining the historical and intellectual connection between the Bay Area and the national parks, which resulted in an enduring park movement in the San Francisco Bay Area. The earliest national parks (like Yellowstone and Yosemite) were large, natural wonders and became deeply ingrained in the American imagination as the archetypal park. Rothman remarks that both the advocates and the geography of San Francisco helped propel and expand the national parks. He argues that the historic connections between San Francisco, the environmental movement, and the national park system resulted in urban park planning and management issues that would foreshadow changes to the entire park system. This historical context is interesting, but not central given the actual focus of Rothman's book: the creation and evolution of one of the first urban national parks, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA), established in 1972.

The remaining chapters of the book concentrate on 1965 to the present. The GGNRA is a national park composed of many individual areas of some 70,000 acres, including Ocean Beach, the Presidio, Fort Mason, Alcatraz, and the Marin Headlands. Since their

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inception in the 1970s, urban units like the GGNRA challenged the Park Service in a way different from the wilderness areas. In the case of the GGNRA, the Park Service encountered multiple constituencies, from conventional conservationists, to labor interests, to neighborhood groups, and ethnic groups. The National Park Service found itself only one of many forces in an urban, local, and regional system of political economic interests. This is very different from the wilderness parks, where the Park Service dictates policy and is generally more independent of local authority (p. 58). Rothman's analysis is compelling: although initially resisted or derided for being included in the national park system, the urban units have exerted powerful and wide-ranging influence on the Park Service for the past forty years.

Rothman provides several detailed illustrations of the uniquely urban challenges to the parks in the Bay Area and the changes they wrought in the park system. Urban parks such as the GGNRA offer opportunities to engage in uses typically outlawed or not found in most wilderness parks: for example hang-gliding, mushroom picking, and clothing-optional beaches. Urban parks also highlight the tension between use and preservation, and introduce new situations in park policy and management, such as how to deal with a colony of feral pigs that were destroying vegetation, the rights of dog-walkers to have access to public lands, and controversy over whether to remove or restore the non-native eucalyptus landscape. Given these atypical challenges, Rothman notes, the Park Service came to understand that "standard" agency practice would not be effective in the urban park units; the agency had to adjust by allowing greater public participation in planning, land use, and management issues. As Park Service officials confronted a more complex and visible (and often vocal) constituency, they came to realize that citizen involvement could yield great benefits. Rothman notes that the grassroots group People for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area was a major force behind the creation and expansion of the urban national parks in San Francisco and became a major player in broader Bay Area environmental politics. GGNRA supporters volunteered time, raised money for park projects the Park Service could not fund, and helped to forge local and national political alliances that benefited the parks. As Rothman demonstrates, the issues raised by urban national parks thus influenced the very nature of what constituted a national park, and contributed to changes in park planning and management philosophy.

A strength of this book is that the author does a very good job of connecting local events to broader national themes of environmental protection and he effectively illustrates the complex scales of politics and political alliances, from the local to the metropolitan to the regional and national. But this strength is also a weakness: the amount of detail that is specific to San Francisco and the GGNRA makes it more problematic to generalize about the impacts on the entire park system. Still, Rothman is able to show the ways in which urban national parks as represented by the GGRNA have shaped national environmental politics.

This book will be of great interest to those enthusiasts and scholars of the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as those who study the national parks. The value of Rothman's work is to expand our appreciation for the significance of urban parks—not only for how they have impacted the lives of urban residents, but also for how they have expanded the purpose and meaning of the national park system. It is an important contribution to an overlooked area of environmental history.

LISA BENTON-SHORT
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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

KATHLEEN ANN MYERS. *Neither Saints nor Sinners: Writing the Lives of Women in Spanish America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 273. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

This illuminating work considers the life writings of six remarkable seventeenth-century women. Part one, "Potential Saints," elucidates the process of censoring and promoting Rosa de Lima (Peru, 1586–1617), Catarina de San Juan (Mogul Empire of India, c. 1600–1688), and the Augustinian Recollect nun, María de San José (Mexico, 1656–1719). Part two, "Not Quite Sinners," examines Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Mexico, 1648–1695); Ursula Suárez (Chile, 1666–1749); and Catalina de Erauso (Spain, 1592?–1650). Translated selections of their life writings are included in six appendixes.

Kathleen Ann Myers deftly shows how the production of confessional and hagiographic *vidas* (narrative accounts of spiritual lives), Inquisition and canonization testimonies, epistles and soldiers' stories, and picaresque novels about these exceptional women resonated with Counter-Reformation codes of orthodox sanctity and heroic virtue. Yet, despite attempts to regulate their lives according to prescribed formula, tolerance for singularity was also praised. From this tension derived the hybrid texts we have today.

In her discussion of Rosa de Lima, Myers traces the changes in the hagiographic portrayals of Rosa's life from her first beatification hearing in 1617 to her eventual canonization in 1671, and shows how the same church that promoted America's first saint also codified and controlled her. Catarina de San Juan was also a popular hero and a creole symbol of Puebla; many thought she deserved beatification. Unlike Rosa, however, Catarina's "opportunity for sainthood was lost in the cross-fire of rules about holiness, hagiography and blasphemy" (p. 67). By considering several biographical portraits of Catarina, Myers illustrates the complexities in determining the orthodoxy of texts, and how the censoring process of one *vida* helped frame a subsequent narrative that escaped a negative Inquisitorial judgment. Chapter three documents the

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quest of María de San José to enjoy mystic union with God. As Myers shows, she was not alone in her lofty aspirations. Her "highly-encoded" official biography manipulated portions of her journals to showcase her as an exemplum of subordination to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and as a model for future aspirants. Yet, despite her rescripting, the Congregation of Holy Rites never formally considered María's case because her adherence to devotional codes was considered unremarkable.

The chapter on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz contributes to an already considerable literature by arguing that this extraordinary nun reconfigured the ideological structure of confessor-nun communiqués in general and the *vida* genre in particular (p. 95). Her brilliant intellectual and literary contributions aside, Sor Juana carved out a new place for the lettered nun (*religiosa letrada*) by choosing compatible confessors and by nurturing contacts with high-ranking secular and religious supporters on both sides of the Atlantic. While some hoped to contain her brilliance while she lived, others posthumously promoted Sor Juana as an obedient *perfecta religiosa* and "as an icon that boasted America's cultural parity with Europe" (p. 111). The Poor Clare nun Ursula Suárez claimed to be God's first comedienne saint and, like Sor Juana, walked the fine line between deviance and orthodoxy. Well connected to influential clergy, she willingly risked censure by creating a part-hagiographical, part-picaresque *vida* of a mischievous storyteller turned preacher turned "happy saint." However, her final two notebooks reveal a humbled Ursula who experienced power struggles within the convent and with her confessors. Once again, Myers shows how outside mediators rescripted Ursula's notebooks to emphasize her spiritual conversion. The final chapter considers how the mercurial Catalina Erauso, a nun who became a swashbuckling outlaw, was exalted for her singularity and expression of heroic virtue. Catalina's memoirs borrowed elements from the soldier/conquistador narrative style, the picaresque novel (her cross-dressing adventures fit hand-in-glove with Golden Age theatrical plot conventions), and the spiritual autobiography genre. Not only did Erauso push literary conventions to new limits, her story underscores the ambiguous nature of gender, legal, and ecclesial codes. Like the other women considered in this volume, once Catalina died, others altered her story to fit different political ends.

Myers successfully applies her interdisciplinary skills as a literary critic and historian by showing how the interpretation of genres and codes of orthodoxy could affect the destinies of these exceptional women and their life writings. In addition, her conclusions add considerably to recent scholarship that exposes the reality between the extremes of orthodoxy and deviancy. She also convincingly shows that religious women were central to the "building of America's Christian identity" (p. 3). While most comparisons are insightful, associating Catalina de Erauso with Rosa de Lima because both manipulated the rules governing the female body seems less complete (p. 141). That minor flaw aside, Myers provides an innovative methodological framework that will aid future scholars examining and comparing the life writings of other colonial Latin American women.

Nancy E. van Deusen
Western Washington University

Jenny Sharpe. *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003. Pp. xxvi, 187. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

This book by Jenny Sharpe attempts to excavate from inattention the lives of three representative black women who lived within or in resistance to Caribbean plantation slavery: the legendary Maroon Nanny of Jamaica; the relatively unknown Joanna, the enslaved courtesan (Surinam wife) and purported love of John Gabriel Stedman; and the more studied Mary Prince, author of one of the few available Caribbean slave narratives. Two challenges help to focus Sharpe's work: how to account for modes of empowerment in the most disempowering situation one can inhabit, and how to speak of the location of the so-called mulatto woman and the issue of the lack of sexual agency in the context of slavery.

Sharpe takes up the problematic of resistance, using Michel-Rolph Trouillot's critique of the tendency to put too much weight on resistance, which ends up rendering the category meaninglessness (p. xv). Still, it becomes clear that reading resistance is a very complicated task, for it also requires reading progressively the visual images of punishments. For example, a bit in a slave woman's mouth is a clear indication that she had spoken back or otherwise resisted. Structures of punishment and the punishment industry that developed must be similarly factored in. Scholarly work on maroon communities reveals that they were more widespread than was initially assumed. Often, as in the case of the Florida Black Seminoles, these communities developed through links with native peoples.

The book pursues its project in three basic moves in four chapters. The first deals with Maroon Nanny and examines both the written historical archive as well as oral tradition and literary reconstructions in order to come to some comprehensive understanding of one of the only women to enter African Diaspora consciousness as a Jamaican national hero. Sharpe applies her titular "ghost" metaphor to Nanny, who "exists as a ghostly presence in colonial narratives that address her more as the product of myth and superstition" (p. 2). She fleshes out this figure via constructions of Nanny by a range of contemporary Jamaican creative artists such as Honor Ford Smith, Lorna Goodison, and Jean Binta Breeze as well as the heroic reconstructions in popular culture that serve Jamaican nationalism. She also references poet/historian Kamau Brathwaite's cri-

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tique of the reductionism that often appears in accounts of Maroon Nanny.

Sharpe does quite a bit of work in pursuing the archival record on Maroon Nanny, including the contradictory history of the compromises that the maroon community struck with the British (p. 29). This is a difficult history to navigate. Historians often find the incursion of literary evidence into historical record as problematic, but Sharpe as a literary scholar is able to make good use of both fact and fiction. She concludes in the end that Nanny's brand of female leadership belongs more to skills that developed in the concept of maroon resistance to enslavement than to those of their Ashanti counterparts, who were prohibited from the same by menstrual taboos (p. 32).

In the case of Joanna, who appears in Stedman's narrative as his concubine and local wife, Sharpe draws on Beryl Gilroy's *Stedman and Joanna—A Love in Bondage* (1991). Gilroy's text as much an exercise in psychological rehabilitation as it is literary, imaginatively entering Stedman's narrative to find Joanna as a speaking subject and thereby to give her the voice she was denied. Sharpe correctly challenges the result of this erasure of the power dynamics in relationships between white men and enslaved women, concluding that the story of Stedman and Joanna remains a "utopian vision of what could have been rather than a literary intervention into what was," linked more to "integrationist sentiments of the civil rights era than . . . to the segregated society of eighteenth-century Surinam" (p. 105). The inclusion of a selection from Caryl Philips's novel *Cambridge* (1991) seems somewhat of a diversion from the argument that Sharpe is building here, without any substantial justification for its entry.

Sharpe leaves us with a more complicated portrayal of Mary Prince, from the available archival sources, which is valuable in the sense that we see not only a heroic figure of the self-authorizing woman but one who as well was able to challenge the legal systems that attempted to contain her and to deploy a series of strategies to take herself out of particular conditions of enslavement. The conclusions that Sharpe comes to are nonetheless speculative, having to do with "negotiations for power within slavery" (p. 150). Her book suggests that there is much more work to be done. Sharpe ends with a postscript on Halle Berry and the Hollywood film *Monster's Ball* for which Barry won an Academy Award in 2002. This seems like the beginning of a much longer discussion of the contemporary "mixed race" female subject.

There are a few editorial slippages such as the unfortunate identification of Grace Nichols as "British Guyanese" (p. 33), when the name Guyana was chosen deliberately to supplant the earlier term "British Guiana," as Ghana was chosen to supplant the earlier "Gold Coast" during the period of independence. Still, the strength of Sharpe's study is that it demonstrates a painstaking consultation with Caribbean/local sources and archival material. The ability to navigate both historical and literary sources is also commendable, reminding readers that truth, to the extent that it can be identified, can only emerge from a range of types of sources. Excavating these women textually—in orality, in someone else's narrative, in archival sources, in their own voices—is important to the kind of difficult literary archaeology that Sharpe achieves so well here.

CAROLE BOYCE DAVIES
Florida International University

LAURENT DUBOIS. *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 452. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

In this impressive work, Laurent Dubois reveals a world of ideas and conflicts that will astonish even most specialists of eighteenth-century history. The book is about slave insurgency in the Caribbean and the difficulty of establishing lasting equality in colonial regimes that were founded on racial hierarchy. It is a *summa* of historical methods applied to a great topic. Dubois offers a microhistory of successive revolts in the neglected island of Guadeloupe but also makes large comparisons with the better-known Haitian Revolution. He treats racial ideologies in depth but manages to weave in gender analysis. He is equally at home describing plantation economics and the ideas of major French abolitionists such as Condorcet. Finally, he attempts to create a "dialogue" between history and the present. This he does by analyzing how the events of the eighteenth century are commemorated today in the Caribbean, and by exhorting us, in his own prophetic voice, to be more attentive to the contributions of Caribbean peoples to the modern spirit of equality.

An excellent background section traces the emergence of the French Caribbean. As noted, special attention goes to Guadeloupe and its distinctive social features. For example, in contrast to Haiti, where most slaves at any given time had been born in Africa, the slave population in Guadeloupe was largely born on the island, or on other nearby islands. Dubois also highlights the role of *gens de couleur*, or semi-free persons of mixed race. The militia was the crucial vehicle of social mobility for *gens de couleur*, but since women were not soldiers, their prospects for moving ahead were restricted. The book is rich in its description of the master-slave relationship. It contains, for example, vivid details about naming practices—how masters chose sentimental names for their slaves to erase the brutality of the slave regime.

In terms of the movement from Old Regime to revolt, Dubois plays down the significance of French abolitionism. He emphasizes that the slaves of Guadeloupe (and Haiti) took their freedom; they were not given it. They expanded French revolutionary ideology, which was heavily tilted toward property rights, and hence ambiguous about slavery, into a full-fledged vision of human equality. The heart of the book is the extremely detailed narrative of revolts in Guadeloupe

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in 1792, 1797, and 1802. The first was meant to abolish slavery and succeeded. The other two, unsuccessful, were directed against the postemancipation French government that was fearful of immediate and total emancipation and contrived new ways to apply racial classifications that had officially been abolished. Dubois speaks of a "new republican racism." The French restored slavery in Guadeloupe in 1802.

In the midst of much fine analysis, Dubois occasionally cannot resist the temptation to idealize the Caribbean insurgents. At times, he also seems to attribute all the problems bequeathed by emancipation to the refusal of the French to take their democratic ideology to its extreme limit. These problems include the dissolution of the plantation economy, resulting in impoverishment; violence between blacks and persons of mixed blood; and a tendency toward authoritarianism (both in Haiti under the former slave Toussaint L'Ouverture and in Guadeloupe under the French commissioner Victor Hughes). But sudden and bloody emancipation must always yield some tragedies of its own, tragedies that are not the fault of any party but stem from the impossibility of satisfying unprecedented hopes and containing new cultural practices of violence. Moreover, so much of this book is focused on the comparison between Haiti and Guadeloupe that the author could have reflected in political terms on the ultimate fate of the two islands. To put it bluntly, Guadeloupe, which remains part of France, is arguably now in better shape than independent Haiti.

Dubois ends the book with a confusing move: he argues that the French ought to be more accepting of contemporary practitioners of Voodoo. In sum, there are key moments in which Dubois avoids political complexity in order to preserve the innocence of the Caribbean. From an interpretive standpoint, then, the book is perhaps less than the sum of its parts. Yet this judgment will vary from reader to reader, depending on one's philosophical sense of the relationship between democracy and misfortune. And even this reviewer, ever skeptical of those who would pay homage to bloody revolutions, Western or Caribbean, found Dubois's book to be one of the most informative works of history he has read in a long time.

Daniel Gordon
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Paul Sullivan. *Xuxub Must Die: The Lost Histories of a Murder on the Yucatan*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2004. Pp. 260. $29.00.

Paul Sullivan's new history of death and intrigue in nineteenth-century Yucatán is one of those rare works that succeeds by breaking all the right rules. As admirable for its style and research as for its overall conceptualization, the book explores the many ethnicities and cultural assumptions that converged over the murder of a U.S. property owner in northeast Yucatán in 1875. Sullivan uses this event to explore the expansionist United States of the late nineteenth century, the political and economic culture of pre-Porfirian Mexico, and the world of Maya rebels that grew out of Yucatán's Caste War of 1847. Although subtly stated, the book's theme concerns the enormous relativity that is built into historical events, and the difficulty of reaching definitive truth. Everyone involved in the story blamed someone else for the bloodlettings at Xuxub. The property owner's survivors and business partners blamed corrupt Yucatecan rivals; the rivals blamed the property owner and the "barbarian" Maya rebels; the Yucatecan state blamed and executed a hapless scapegoat Maya; and factions of Maya rebels who did not take part in the murders blamed their fallen counterparts for excessive hubris. Finally, Mexico and the United States continued for years to quarrel over the matter of damages for the crimes, using claims over the Xuxub property as bargaining chips in larger diplomatic quarrels, and not definitively settling the claims until nearly a hundred years later.

What is the message here? Sullivan purposefully avoids the dissertational style of argumentative writing, with its thesis and schematic arguments, that informs so much academic history. Still, there is meaning hidden beneath the narrative. The Xuxub story reveals how human beings consciously and unconsciously misremember the past, and how manipulated information rather than rationality conditions the unfolding of human affairs. In this sense, the book shares much with Sullivan's earlier *Unfinished Conversations: Mayas and Foreigners between Two Wars* (1989), in which mutual deception and misunderstanding informed contact between Mayas and outsiders in the early twentieth century. Along the way, the author manages to explore the corrupt atmosphere of the Yucatecan business class, the often obtuse and self-righteous interventions of U.S. citizens abroad, and the way in which military success brought arrogance and self-destruction to Maya rebel leader Bernardino Cen.

The organization is experimental, insofar as Sullivan adopts a fractured, perspectivist narrative that reflects the multiple points of view that he proposes to capture. His onion-peel method of retelling of the same story exposes different nuance and meaning. This serves to peak interest rather than put off the reader; for example, each chapter ends with a brief teaser that gets the reader ready to move to a new perspective or group of characters. In terms of research, this is one of the most thorough reconstructions of a historical event in southeast Mexico ever attempted. Sullivan manages to bring together folk narratives, Yucatán's state archives, records of the U.S. State Department, and the Archives of Belize. We need to see more of this type of approach in order to break out of well-worn Caste War narratives and move toward more fully realized characterizations, and greater understanding of the peoples, places, and institutions of the past. The use of source material is clever and often surprising; Sullivan manages to find connections at the least expected

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moments, building them into a web of historical cause and effect.

Sullivan does many things right. First, he refuses to be content with the received narratives that have dominated Caste War studies since the nineteenth century. Second, he admirably avoids romanticizing the Maya rebels, portraying them rather with the same confusions and foibles as the Hispanics that controlled Yucatecan society. Third, he wisely avoids explorations of historiography and minimizes secondary sources in favor of his own story drawn from original archival materials. Fourth, he finds relatively small events reverberating onto the international arena. All of these points make his book an arresting work. Perhaps the most unusual achievement here is the voice which Sullivan finds to tell his tale. In an age when too few historians worry about style, the author adopts a lean, direct, and highly distinctive narrative; some of the passages appear to have been copyedited by Raymond Chandler. Sadly, the material occasionally gets in the way. Sullivan's at times too-literal paraphrasing of intricate court cases, diplomatic exchanges, and newspaper op-ed wars tends to tire the reader's patience. He is much better in setting scenes, laying out intricate ethnohistory, or recreating scenes of first-hand observation. Still, this study is destined to take its place among the best books on the history of southeast Mexico. Sullivan shows that individual stories and actors can be every bit as compelling as the broad band, and that the challenge for future generations is to rescue these gems of human existence from the ore of generalization.

TERRY RUGELEY
University of Oklahoma

RICHARD WEINER. *Race, Nation, and Market: Economic Culture in Porfirian Mexio*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 167. $39.95.

The golden age of Mexican economic history has apparently arrived. During the past decade there has been a flood of monographs, anthologies, and journal articles by Mario Cerutti, Sandra Kuntz Ficker, Leonor Ludlow, Carlos Marichal, and Noel Maurer in Mexico and Edward Beattie, Stephen Haber, and Armando Razo in the United States. They have transformed the field with provocative new insights, employed social science theories, and exhumed mountains of new data to provide us with analyses of government-business relations, the role of banking in economic development, and the effects of the long Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) on business. Richard Weiner contributes to this literature by exploring a quite different aspect of economic history: the discourse among intellectuals and politicians about the "market." Using contemporary periodicals, official publications, essays, and books as his sources, he explores how liberals, social Catholics, and radicals conceptualized the market and how their views in turn shaped the policies and programs they advocated.

Classic liberalism with its emphasis on free markets and individualism never won over nineteenth and early twentieth-century Mexicans, even those who regarded themselves as liberals, because their hard-eyed assessment of economic and social conditions concluded these concepts were impractical. Elites, first and foremost, sought economic development, which they quickly realized was unattainable without some forms of state (national government) intervention. Moreover, racism pervaded the elite's view of their nation.

"Developmentalist liberals," Weiner's label for Mexican liberals who emerged during the Díaz era and who emphasized economics rather than nation-building, dominated the discourse and policy making after the 1890s. In their push for development, they could not rely entirely on the virtues of the market, because they dismissed the possibility that the market could modernize the indigenous population, which instead required education and coercion. These in turn necessitated state intervention. Liberals were so convinced of their own negative assessment of the indigenous population that they were willing to tolerate or employ forced labor. They abandoned their earlier notion of Indian as citizen.

Liberals had contradictory notions of the international economy. They desperately needed and sought foreign investment and technology. They also believed in the advantages of European immigration. Social Darwinists among them, in particular, firmly accepted the notion that Mexico could not survive the harsh competition of the international market without foreign assistance. Nonetheless, they also saw that the U.S. economy was the most dangerous threat to Mexican sovereignty. It was a painful dilemma (which persists to the present day in the relations between the two nations).

Perhaps the author's most original contribution is his discussion of social Catholicism, especially the thought of Trinidad Sánchez Santos. Basing their ideas on Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, the social Catholics supported a social order in which moral and religious principles rather than economic liberalism would regulate the economy. They opposed liberalism which placed the interest of the individual over the common good. They also believed that the market was destroying the "proper division between the public and private spheres," which placed the responsibility for reproduction and education in the hands of women in the home and the responsibility for making a living in the hands of men. The social Catholics also rejected racialism, finding the answer to the Indian "problem" in economic exploitation. They argued that an economy run by morality would mitigate inequities in the distribution of wealth. There is no evidence that the ideas the social Catholics advocated had any effect on either Porfirio Díaz or his henchmen.

Weiner also presents a concise summary of the most cogent ideological opposition to the Díaz regime, the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), which began advo-

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cating liberal principles and ended favoring anarchism. The PLM most notably clashed with the liberals over the issue of indigenous landholding. The PLM strongly supported collective ownership. But underlying the PLM's radical veneer lay another form of racialism, for the PLM, like the liberals, sought to remake the Indians through education into more productive members of society. In its radical evolution, the PLM rejected the notion of ethnicity and focused on class. Indians disappeared from this analysis.

This slim book (108 pages of text, 31 pages of notes) makes two valuable contributions. First, the author clearly and concisely summarizes the major intellectual trends in the realm of economics during the Díaz era. Second, he stresses race and gender in the contemporary discourse.

MARK WASSERMAN
Rutgers University

VIRGINIA MORA CARVAJAL. *Rompiendo mitos y forjando historia: Mujeres urbanas y relaciones de género en Costa Rica a inicios del siglo XX*. (Biblioteca de Historia "Carlos Meléndez Chaverri.") Alajuela, Costa Rica: Museo Histórico Cultural Juan Santamaría. 2003. Pp. 340.

Virginia Mora Carvajal's book examines "the characteristics of the social participation of women . . . and the changes that are produced in gender relations as a consequence of the more public presence of women" in San Jose, Costa Rica, in the 1920s (p. 1). Based on her study of three daily newspapers that span the decade, Carvajal is able to trace women's increased activities in diverse areas of public life, from their participation in sporting clubs and dance academies to the foundation of the pioneering Feminist League in 1923. Among other topics, she documents and analyzes the "feminization" of the teaching profession; the modernization of motherhood; social control of women workers; and the rise in women's organizations, feminist and nonfeminist. She concludes that women were both the "products and producers of modernization" as they took advantage of existing social tendencies to legitimate the expanded public participation of women, and redefined them according to their own aspirations and interests (p. 307).

Carvajal's investigative strategy produces much information about attitudes toward women and how these were changing (or not) in the mainstream press and, by extension, the larger society. It also provides evidence of women's voices, experiences, and activism. The reformist daily *La Prensa*, for example, sponsored a "Women's Writing Contest" and published the top four entries by women on the assigned topic of "your problems . . . your ideas." It organized another contest to elect the "Delegate of Honor of the Costa Rican Woman Worker [*obrerita*]." It also published the entire texts of thirty-eight of the forty-four speeches offered by women to introduce the Reformist Party's presidential candidate Jorge Volio Jiménez in 1923—a campaign practice that underscored the rising importance of women's political participation as the standard bearers of morality during the decade in question. Carvajal's almost exclusive reliance on three newspaper dailies, however, inevitably limits the scope of her investigation. We know, for example, that a Feminist League is founded in 1923, and even who sits on its first board of directors. But the trail in the daily press stops here, and the author does not make any substantial attempt to pick it up via other research paths.

Carvajal evinces a nuanced and comparative understanding of the international literature on women's history of this period in general, and on feminism in particular. This allows her to draw important parallels between the activities of Costa Rican women and their international counterparts. Her interpretation of the emergence of the "modern Costa Rican woman," however, borders on replicating the findings of historians who have studied similar phenomena in the United States and Europe without distinguishing what was uniquely Costa Rican about these modern women. Here, the author is faced with a challenge common to historians of early twentieth-century Latin American society and culture: how to deal with the issue of imitation of U.S. and/or European trends when trying to plot the modernization of Latin American gender relations, given that this imitation was part and parcel of the modernization process. Although it does not resolve the dilemma, Carvajal's study of Costa Rican women in the 1920s is a useful contribution to its discussion.

ERICKA KIM VERBA
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ARLENE J. DÍAZ. *Female Citizens, Patriarchs, and the Law in Venezuela, 1786–1904*. (Engendering Latin America.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 335. $39.95.

In *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (1975), Eric Hobsbawm argues that the history of the world from the nineteenth century onward is "primarily that of the massive advance of the world economy of industrial capitalism, of the social order it represented, of the ideas and beliefs which seemed to legitimize and ratify it: in reason, science, progress and liberalism" (p. 3). Did the age of capital, or of revolution before it and empire after it, come and go unaffected by a host of laws dictating gender relations? Arlene J. Díaz would say no. She argues instead that stretching from the rise of the independence movements in the late eighteenth century, through the long nineteenth century, new states limited women's citizenship in accordance with changing systems of governance. Ideologies that heralded science, reason, and progress were interwoven with traditional notions of patriarchy to restructure, but preserve, male dominance.

This study focuses on the civil laws of marriage, especially as they intersected and coincided with Cath-

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olic Church doctrine, based on an ideal of femininity. The latter, as Díaz shows, remained a remarkably stable construct in Venezuelan society from independence to the early twentieth century, especially given the dramatic economic and political transformations that marked the period. Whereas the Venezuelan Constitution was the first in Latin America to espouse ideals of liberty, equality, individuality, and citizenship, as in North America and Europe these rights were limited to propertied, mostly white, men. In Venezuela, as elsewhere, "the issue of women's rights was not part of the political discussions, nor did the Constitution grant women any specific rights" (p. 5). Although it is well known that women, the poor, and people of color were excluded from nineteenth-century republicanism, Díaz's study examines several new factors: the construction and reproduction of masculinity, and the use of masculine values to assert male dominance and exclude female participation. Moreover, she shows that women understood and responded, even contested, their exclusion. Díaz uncovers this history by tracing court records pertaining to women's claims of wrongful treatment at the hands of abusive, adulterous, cheating, and extortionist husbands, partners, and even parents. The court records are replete with proof that women understood the doctrine of rights being articulated and exercised by men. They attempted often to extend those rights to themselves, demonstrating, even as their cases failed, that they were far from passive observers of the liberal order that excluded them.

The book moves chronologically from 1796 to 1904, divided into sections that each open with a description of the political, economic, and, less often, social transformations that marked the era. For example, the first section examines the Bolivarian dream of unity and liberal republicanism, which coincided with strict controls of women's domestic behavior. In section two, on the early republic, Díaz shows how unity fractured Gran Colombia into the separate states of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, while attempts at liberal equality dissolved into the powerful hold of the traditional landowners and military. The participatory role women had forged in the independence era was quashed as the propertied male hierarchy asserted its dominance.

One leaves the book with a clear understanding of the smaller picture as reflected on the larger canvas. Because the author builds her argument through the court cases, the book details some fascinating stories. However, the attempt to link political changes and masculine imagery with a particular court case sometimes means that Díaz divides a story over a number of themes, and this is confusing. For example, the account of Vincenta Ochoa, a woman sentenced to death for strangling a slave woman (not her own), is explained piecemeal over a number of chapters, with the full account not appearing until many pages past the first mention of the Ochoa case. It would have been better to depart from the strict linkage between the broader canvas and the individual case to lay out the story all at once and then to unpack all that we can learn from it. Finally, the University of Nebraska Press's citation method, although not the fault of the author, may be efficient, but to this reader it is frustrating. Endnotes contained only the abbreviated citation, and one has to keep turning to the bibliography to get the full reference. I do not think the savings on a few words was worth it.

Díaz has written a very engaging study that fills in the gaps in the history of liberal thought and the development of masculine imagery in the law. By engendering traditional Latin American political and legal history, this study contributes to our understanding of the limits of nineteenth century republicanism.

TERESA MEADE
Union College [All reviews of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

LAURA DE MELLO E SOUZA. *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*. Translated by DIANE GROSKLAUS WHITTY. (LLILAS Translations from Latin America Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 350. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

Originally published in 1986 as *O diabo e a terra de Santa Cruz*, this book has long been recognized as the definitive study of witchcraft and popular religion in colonial Brazil. Indeed, it occupies a seminal place among all such studies in Latin America. Despite the passage of nearly twenty years since its initial publication, the book retains a vitality and importance that more than justifies its belated translation into English.

The book is divided into three parts. In part one, "A Wealth of Impieties: The Colony's Lot," Laura de Mello e Souza establishes the European vision of colony. Portuguese colonizers viewed Brazil's natural environment and economy as paradise, but the colony's inhabitants were seen as evil and monstrous men—indigenous peoples, African slaves, and deviant Portuguese settlers—who were most closely associated with the demons of hell. Trapped between paradise and inferno, Brazil was essentially a colonial purgatory. Here, pagan and Catholic beliefs of the Portuguese fused with various indigenous and African traditions, creating a syncretic religious system that was itself "one of the faces of hell" (p. 87). Salvation was attainable, but only through the production of sugar, coffee, diamonds, and other colonial riches.

In the second part of the book, "Sorcery, Magical Practices, and Daily Life," the author emphasizes the centrality of witchcraft to everyday life in the colony. Using the records of the Portuguese Inquisition, she introduces the reader to divinations, healing rituals, erotic charms, protective amulets, Indian and African possession rituals, as well as various pacts with the Devil. This section is, by far, the most engaging part of the book. Social tensions between men and women,

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masters and slaves, quarreling neighbors, and star-crossed lovers are laid bare in the Inquisition cases, and Mello e Souza exploits these rich sources to their fullest effect. Here we see the multiple ways that subaltern peoples attempted to manipulate temporal forces that were so often beyond their control. These rituals and beliefs were at the core of everyday life in Brazil, yet the Inquisition saw them as heresy. By prosecuting these "heretics" the Inquisition generated confusion, suspicion, and fear, heightening social tensions in the colony.

In part three, "Culture, Imagination, and Everyday Life," Mello e Souza argues that the various cultural forms of the colony, though often divergent from one another, intersected at the juncture of witchcraft. In this way, witchcraft became a magnifying glass for the social tensions that defined the colony. Elites redefined popular religious practices as witchcraft, but these popular beliefs penetrated and transformed the very meaning of witchcraft. Building on Carlo Ginzburg's notion of the circularity of cultural levels, Mello e Souza sees this dialogue between elite and popular forms as a quintessentially colonial phenomenon, revealing the extent to which culture and religion were sharply contested in the colony. Still, the balance of power lay with the Inquisition; and through six painfully detailed biographical sketches, Mello e Souza demonstrates the ways the institution could shatter individual lives.

Mello e Souza's conclusion that colonial witchcraft "was both the object of a complex collage and the genesis of a new synthesis" (p. 255) is theoretically sound, and the cases she presents provide an everyday flavor of subaltern life rarely found in the literature on colonial Latin America. Nevertheless, there remains in her rendering a subtle bias toward European structures and ways of viewing the world. She acknowledges various Indian and African strands that contributed to Brazilian cultural identity; yet, her analysis of these strands is sometimes incomplete. For example, she assumes that African *calundus* and Indian *catimbós* were syncretic practices, with no attempt to trace their specific origins in the same ways she does with Portuguese popular religious practices. The end result is a narrative that privileges the adaptability and resilience of European religious structures over those of Africans and Indians. We learn that the field of European "devils" was transformed and expanded in Brazil, but what about African and Indian "devils," "ancestors," and so on? Did European ideas about witchcraft really transform the interior lives of Africans and Indians? How were Indian and African ideas about evil transformed by their encounters with Europeans? Without a more detailed examination of specific African and Indian cosmologies, we cannot have a complete understanding of the historical evolution of popular religion in Brazil, particularly in those regions where Indians and first-generation African slaves were demographically dominant.

Ultimately, criticizing Mello e Souza for not capturing all of the myriad perspectives that were synthesized into a colonial *mentalité* is unfair. Indeed, one could argue that the unanswered questions raised in this book are simply another of its considerable strengths. That so many of these questions remain unanswered is a testament to the book's continuing relevance. Fortunately, this excellent English translation will make Mello e Souza's work accessible to a wider audience. It should be required reading for all who are interested in religion, culture, and the colonial experience.

James H. Sweet
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Patricia R. Pessar. *From Fanatics To Folk: Brazilian Millenarianism and Popular Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 273. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

Brazil, like the United States, has a rich history of millenarian movements. At such places as Canudos, Contestado, and Juazeiro in the Brazilian backlands, rural Catholic folk joined charismatic lay leaders and sometimes priests in creating religious communities predicated upon imminent apocalypse. For many impoverished backlanders, the great political, economic, and social changes taking place at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth signified the end of the world as they knew it. The trials and tribulations of life in the young Brazilian Republic caused many Catholics of the backlands to dream of a millenarian utopia in which they, and not their rural bosses, were the chosen ones. Today, millenarian discourse, if not practice, lives on in Brazil especially in the fiery sermons of Pentecostal preachers who view war in the Middle East and same-sex marriage in parts of Europe, Canada, and possibly the United States as clear signs of impending Armageddon.

The better-known millenarian movements of Brazil having already been studied in depth by U.S. and Brazilian social scientists (Robert Levine, Todd Diacon, Ralph Della Cava, Maria Isaura Pereria de Queiroz, Carole Myscofski), anthropologist Patricia R. Pessar analyzes an important but long-overlooked community: Santa Brigida in the state of Bahia. Pessar employs Santa Brigida as a case study to demonstrate the dynamism and continuity of millenarianism over the course of Brazilian history. While ethnography is the predominant methodology, archival research and secondary sources are employed to reconstruct the community's history and to reinterpret the nature of Brazilian millenarianism. Since Pedro Batista, the community's charismatic founder and leader, had died six years before Pessar's arrival in Santa Brigida in 1973, archival documents were crucial in reconstructing the short history of the movement.

In chapter one, Pessar seeks to explain how the millenarian symbols employed by Portuguese conquerors and missionaries to legitimate their colonial rule were transformed into "a popular discourse of resis-

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tance" that inspired religious rebels at Juazeiro, Canudos, and Contestado. Explanations are found in the great transformations taking place during the second half of the nineteenth century in church-state relations, the economy, and the Brazilian body politic. Pessar convincingly shows that such rapid and monumental changes turned the world of poor backlanders upside down.

Having considered the social, economic, political, and religious forces at play, Pessar in chapter two explores the social construction of Brazilian millenarian leaders. Batista is the focus but the charismatic preachers of Canudos, Contestado, and Juazeiro are also analyzed. Pessar posits four elements that are central to what she calls the "sacralizing process" in which the people make a living saint. Salient is Pessar's third element, whereby the holy man must demonstrate his spiritual power. In the specific case of Batista, this is exhibited most powerfully and efficaciously through his performances of faith healing (which, despite his professed disdain for them, drew heavily on Xango and Umbanda, important African diasporan faiths). The centrality of faith healing to Batista's ministry leads one to wonder if it and not millenarian preaching was the real main attraction at Santa Brigida. "In fact, for many the decision to dedicate themselves to Pedro Batista and his mission followed a successful cure" (p. 55). While the author acknowledges Batista's syncretic healing rites, which included spirit possession and putting pressure on the ears of the afflicted, greater discussion of African diasporan faiths would have made the syncretic Catholicism practiced at Santa Brigida more comprehensible.

Having been made a saint by his followers, Batista, as documented in chapters three and for, set about establishing his religious community at Santa Brigida, in the backlands of Bahia. A shrewd political operator, Batista developed a strategic relationship with the local boss (colonel) who allowed the establishment of Santa Brigida in exchange for the votes of Batista's devotees in local elections. Protected by a powerful political patron, Batista and his followers were able to practice a heterodox and often transgressive faith that included such practices as drinking the bathwater in which the charismatic leader had bathed. Pessar also considers the factors that motivated thousands of believers to abandon their homes and join the community at Santa Brigida. She points to vaguely conceived "spiritual concerns" as the prime impetus. Again, however, both the narratives of her informants and her own statements point to the salience of more practical concerns, such as illness, alcohol abuse, adultery, and other "vices" associated with the male prestige complex. Indeed, Batista's preoccupation with practical concerns in the secular realm, namely his cooptation by the local political bosses, led many of his followers to doubt his adequacy as a charismatic leader.

In chapters five and six Pessar examines the demise and death of Santa Brigida as a millenarian community. The death of Batista in 1967 unleashed an interesting power struggle for succession between a strong-willed practitioner of Xango and Batista's most prominent female devotee (*beata*). Here again the nature of the conflict would have been clearer with a few additional pages on the beliefs and practices of Afro-Brazilian religion. In 1973, Pessar arrived in Santa Brigida in the midst of yet another power struggle between the *beata* and an inebriated, wizened pretender (*o velho*) to Batista's throne. Rent by class conflict, generational differences, and the practice of Xango, Santa Brigida by the early 1970s no longer existed (indeed if it ever had) as a millenarian community.

The last chapter is a fascinating, but flawed, account of the contemporary efforts of municipal leaders to market Santa Brigida as a major place of interest on the national religious tourism circuit. Attracting some two million faithful annually, Juazeiro in the northeast serves as Santa Brigida's model of success. Despite the obvious domestication and cooptation of millenarian symbols by agents of the state, church, and academy, the author concludes that millenarianism lives on in the sermons of liberationist priests and in popular struggles for justice, such as the landless peasant movement (*movimento sem terra*). And so it does, but on a much larger scale in the apocalyptic sermons of Pentecostal preachers. Even here it is millenarian discourse and not praxis that continues. Nowhere in Brazil today are landless peasants, Pentecostals, or liberationist Catholics assembling in communities to await the Second Coming. Indeed, one is left wondering if Santa Brigida was really more of a thaumaturgical than a millenarian community. In any case, in shedding light on a long overlooked religious community, Pessar has made a significant contribution to the growing corpus of research on religion and society in Latin America.

R. Andrew Chesnut
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Hendrik Kraay. *Race, State, and Armed Forces in Independence-Era Brazil: Bahia, 1790s-1840s*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 362. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

Hendrik Kraay has written a model regional study of the Brazilian armed forces in a critical period in its development. He demonstrates how much our understanding of the creation of the Brazilian state is enhanced by investigating the changes in the army and the militias as Brazil moved from Portuguese colony to independent constitutional monarchy. The military had been an important part of Luso-Brazilian society during the colonial era, when soldiering was a life-long occupation for a significant portion of the free adult male population. Decisions made in the 1820s and early 1830s kept the military from becoming an important political actor until late in the game relative to much of Spanish America while also reshaping the

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racial dynamics of a complex and contradictory society. Kraay's book should interest not only comparative military historians but also scholars who examine issues of race and citizenship in postcolonial societies.

Bahia in 1822 and 1823 experienced a war for independence between Portuguese troops and Brazilians that contrasted dramatically with what was an otherwise pacific transition to independence in most provinces. Like much of the rest of Brazil, however, the most important struggles over political power occurred in the decades following independence. Liberals' distrust of a standing army led to the dramatic scaling back of the institution during their peak period of influence in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Not surprisingly, this complicated the effort by the imperial state to put down the regional rebellions that took place in the latter half of the 1830s and the first half of the 1840s. As an alternative to the army and to the colonial militias as well, a National Guard was created, which fell under the influence of local large landowners but did not turn into the kind of private army that frequently undermined stable government in many neighboring countries. In response to the rebellions of the 1830s, in Bahia and elsewhere, the central government deprived the National Guard of a great deal of its autonomy (and its internal democratic characteristics, as well). In the 1840s, as part of the larger drive toward the centralization of power, a truly national army was established. Officers were discouraged from maintaining exclusively regional loyalties. The planter elite in Bahia made its peace with this new army and found it useful for maintaining order but did not send their sons to serve in it (preferring that they obtain degrees in law or medicine). At the same time, the army's political importance declined. The depoliticization of the Brazilian military was one of the major achievements of the imperial state. The army remained an undernourished institution subordinate to civilian authority until the 1880s.

The political history of the armed forces, however, is complicated considerably by its social history. White army officers during the colonial period enjoyed high social status and strong ties to mercantile, agricultural, and administrative elites. Independence posed critical questions for a racially divided country like Brazil. The colonial, corporatist system had offered benefits not only to army officers but also to those black and mulatto males who became officers in the racially segregated militias, and they consequently had refused to join conspiracies against Portuguese rule. The struggle for independence in Bahia expanded the number of nonwhite males with military experience, virtually eliminated the white officer corps, and broke down the alliance between planters and officers. The liberal model after independence promised legal equality and eliminated the ideological justification for racial hierarchies. Initial support for the emperor Dom Pedro I was quite strong among nonwhites. Free blacks and those of mixed race achieved only short-term gains, however, as even committed liberals were uneasy as nonwhites became citizens. Opportunities for nonwhite officers declined as the "diffuse and informal" (p. 262) Brazilian practices of racial discrimination made it difficult for any organized resistance to develop.

Some of the richer sections in the book explore the ways in which practices of patronage complicated military reform. The army's reliance on impressment for the supply of many soldiers often served as a useful tool to help maintain social order, but it also led to conflict with landowners who promised protection for dependent males. Kraay's book nicely complements Peter Beattie's work on recruitment and service in the Brazilian army in the latter half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. His discussions of revolts and rebellions are a bit too abbreviated for the uninitiated, and this lessens its usefulness somewhat for more general readers. For those concerned with the comparative process of independence in Latin America, however, this account will remain essential reading

ANDREW J. KIRKENDALL
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TODD A. DIACON. *Stringing Together a Nation: Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon and the Construction of a Modern Brazil, 1906–1930*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 228. Cloth $74.95, paper $21.95.

Todd A. Diacon has written a thoughtful study of the life work of General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who spent decades striving to link the Amazon region with Brazil's urban centers by stringing telegraph lines through rain forest. In this beautifully written work, which will be readily accessible to both undergraduate and general readers, Diacon describes a romantic figure whose experiences in the Amazon have entered Brazil's political mythology. Rondon was a key historical player in Brazil's political history during the Old Republic, because of his influence over the army's positivist faction, the public attention that he commanded, and his central role in defining Brazil's policy toward its native peoples. While some biographers become captured by their subjects, Diacon maintains his distance from Rondon, and his assessment of Rondon's actions is both balanced and informed by the historiography. He offers a gentle and generally convincing defense of Rondon's policy toward native peoples, which has come under harsh criticism from some revisionist scholars in Brazil, such as Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima.

This book does have some weaknesses. On the one hand, it is largely a study of a single man and his work building the telegraph lines into the Amazon, which formed a key part of the state-making project in early twentieth-century Brazil. But Diacon provides little background on Rondon's life before he became engaged in this project, which might have helped the reader to understand the obsessive devotion he

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brought to the task. On the other hand, there is not much discussion of other key historical figures who supported this project, from the political leaders who made the decision to launch it to the key personnel in the central commission. Although Rondon is the main actor, a discussion of the other important people involved in this effort might have helped us to understand what motivated them to undertake this difficult project in the face of sometimes harsh criticism. Diacon does provide an insightful discussion of the role that positivism played in the lives of many Brazilian officers in the early twentieth century, and how it shaped the commission's efforts. But this could have been balanced with more information on how the army as a whole perceived the commission's work, as the positivists were always a small minority within the armed forces. For this purpose, some research in the Arquivo do Exército in Rio de Janeiro might have brought greater depth to his discussion of military policy making. Similarly, work in the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janiero might have also helped to place the Rondon commission's work in a broader political context. This might have clarified why Brazil's political leaders continued to support Rondon's efforts, despite the line's financial difficulties, political controversies, and technological obsolescence.

These reservations should not detract from the book's wider successes. Diacon provides a rich description of the lives of the average soldiers who participated in building the telegraph lines, despite malaria, native attacks, isolation, and hunger. He also reveals how Rondon managed to continue this effort as part of a broader project of state formation, despite the challenges posed by disease and desertion. The careful description of the daily life of the people involved is augmented by a wide array of historical photographs, carefully placed throughout the text. With its account of the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition, its description of the human adventure the commission's work entailed, and its thoughtful judgments on Rondon himself, this book will be a key text in classes on Amazonian history for many years to come.

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Kristin Ruggiero. *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 244. $49.50.

This fine study is an examination of the role of legal and medical thinking in the construction process of a modern state and the way a heterogeneous group of professionals have dealt with old and new issues, values, and ideas such as honor, passion, and tradition on the one hand, and science, individualism, and modernity on the other. Kristin Ruggiero underlines the central effort of this group to build the "national character" with a dominant conviction that human bodies could be improved, both in physiological and psychical terms. For Argentine professionals, who in a very eclectic approach adopted biological and environmental contributions originating in Italian and French criminology, extirpating the diseased flesh became a necessary and scientific task that demanded the subordination of the individual rights to those of the social good incarnated by the liberal state. In order to achieve that goal, the state attempted to correct the perceived ethnic defects of the population. It was in this context that the language of flesh became a key tool with which to confront the ambiguities that accompanied the entrance of Argentina into modernity.

The book is organized around six chapters, each offering an introductory commentary that is meant to frame a very skillful discussion of court cases or related observations by contemporary criminologists and doctors. Chapter one discusses women gaining in public life vis-à-vis the new medical and legal constraints and focuses on the incarceration in houses of deposit of those who committed common offenses against male authority. The houses mixed women of different socioeconomic backgrounds, degrees of culpability, and pathological conditions, and Ruggiero concludes that the system worked with the assumption that females were biologically inferior and likely to be guilty. Chapter two studies a number of court cases focused on induced abortions and infanticides—most of them done by female servants—and delves into state efforts to regularize and monitor certified and noncertified midwives. Chapter three deals with discourses of contagion, both physical and moral, as articulated in public health programs, by new professionals, and in reaction to the arrival of numerous immigrants who were seen as particularly inclined to delinquency and disease. In this context, the concept of contagion served as a useful tool for social self-management. Related to this, Ruggiero convincingly reconstructs local developments in the field of identification techniques, such as fingerprinting. Chapter four explores the theory of "degeneration" and the way politicians and emerging professional groups understood it, not only in reference to individuals' physical conditions but also as a main cause of major Argentine national problems. The author discusses contemporaries' views of court cases where people of color, hysterics, epileptics, and neurasthenics were characterized as less apt to contribute positively to the making of the "Argentine race" and more predisposed to commit crimes. Chapter five focuses on moral degenerates seen as potential candidates for elimination because they lacked redeeming virtues and were a threat to the modern world. Chapter six deals with crimes of passion and their punishments, offering a brief but fine discussion of the death sentence, a legal resource limited in its use in 1906 and removed from the penal code in 1921.

The book's emphasis on the discourse of the flesh distances it somewhat from the Foucaldian paradigm of the body as an object of power and knowledge. Flesh, according to Ruggiero, expresses "more fluidity,

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immediacy, and life" (p. 3) and presents some level of resistance to discursive practices of power and social control. Working with court cases allows the author to address some of these dimensions, especially when she situates her subjects' lives within a broader social and cultural context. As it is becoming quite common in studies written as histories of discourses and focused on the arrival of modernity, in Latin America and elsewhere, Ruggiero's rendition is more persuasive suggesting similarities with other national Western experiences and less compelling when depicting the specifics that might have characterized the Argentine one. More discussion on the institutional context in which these discourses of power operated, as well as more history of the way people resisted or assimilated social control efforts, might have completed the picture. Two final comments related to the book's title. First, the real site of Ruggiero's story is Buenos Aires and its surroundings, not vast Argentina, where the processes so elegantly discussed might easily show regional and temporal variation. Second, although the book works the interface between law and medicine, it is in the subfield of criminology that its sophistication is particularly apparent.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

INGOMAR WEILER. *Die Beendigung des Sklavenstatus im Altertum: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sozialgeschichte*. (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, number 36.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2003. Pp. viii, 356. €48.00.

In a monograph series of the research program on ancient slavery under the auspices of the Mainz Academy of Science and Literature, this volume surveys the various forms, legal and nonlegal, by which a slave in classical Greece or Rome could have gained personal liberation, including flight, manumission, wartime expedient grants of freedom, self-purchase, marriage, adoption, temple asylum, and the assumption of "sacred slave" status. Ingomar Weiler, best known as a historian of ancient sports, advances an interdisciplinary approach to ancient slavery that learns from the investigations of modern historians who have much larger bases of primary sources on which to draw (p. 2). He uses Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982), as his model.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one is a prolegomenon making the case for comparative study (pp. 15–111). The goal is to compare slavery not only in ancient Greece and Rome but also as a phenomenon of world history, with attention to anthropology and sociology, which enables the historian to acquire "a sense of humanity" by avoiding the pitfalls of earlier ethnocentric scholarship (p. 87). But rather than having an exclusive focus on the "origins" of slavery, Weiler contends that knowing how slave status is terminated in a society leads more profitably to solving the question of how to define the phenomenon cross-culturally (p. 53).

Readers already convinced of the value of interdisciplinary work as a necessary part of good scholarship should skip part one and go directly to part two, where one finds the actual study on the termination of slave status in classical antiquity, using literary, epigraphic, and philosophical sources (pp. 115–295). The first section ("Der Wunsch nach Freiheit") is an exercise in historical psychology, asking whether "an elementary wish of freedom by ancient slaves" reflects a universal human instinct or a literary fiction. Based on comparative studies from sociobiology and the oral repository of American slave narratives compiled from personal interviews transcribed in the 1920s and 1930s, Weiler argues that a "freedom wish" was socially real in antiquity (p. 130). Like modern slaves, ancient slaves did not unreflectively accept their lot as slaves, but actively sought and wanted to be free (p. 133). The argument of the second section ("Die Flucht") rests upon a similar universalizing historical assumption—"the origins and motives of American slave flight mutatis mutandis also hold for classical antiquity" (p. 151)—Haiti, Jamaica, and the maroon communities in colonial Brazil having particular focus in the analysis. Readers, however, can find deeper analysis of the same topic in Keith R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 B.C. – 70 B.C.* (1989). The subsequent chapters on "Manumission," "Special Forms of Ending Slave Status," and "The End of Slave Status as a Prize" (for loyalty) compare Greek and Roman societies and argue that the termination of slave status differed in these cultures (p. 177). Romans, for example, manumitted their slaves more frequently than the Greeks, manumission being the main reward for slave loyalty among the Romans (pp. 286–92).

The book's strength is its application of recent advances in slavery studies across the board, including English-language scholarship, something other volumes in the same monograph series from the Mainz Academy often lack. However, there is not actually any new information on the historical study of slavery, ancient or modern, in this book. By the author's own admission, the volume presents what is available in other scholarship, paying special attention to recent lexical articles on slavery in encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other reference works. The goal of comprehensive summary ("universal history") leads to some broad generalizations and a few factual errors. The Latin term *vicarius* was not a "general term for slave" (p. 21) but specified a slave who had as his master another slave (in Roman society, slaves themselves owned slaves). It is not true that Patterson's metaphor of slavery as "social death" cannot be found in any extant ancient author (p. 293). Roman culture, in fact, commonly symbolized slavery and manumission with the language of "death" and "life" (the concept of "dead to" is found in, for example, the letters of the apostle Paul [Galatians 2; Romans 6 and 7], so Patterson agrees with Paul).

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Overall, this volume celebrates the humanity that persisted in the slave despite the brutality of the ancient system, an overarching research agenda of the Mainz Academy. To overcome the lack of extant sources from classical antiquity that reflect the personal experience of slaves, Weiler uses a comparative method to give the ancient slave his voice or agency. Although I support interdisciplinary analysis and have used comparative material in my own work on ancient slavery, this book draws too many speculative conclusions for which we have no actual evidence and makes too many sweeping claims about difficult texts for me to recommend it.

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Pierre Brulé. *Women of Ancient Greece*. Translated by Antonia Nevill. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2003. Pp. 240. $75.00.

This book is a useful, though idiosyncratic and sometimes pedestrian, account of the situation of women in ancient Greece. Pierre Brulé acknowledges that his is not a scholarly enterprise, and that his book lacks a critical apparatus (p. 221). He alludes to Jean-Paul Sartre as an inspiring figure for his history: "It was necessary to wait till the end of the twentieth century for enough histories to die, amassed by the sucessive [*sic*] attentions of living eras, finally to see the birth, in the heart of our times, of one of the most overlooked: that of the feminine gender" (p. 223).

The book begins with a somewhat perfunctory overview of the role of the feminine in the sacred life of the Greeks, with attention to the presence of goddesses in the pantheon and priestesses in cult practices. It moves on to a discussion of women in the epic poems of Homer, with a particular attention given to girls in these texts, the captives Briseis and Chryseis of the *Iliad*, and Nausikaa in the *Odyssey*. The author then focuses on ideas of the female body and sexuality, relying for the most part on later classical texts, including Aristotle and the works of the Hippocratic writers. Following this lengthy chapter comes one on marriage. The last two chapters again focus on exemplary figures; one, on the woman inside the house, studies the unnamed bride of Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and the last chapter, on women outside the house (*hetairai*, concubines, and prostitutes), pays close attention to Neaera, the former slave-prostitute at the center of a famous legal case in Athens in the fourth century B.C.E. The book concludes with some lines from Sappho about the pain of separation from one's beloved, suggesting an intense attachment to these female characters from antiquity.

The strongest and most original contribution of Brulé's work lies in its extensive account of Greek ideas of the body, marriage, and sexuality. He offers an intriguing analysis of the exchange of women in the elite circles of the Athenian democracy, tracing the marital career of a woman whose name remains unknown, but who through three subsequent marriages allied some of the most powerful families, or "houses," in the city and produced one of its most charismatic figures, Alcibiades. Another issue that emerges strikingly from the book is the erotic investment of citizen-class men of the ancient city in children. Not only boys, objects of desire who in turn became subjects of desire as they matured, but also girls figure powerfully in Brulé's account. He points out that citizen-class females could be married at as early an age as eleven, and very often by thirteen or fourteen. Desire centered on the child's body, male or female; such a recognition usefully contextualizes ancient pederasty, often condemned in modernity through a homophobic analogy with modern pedophilia. In the context of his analysis of sexuality, Brulé deploys the important work of Jeffrey Henderson on sexual metaphor in Aristophanes, in *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (1975).

The weakest elements of Brulé's argument concern its reliance on literary and rhetorical texts treated with insufficient skepticism or contextualization. When Hippolytus, for example, in Euripides's tragedy named for him, complains about the necessity to engage with women in order to perpetuate the human race, this is not simply an example of fifth-century misogyny but also part of the portrait of a character shown to be almost obsessively hostile to the pleasures of Aphrodite, who punishes him and all his house most cruelly for his sacrilege. In his interpretations of epic poetry, Xenophontic dialogues, and dramatic texts, including Aristophanes, Brulé seems too literally to read rhetorically produced characters as evidence for mentalities rather than as interested interventions in cultural debates.

The idiosyncrasies of Brulé's approach at times produce frustration in the reader, but they also give the arguments a strongly marked voice, finally not without its charm. Although the English-language version of this volume lists several works by English-speaking scholars, in fact the author seems to rely almost exclusively on French historical scholarship for his interpretations of the ancient evidence. The translation reads fluently, and the many illustrations, well integrated in the text's arguments, contribute to the work as a whole.

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Martha L. Rose. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*. (Corporealities: Discourses of Disability.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 154.

In this book, Martha L. Rose argues that the categories "able-bodied" and "disabled" were not used by the Greeks to categorize individuals, and that "the notion of physical disability as a classification was foreign to the Greeks" (p. 98). The first objection to this thesis

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that presents itself to a classicist's mind is Lysias 24, *On the Refusal of a Pension to the Invalid*. Rose does not deal with this speech until her conclusion, but since, to my mind at least, the speech makes her position clearly untenable, I shall deal with it first.

Lysias 24 is spoken by an individual who has been accused of illegally drawing the pension that Athens disbursed to *hoi adunatoi*, a term conventionally translated as "the disabled." Rose, however, claims that the term designates simply those who, through a variety of circumstances, were unable to support themselves. She says *adunatoi* eligible for the pension were defined by Aristotle in the *Athenian Constitution* as "those who have very little wealth *or* who are physically impaired" (p. 96; my emphasis). In fact, Aristotle clearly says the pension was granted to those who were indigent *and* incapacitated by bodily infirmity (49.4). The single definite article governing both adjectives shows that Aristotle is referring to a single group of people. The "and" is not disjunctive. Being disabled was at least part of being *adunatos*. This still leaves open the possibility that a rich disabled individual might not be considered *adunatos*, but in Lysias 24.13 the speaker uses the term "healthy" (*hygiainos*) as a synonym for "not *adunatos*." In paragraph 16, the speaker contrasts the rich to the poor, the old to the young, and those who are *adunatos* in body to those who can rely on their strength. Similar examples to these can be multiplied throughout the speech and no amount of special pleading can deny that the term *adunatos* is used to refer to the physically disabled as a category, and one, the speaker says at the beginning of his speech, deemed worthy of pity.

Rose deals with Lysias 24 only after she has discussed the portrayal of disabled individuals elsewhere in Greek literature. Outside of the mythical realm, there are not many of these, although Rose is right to point out that the Greeks must have been aware of a wide range of physical impairments that could afflict the human body. Rose claims that these individuals are not depicted in Greek literature because they were accepted as an integral part of society. In this case, one is led to ask why no disabled person appears in the representation of the Athenian populace that winds around the Parthenon, or indeed in any of the representations of everyday life on Athenian pots. There is a famous aryballos (to which Rose makes no reference) showing a man who has lost a leg leaning on a crutch; but the scene depicted is that of a doctor at work in his surgery, and the other figures include a man with a bandaged arm, a dwarf, and a patient undergoing bloodletting. This would place the disabled man squarely in a "medical model" that Rose claims does not exist in ancient Greece (pp. 98–9). A dearth of references to disability in literature might stem from the lack of disability as a meaningful category, but the failure to include the disabled in scenes of everyday life implies rather that they were recognized and excluded.

Lysias 24 illustrates that the Greeks reached some accommodation of those with acquired defects, but it has been generally assumed that they would not choose to rear a disabled infant if they were aware of a congenital defect. Rose rightly points out that Plato's and Aristotle's injunctions that in the ideal state all deformed infants should be exposed suggests that this was not, in fact, what was happening in Athens. But she ignores the implication of the philosophers' being able to conceive of and deploy the category of "disabled" with no explanation. She also never addresses the fact that an Athenian father had ten days to decide whether or not to raise a child. Considerations of the economic feasibility of raising a child would surely have been addressed over the period of the pregnancy, and decisions on what to do in the event of a daughter could also have been made. The interval allowed between birth and the decision to rear or expose was surely meant primarily to assess the viability of the neonate; that is, an infant did not have to be severely and obviously deformed on delivery to be deemed not worth the rearing.

Rose complains that scholars' interpretation of disability in ancient Greece has been colored by contemporary assumptions. However, she approaches the material with a fervent agenda: to demonstrate that the category of the physically disabled is a purely cultural construct by showing that disability was not a marker of difference in ancient Greece. To maintain this claim, she is forced to minimize some evidence, overly emphasize other, and ultimately base most of her argument on the silence of the sources. There is no doubt that our society needs to become more inclusive of the physically disabled, but we will not find a model for this in ancient Greece.

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NICHOLAS F. JONES. *Rural Athens Under the Democracy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 330.

Few scholarly investigations about the Attic countryside have the ability to knock my socks off, but Nicholas F. Jones's new book effortlessly managed to do so in a near aside. In his analysis of the epigraphic record of the deme of Acharnai, located some ten kilometers north of Athens, he writes "swollen by large numbers of metics, visitors from abroad, and slaves (over and above many resident non-*demotai* citizens) the population within the walls [of Athens] at any given time exceeded by far that of any rural district, but *the demographic center of the citizen body lay outside the walls to the north in the direction of this rural settlement*" (p. 92, my italics). The basis for this large claim is the size of Acharnai's bouleutic quota (the number of members of the boule or council who, it is assumed here, proportionally represented the deme's population, although how an accurate census might have been conducted is highly problematic), which

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exceeded the combined total of Athens' five intramural or city demes. The significance of this presumed imbalance can hardly be overestimated in light of Jones's investigation, whose focus is "the marginalized condition of rural Athenians under the classical democracy" (p. 13).

The claim that such a large proportion of the citizenry was "marginalized" challenges the orthodox view of an Attica whose center and periphery exemplified a political and cultural symbiosis. Jones's thesis rests on the hypothesis that the rural population of Attica did not mainly live in nucleated village centers, as Robin Osborne and others have claimed, but on isolated farms (chapter one). In other words, Jones is asking us to rethink our traditional concept of the Attic deme as a kind of miniature polis with a well-defined center. He also asserts that urban dwellers exhibited contempt toward their rural counterparts, whom they regarded as lacking in cultivation, taste, and refinement (p. 172).

In defense of his assessment of the rural Athenian as "a farmstead-residing isolationist with at best perfunctory association with his country deme, much less with a remote town" (p. 212), Jones marshals epigraphic and literary evidence relating to deme process that will make this a useful reference work, independent of its claims. In chapter three, for instance, he analyzes the epigraphic record of the four best-represented demes in an attempt to characterize them individually, while in chapter four he makes a case for interpreting the Rural or Agrarian (Jones's preferred epithet) Dionysia as a celebration of the culture of the agricultural community. In chapter five he argues that differences between the rural and the urban way of life included diet, clothing, musical taste, etc. The final two chapters, entitled "Images" and "Philosophy," examine the contradictory perceptions and representations of rurality in Greek literature.

It is to Jones's credit that his painstakingly researched work provides us with a magnified image of rural Attica that few scholars have previously articulated. Although his thesis will be received with skepticism in some quarters, its controversial aspects do not invalidate the book as a whole, which raises profound questions about the representativeness, and indeed the integrity, of Athenian democracy. For if it was the case, as Jones with a pinch of mischief declares, that the rural population so rarely visited Athens that when it did so "it was something more like visits to the zoo in Pittsburgh by local Amish and Mennonite families" (p. 214), there was something seriously flawed, even downright bogus, about Athens's democratic credentials. Although Jones does not explore the implications of his thesis for the functioning of the democracy, nor seek to demonstrate how, for instance, the direction of Athenian policy primarily reflected the interests of an urban population, these and similar questions will surely form part of the heated debate that is likely to follow. Suffice it to say, there were countervailing factors to bridge the urban-rural divide that deserve more attention than they receive, including the practical ways in which the democracy coopted its citizenry into service and implicated them in its processes—religious, civic, political, and military. In conclusion, Jones has assembled an extremely valuable corpus of information and is to be commended for stirring—with exceeding vigor—the waters of controversy. The persistent misspelling of Aristophanes's play *Acharnians* should surely be laid at the door of a spell-check that deserves to be rusticated.

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ALEXANDER. Directed by Oliver Stone; produced by Moritz Borman, Jon Kilik, Thomas Schuhly, Iain Smith, and Oliver Stone; written by Oliver Stone, Christopher Kyle, and Laeta Kalogridis. United States. 2004; color; 176 minutes. Distributed by Warner Brothers Pictures (Intermedia Films).

Alexander III of Macedonia was king for thirteen years (336–323 B.C.) and established an empire that stretched from Greece to what the Greeks called India (modern Pakistan). He opened up a world that was much larger than Greece or even the entire Mediterranean, and he introduced to the Greeks a sense of belonging to that larger world. Alexander became king at twenty years of age and died shortly before his thirty-third birthday. His military genius and spectacular military successes earned him the epithet "great" in antiquity, but as the centuries went by other aspects of his reign and of his personality and ideals became part of his "greatness." The historical Alexander thus faded into one of legend.

Making a movie that tries to explain who Alexander was, what he did, and especially why, is a Herculean task. It is something that Oliver Stone, an admirer of Alexander since his boyhood, wanted to do for over fifteen years. His *Alexander*, at a price tag of $150 million, is one of the most expensive movies ever made, and also the biggest movie of Stone's career in terms of its scope.

The movie presents selections from Alexander's life; to cover everything that the king did would require a trilogy. Stone's Alexander (played by Colin Farrell) is a young man influenced by his mother Olympias, unafraid of showing his emotions but to the extent that he comes across as a wimp, and fixated on his own glory. He is a great general with a ruthless streak, and at the same time he is a man who dreams of bringing together all his people in a brotherhood of mankind. This is nonsense, for he intended no such thing, and I seriously doubt the extent of his mother's influence.

The movie is, in effect, another addition to the legend of Alexander. Almost nothing is made of Alexander's belief in his own divinity, which is the key to understanding what he did and why. Stone uses a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* ("Fortune favors the bold") in the opening of the movie and has Alexander later say this to justify his actions. Far better would

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have been the ominous question, from Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, that Alexander asked of Indian philosophers: "How can a man become a god?" Their answer: "By doing something a man cannot do."

We do not have any in-depth character study of the king, and we should have in a movie like this. Was he really the great general, the philosophical idealist, the bringer of Greek civilization to Aristotle's "barbarians"? Or was he a cynical, paranoid drunkard, who thought he was a god, was guilty of murder and mass slaughter, and who ended up destroying the Macedonian Empire? These are serious questions asked of Alexander today, but Stone attempts to exculpate Alexander by either not considering these questions or glossing over them. In the process, so much of what made Alexander tick is lost. It is also disappointing that we are given the Western image of Alexander as "great." The damage that he did to local peoples is never presented, damage that is still remembered today and explains why the Zoroastrians in Iran, for example, call him Alexander the Accursed.

As well as giving us the nonhistorical Alexander, the movie is often marred by historical inaccuracies. While these are not likely to be spotted by the vast majority of people, there is no excuse for them. To mention only a few: in the film version of the Battle of Gaugamela, Alexander is saved by Cleitus, who slices off the arm of a Persian about to kill the king. That incident happened at the Battle of Granicus three years earlier. When Alexander enters Babylon he meets the Persian royal princesses and the eunuch Bagoas in the royal harem. Actually, he captured the former after the Battle of Issus about three years earlier, and Bagoas was given to him later in Zadracarta. Philotas is implicated in the Pages' Conspiracy, in which the royal pages tried to poison the king. In fact, Philotas had nothing to do with that conspiracy, and the pages were to stab Alexander as he slept. Alexander murders Cleitus in India: no, he was killed at Maracanda two years earlier. Alexander is severely wounded at the Battle of Hydaspes, which is fought against elephants in what appears to be a forest. No, Alexander's wound was received at the siege of Malli, a year later; Hydaspes was fought on a sandy plain, and the elephant corps was only part of the Indian army.

Much is made of Alexander's drinking and especially his bisexuality, something that has caused uproar among the Greeks. However, Alexander came from a culture that enjoyed same-sex relationships. His men would have thought nothing of him spending nights with men or women. Indeed, Alexander's bisexuality and his drinking are probably the most accurate elements of the movie.

What of the actors? Farrell, with dreadful blond hair (although accurate), is simply not credible as Alexander. He is a highly talented actor, but here he lacks the sort of presence and power that Alexander must have had in order to lead an army (at times complaining and twice mutinying on him) where he did, to kill as he did, and to keep a vast empire together solely by his own sheer will. Angelina Jolie, eyes flashing and snakes coiling around her body, plays Alexander's mother Olympias. More could be made of her scheming nature, and a real distraction was that she is made to speak in an accent that makes her sound like Count Dracula. Val Kilmer plays Alexander's father Philip II and does so with gusto. He is really the only believable character in the whole movie, for the actors who play Alexander's generals lack any sort of conviction and just spout their lines.

It is inevitable that parallels will be made between Alexander in Persia and coalition forces in Iraq today. The film is not used as a vehicle to criticize American foreign policy, but Stone probably wants us to remember President Bush's remarks to Osama Bin Laden when he has his Alexander yell after the fleeing Great King Darius that he will never run far enough to escape him. The big question is, will Stone and Farrell be able to run far enough to escape the disappointment that is *Alexander*?

IAN WORTHINGTON
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SIMON MACLEAN. *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 57.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 262. $65.00.

In this book, Simon MacLean takes a fresh look at the reign of the Carolingian King and Emperor Charles III "the Fat" (r. 876–888). Charles the Fat was the last of the legitimate, male-line Carolingians in the East Frankish kingdom and the last Carolingian to rule the entire empire of his great-grandfather Charlemagne. He was deposed in 888 by his illegitimate nephew Arnulf. In the years that followed, the political map of Europe fragmented into smaller kingdoms ruled by illegitimate or female-line Carolingians, or non-Carolingians, paving the way ultimately for Capetian France and Ottonian Germany.

The standard explanation for these developments encompasses long-term structural change and royal incompetence. The great civil wars of the mid-ninth century, competition among the later Carolingian kings, and relentless Viking attacks promoted the rise of great self-conscious, geographically localized, and ambitious ducal families. By the 880s, these families stood ready to assume royal power in their regions when the Carolingians faltered. Charles the Fat, an ineffective shadow of his great-grandfather, failed to stave off his dynasty's disaster.

MacLean follows the trend set by several recent studies done in the United Kingdom and United States of later Carolingians, who have historically fared badly when compared to Charlemagne. He sets out not so much to rehabilitate Charles the Fat as to take a new and very close look at the sources for his reign. The

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traditional picture of Charles, MacLean argues, stems from a selective and over-literal reading of these sources, in particular the Mainz continuation of the Annals of Fulda—which MacLean identifies as a politically charged text with a specific anti-Charles axe to grind. In the end, MacLean finds that Charles the Fat was in fact not a great Carolingian king. He was, however, a perfectly capable king and one moreover who ruled in typical Carolingian fashion.

Charles's real problem was his inability to handle the royal succession. A series of accidents swept away what had been an adequate number of legitimate, male Carolingian heirs, leaving only Charles the Fat, the still minor Charles the Simple, and several illegitimate or female-line Carolingians, including Charles's own son Bernard and his nephew Arnulf. MacLean argues that this situation threatened the foundation of Carolingian family rule: a close relationship between the kings and the great imperial magnates. Charles tried desperately to manage the succession crisis. However, he failed to get his son Bernard legitimized. Moreover, he remained pathologically opposed to Arnulf's quite reasonable claim to a share in royal power.

MacLean thus turns away from long-term structural transformations in favor of political events and individual personalities as agents of historical change. Charles the Fat's deposition, he argues, did not result from a structural increase in magnate power; it was instead based on a highly contingent set of circumstances that unexpectedly brought the legitimate male Carolingian line to a fragile thread, a thread that an aggrieved Arnulf finally snapped in 888.

This book is well written and easy to follow. It draws heavily on German scholarship, which is to be commended in an English-language study. A work like this does inevitably leave questions. For example, I wonder whether MacLean understates evidence that political structures did change in the course of the ninth century. As he himself notes, regional identities had hardened to the point that Charles the Fat had to undergo multiple accession ceremonies. Moreover, it occurred to some magnates that they could be kings after decades of Carolingian propaganda saying that they could not, despite the existence of Charles the Simple, who at age nine in 888 could have provided the focus for a Carolingian court in the same way that the child Louis the Pious had early in his tenure as sub-king of Aquitaine. Something must have changed to persuade the magnates of the 880s that they could replace a ruling dynasty that had up to that point been vigorous, despite the existence of a legitimate heir.

These questions notwithstanding, MacLean has presented us with a much-needed and well-crafted reassessment of a period that historians of both earlier and later periods have tended to take for granted. The book will serve well as a teaching text and as a resource to guide further research.

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LEONORA NEVILLE. *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 210. $75.00.

This study is built around a deceptively simple question, which has rarely been asked in so direct a manner: how exactly was authority exercised in the Byzantine provinces? For the period before 1204 it is not an easy question to answer because there is so little evidence. After 1204 imperial authority moved into the provinces and created conditions that are no real guide to what went before. Historians have therefore relied on a series of assumptions about the exercise of power in the Byzantine provinces. For example, the usual starting point is the assumption that its bureaucratic structure allowed the imperial government to exercise direct control over the provinces. Leonora Neville takes issue with this. She underlines how limited the agenda of the imperial government was and how restricted the scope of its interventions in the provinces. It was mainly interested in insuring that provinces did not harbor any potential challenges to its authority, whether in the shape of rebellion or foreign invasion, and that the taxes came in.

On the last point, the author would have us believe that even here the imperial government was not very effective, thus casting doubt on the long-held belief—already expressed by Walter Map in the twelfth century—that what set the Byzantine emperor apart from Western monarchs was his access to ready cash. It is clear that the bulk of his revenues came from the proceeds of the land tax. This depended on the effective use of cadastral records. Neville scrutinizes two pieces of evidence—the Marciana fiscal treatise and the cadastral fragment from Thebes—in order to make her case that the Byzantine fiscal system was inefficient, but the standards she applies are those of modern government. It is certainly true that Byzantine taxation strikes most of us as fiendishly complicated; never more so than when perusing the Palaia kai Nea Logarike, compiled under John II Comnenus (1118–1143). Neville fails to make proper use of this document, which among other things contains reports sent to Alexius I Comnenus by his tax collectors. They reveal the problems of the Byzantine fiscal system but also the imperial government's determination to overcome them. Taxation gave the imperial government a degree of control over provincial society that distinguished it from its counterparts in the West.

Otherwise, it had little interest in the provinces, unless there was some challenge to its authority. The author is dealing with a period when the old theme system was breaking down, so that there was no compulsion to keep the military registers up to date. Military government became confined to the frontiers. It was a time when provincial society was left to its own devices. Neville argues convincingly, in an accomplished chapter on "Provincial Households," that central to the functioning of provincial society was the *oikos* or household. Linked to this is the perceptive

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insight that in Byzantium, unlike the medieval West, what counted were relationships within and between households, not fixed social status. This meant that in legal terms there were no clear differences between households, but, in practice, what mattered were the hierarchical structures that set some households above others, even if they were informal.

Most of the author's evidence relates to the households of the powerful. Her main source is Kekaumenos's *Strategikon*, which reflects the experience of an eleventh-century provincial magnate. It has in the past mostly been quarried for hard fact. The author uses it in a far more imaginative way to present Byzantine society through Kekaumenos's eyes. I do not think that I have ever encountered a more perspicacious reading of the text. There could not be a better guide to the functioning of Byzantine society than Kekaumenos. The author's engagement with this text compensates for an otherwise rather narrow evidential basis, which is revealed by the way an incident from one saint's life is retailed on no less than five occasions. The shortcomings of the book reflect a lack of good evidence, but these are more than outweighed by a fresh angle of vision, which will undoubtedly bear fruit where the evidence is stronger.

MICHAEL ANGOLD
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JEFFREY A. BOWMAN. *Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000.* (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 279. $42.50.

One of the liveliest debates in medieval studies of the last half century centers on the breakdown of political structures after the death of Charlemagne and the emergence of localized feudal power that centered on the proliferation of a violent "regime of castles" in regions as disparate as Normandy and Catalonia. The realities of a post-Carolingian world passing through the terrors of the first Christian millennium have pitted medievalists against each other across a deep divide of interpretation. Scholars such as Georges Duby, Thomas Bisson, and Pierre Bonnassie argue for a true "feudal revolution" in the decades bracketing 1000 C.E., in which rulers whose authority was drawn from Charlemagne were replaced by lords who based their position on castellated might. Arrayed against this feudal school stand scholars such as Janet Nelson, Susan Reynolds, and Stephen White who glean from the contemporary evidence proof of neither a Carolingian "public order" nor a widespread network of feudal relations that supposedly developed in its stead. Jeffrey A. Bowman, though clearly leaning toward the latter group, abandons the realm of political theory in this book for a narrower focus on the practice and perception of law in the tenth and eleventh-century diocese of Narbonne, a huge swath of territory on both sides of the Pyrenees that constituted a kind of greater Catalonia.

To find a Rosetta Stone of sorts for reading the minds behind the laws he analyzes, Bowman utilizes the great number of property dispute records preserved by the many Catalan monasteries that engaged as litigants in such suits. Many of these case files still survive in the archival depositories of Barcelona, Vic, La Seu d'Urgell, and Perpignan. Assessing many hundreds of parchments, Bowman has been able to develop a simple but accurate model of how early medieval Catalan law operated. The base of this judicial structure was earlier written law, most especially the *Visigothic Code*. The use of such legal monuments was not merely a vain exercise in jurisprudential erudition, however, but reflected judicial care in arguing cases and constructing verdicts. The same tone of juridical purpose seems to permeate Bowman's discussion of the various forms of proof utilized to establish the truth of conflicting claims: that is, by written document, testimony of witnesses, and ordeal. In the first two probative methods, human memory was lashed to the graphic record as the recollections of witnesses were used variously to both reconstruct the contents of documents destroyed in war or by natural disaster and to recover landmarks between property holdings that had been established even when eastern Spain was under Islamic domination. When litigants chose to rely on God to indicate which version of a case represented the truth or judges called down divine punishment on those who did not honor a verdict, these agents acted not through outlandish superstition but rather in line with accepted litigation strategy. All in all, the legal pattern that emerges from Bowman's assessment of the many different property disputes and settlements throughout the early medieval diocese of Narbonne is one of broad continuity rather than of institutional revolution.

Bowman's chapters dedicated to the careers of Catalan judges and the day-to-day practice of law and adjudication will prove extremely interesting for both legal and institutional historians of the early Middle Ages. Studying property settlements from southern France and Catalonia, Bowman develops a varied and well-documented list of tenth and eleventh-century judges. This record includes such famous legists as Bonhom and Pons Bonfill Marc of Barcelona but also contains more shadowy adjudicators from smaller towns, some of whom appear only in one case record. From a close study of the prologues of many different types of contemporary legal documents, including such works of judicial theory as Bonhom's *Liber Iudicum Popularis*, Bowman fashions a clear portrait of Catalan judges who, unlike their counterparts from many other parts of Carolingian *Francia*, were well-trained, well-respected, and well-compensated.

In the last section of the work, Bowman deals with the means by which cases were settled and, in doing so, arrives again at the "feudal revolution" debate. A number of these cases terminated when one litigant

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voluntarily admitted judicial defeat. Complete victory, however, was not always so polite and thus verdicts were often closely followed by negotiated agreements between former enemies. When defeated litigants violently resisted the decisions of judges, the very basis of litigation was challenged. Rather than viewing these vehement responses to court action as a kind of seismic indicator of political and institutional decay, however, Bowman examines them within the general legal context of his book and concludes that such violence was as much a judicial strategy as any other in the broad array of legal forms that grew up in early Catalonia.

Neither the proponents of the "feudal revolution" nor their adversaries will find this book a "smoking gun." What they will find, however, is an extremely well-researched and well-written treatment of a topic that by all rights should not be so interesting. By this first book, Bowman has demonstrated a potential for being included in a circle of eastern Spanish legal scholars that includes such lights as Ferran Valls i Taberner, José María Font Rius, Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, and Paul Freedman.

DONALD J. KAGAY
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TEOFILO F. RUIZ. *From Heaven to Earth: The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150–1350*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 221. $39.50.

In 154 densely packed and tightly argued pages, Teofilo F. Ruiz encapsulates a career's worth of research and reflection on the transformation of Castilian society, culture, and politics in the high and late Middle Ages. The book's core argument asserts that new ways of thinking about, documenting, and maintaining personal and family "property" emerged among the "middling sorts" in Castilian society (a term that he defines broadly to include merchant bourgeoisie, non-knightly nobility, mid-rank clergy, and small landowning farmers among others) in the decades around 1200. To this fundamental shift in outlook Ruiz attributes a wide array of related and far-reaching effects.

Nowhere does he see the new *mentalité* he describes made more plainly manifest than in the changing physical landscape of Castile itself. From the late twelfth through the thirteenth century, Castilians filled their countryside with stone markers (*mojones*) designating specific property boundaries and rights of way. Meanwhile, the "middling sorts" in Castile's cities and towns led the way in a corresponding trend toward detailed and accurate inventorying of individual as well as institutionally-owned goods and property.

In the religious sphere, Ruiz charts a transition in testamentary giving away from a pre-1200 reliance by individual donors upon a single church institution as recipient of their gifts to a post-1200 spreading of donations to several institutions and charitable functions. This change, he argues, is emblematic of what he calls a novel spirit of "hard-nosed bargaining" in matters of salvation, grounded in the newly emerging notions of property, individuality, and the family. Careful not to underestimate the continuing centrality of spiritual matters in the lives of high medieval Castilians, he nonetheless contends that traditional church institutions were net losers in the resulting new economic and spiritual calculus.

Closely associated with these geographical and religious transformations were, according to Ruiz, several critical changes in the ways in which Castilians constructed and interacted with political authority. Beginning at the municipal level in the decades around 1200, for example, vernacular Castilian rapidly replaced Latin as the language of administrative and legal documentation. By the 1240s the exclusive use of the vernacular had spread to the entire administration of the Castilian crown—a development that preceded by centuries the gradual adoption of the vernacular for governmental and legal purposes elsewhere in Western Europe.

To Ruiz, the shift to the vernacular is simply one part of a much larger case that he builds for an understanding of the kingdom of Castile as a self-consciously "unsacred monarchy" fundamentally distinct from the sorts of explicitly "sacred monarchies" exemplified by high Medieval France and, to a lesser degree, England. This is the latest and—because of its contextualization amid all of the other issues discussed throughout the book—most complete version of an argument that Ruiz has made several times before, dating back to a landmark 1984 article he published in *Annales*. His perspectives on this issue have been roundly criticized by some, including above all the prominent Spanish historian José Manuel Nieto Soria. Among the most interesting portions of this book is a three-page "digression" (as Ruiz himself calls it) in which he responds explicitly and effectively to Nieto Soria's objections.

We Hispanists often exhibit a degree of defensiveness (albeit sometimes justified) with respect to Spain's place in the broader historiography of Western Europe. Some readers outside of our subdiscipline may find rather extreme Ruiz's assertion that historians of the rest of medieval Europe are frequently guilty of a sort of "orientalism" in their understandings of Spain generally and the crown of Castile in particular. The book's preface suggests that one of his principal goals is to overcome such "intellectual colonialism" (as he calls it) by grounding our understanding of Castilian cultural and political change squarely in Castilian social and economic contexts, rather than assuming that all significant change in the kingdoms of medieval Spain's Christian north derived from French or other trans-Pyrenean precedent. Ironically, however, when we move past the defensive initial rhetoric, we find that one of the book's greatest strengths lies precisely in the attention the author pays to placing Castile in broader European and Iberian contexts. From acknowledging the importance of French influence in the towns of the "Milky Way" pilgrimage route

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to Santiago de Compostela, to tracing the development of "domestic" Castilian legal traditions, to assessing the impact of changing relations with Iberia's Muslim south, Ruiz's understanding of his subject's place in the larger medieval world is balanced and well-informed.

Throughout the book, Ruiz sustains his arguments with a remarkable range of surviving sources from the "Old Castilian" heartland, including hundreds of wills, land transactions, and inventories of goods and properties, as well as municipal charters, legal codes, historical chronicles and literary works. The dexterity with which he makes transitions between and among these sources demonstrates the sort of erudition that comes only from experience, discretion, and hard work. The result is a book that will likely stand for many years as an authoritative "must-read" for all historians of medieval Europe.

David Coleman
Eastern Kentucky University

Paul R. Hyams. *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 344. $45.00.

This book makes a compelling bid for legal historians to refocus their sights: to move away from their over-concentration on rules of procedure and legal doctrine and go beyond their tired formulae and comfortable texts. Paul R. Hyams urges us both to reexamine the old texts in a different light and to widen our source base by exploring nonlegal material. He encourages us to look holistically at the disputing process and embrace the dynamics of litigation. In doing so, we should be prepared to take the paths less travelled: to examine injustice (as opposed to simply justice), wrong (not merely right), and avoidance of the courts (rather than solely recourse to them).

The topic and setting, from before the Norman Conquest through to the thirteenth century, clearly offer a suitable methodological challenge. Scholars and students alike should benefit from this fresh and engaging approach. Feud and vengeance have traditionally been regarded as a continental feature, symptomatic of realms lacking centralized, coherent political and legal structures. The feud has been marginalized by legal historians and sensationalized by political and social historians, yet as Hyams argues, feud and law coexisted in this period. Indeed, feud was another process for remedying wrongs and equally a dynamic that formed an integral part of political culture. The author advocates an alternative mindset, especially an understanding of what "justice" meant to contemporaries, as a prerequisite for an appreciation of the culture of enmity that colored disputes. He leads us into the world of emotions and feelings, for it is these that fed actions and choices in both public and everyday life. Hyams peels back the rhetoric of chronicles and constitutional documents, reveals emotional sentiment in legal and administrative discourse, explores the moral discourse of pastoral theologians, and highlights emotional language in vernacular entertainment literature. He sets his models against the background of Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Angevin political and legal culture. He charts the feud's place within the context of the developing common law and particularly in relation to the appeal of felony and plaints of trespass. Although there is some detailed discussion of litigation in the text, the appendix contains freely translated and annotated case narratives of lawsuits and other disputes from which it is possible to get a feel for the nature of the material.

It is not only enmity and vengeance that concern Hyams but the significance of friendships and peacemaking. He underlines the importance of rituals of reconciliation, which legal historians have neglected, and the importance of women within them, albeit in largely passive roles. Notions of honor and reputation are shown to have a wider ambit than the nobility, reaching "down to the level of village and (probably) town society" (p. 242). The study also points to changing attitudes toward "lordship," particularly noticeable in the thirteenth century, although the acceptable levels for use of power and influence within and outside the courtroom remain unclear.

Inevitably such a foray into uncharted territory throws up more questions than can be answered in the space of an ordinary book and, as the author acknowledges, requires more analysis than one individual can manage in a lifetime. The dearth of surviving material from the county and manorial courts in this period brings a reliance on the better-documented mechanisms of royal justice, although arguably the general eyre was essentially reviewing local systems. While praising "a flourishing eyre system" (p. 265), the study does not really address problems arising from the operation of the judicial machinery itself. The coming of the eyre justices after an increasingly lengthy period between visitations (seven years on average) may have publicly revived and reopened a "long hatred." There is a good index, which includes entries for "words" (in their Latin, Old English, Middle English, and Old French forms) and different "emotions." The layout of the bibliography, perhaps the publisher's preferred format, merges primary sources (manuscript and printed) with the secondary material.

I highly recommend this book. It rattles along in almost conversational style with the reader being drawn into the drama of the situation, "feeling the enemies' hot breath on their necks" (p. 195). It is to be hoped that this significant insight into medieval mentality will act as a beacon for future studies in legal and political culture.

Anthony Musson
University of Exeter

Martin Heale. *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*. (Studies in the History of Medi-

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eval Religion, number 22.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. xvii, 378. $85.00.

Martin Heale's careful monograph uncovers an often neglected corner of medieval English monastic history: the small worlds of the dependent Benedictine and Augustinian priories founded in England from 1066 to 1250. These priories, as Heale reveals, have not traditionally been considered as monasteries in their own right. This was certainly the view of Dom David Knowles, while that most vitriolic medieval critic of monastic life, Gerald of Wales, considered abbeys to have been granted by God, "but cells and their occupants the Devil gave" (p. 115). The distance between a mother house and its dependent priories often gave rise to disputes over jurisdiction, discipline, and autonomy. These issues are all explored in what is a meticulously documented monograph. Heale's overall and persuasive claim is that dependent priories ought properly to be described as religious houses that served spiritual purposes, and that the priories' association with spiritual decay has been unduly overstated. Heale has consulted an impressive range of sources relating to the dependent priories and has deployed these well.

The monograph is divided into two parts, each containing three chapters. The first section, entitled "The Dependent Priory as Daughter House," focuses on relationships between the dependent priories and their "mother" houses. Chapter one considers the foundation of the English cells, chapter two is concerned with the constitutional affairs of the English cells, and chapter three explores the question of discipline. This section situates the dependent priories in a longer historical perspective and teases out some historiographical paradigms which have informed perceptions of the dependent priories. Heale finds that dependent cells were set up for a range of reasons: administrative, economic, spiritual (in promoting saints' cults, for instance), and pastoral. The desire of lay patrons to support priories is also explored, and a convincing case is made for the claim that although dependent priories did perform supportive administrative duties for their mother houses, it is clear that many of the cells were founded with genuinely religious purposes in mind. Heale shows that the many disputes among cells and their founders, patrons, bishops, and mother houses provide insights into the complex meanings of dependency overall. The sometimes difficult relationship between mother house and dependent cell is also described in the records of episcopal visitation, where a perennially woeful tale is told of spiritual and moral degeneracy in the priories. Heale deals with the critical and methodological problems of such sources fairly. Some comparison might have been made between such reports in the Benedictine context and similar reports in the Cistercian context, particularly in relation to the Cistercian *conversi* (lay brothers) and life on the monastic grange.

The second section of the book considers the nature of the dependent priories as semi-autonomous units. Chapter four describes daily life within the cells, chapter five delineates the various relationships between the dependent priories and their neighbors, and the final chapter studies the economic activities of the dependent priories. Sources for the daily and liturgical lives of the inhabitants of the dependent priories are few, yet Heale manages to portray the duties of prayer, administration, and study competently. Minimal attention is given to the material spaces of the priories, and some comment on overall standards of living is included. The relationship between the priories and local society reveals that although disputes over contested rights were not infrequent, local communities derived spiritual benefit from the presence of cells, and the evidence indicates that the cells were well integrated into local communities. The economic activities of the dependent priories, too, most impressively detailed by Heale for the post-1370 period, demonstrate the resilience of the cells in late medieval England. A range of sources of income is explored together with careful analysis of the ways in which dependent priories sought to maintain their presence in often trying circumstances. A number of helpful graphs and tables assist the reader here.

Overall, this monograph will encourage historians of monasticism to think carefully about the unique nature of dependent Benedictine and Augustinian priories in England. Heale has undertaken to complicate the traditionally rather dismissive view of these dependencies, and has shown that, far from lacking in their own spiritual identity and purpose, the dependent priories of English monasteries were a singular and integral part of the post-Conquest insular landscape.

MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH
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ROBERT BARTLETT. *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 168. $24.95.

In this book, Robert Bartlett displays considerable narrative flair and (not surprisingly) consummate historical acuity. There is much to learn from its accomplished array of facts and contexts; yet the fascinating story that drives Bartlett's book never gets lost in the details. At its center is Welshman William Cragh, the eponymous Hanged Man, who lived to tell the miraculous tale of his execution and resurrection. Testimony to Cragh's death and resuscitation survives in remarkable quantity—from no less than nine witnesses—forming part of the 1307 inquiry into the sainthood of Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (Cragh's resuscitation being one of the miracles needed to secure the bishop's canonization). In Bartlett's hands, Cragh's story opens out upon issues of significant consequence: both narrowly, in the family drama of the temperamental de Briouze family, the lords of Gower and the cause of Cragh's conviction; the bureaucratic

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character of the investigative processes of papal commissioners; the growth of a saint's cult; and more broadly, in its treatment of thirteenth-century colonial relations in Gower and beyond; techniques for the condemnation and execution of medieval rebels; the documentary processes of memory and forgetting; medieval temporal and spatial habits of mind.

Structured around a central anecdote—one testified to by a veritable, if also variable, swarm of witnesses—Bartlett's book shows its debt to New Historicist approaches. Yet in subtle contrast to that method, the anecdote functions here not as a minute counter example, destabilizing history's *grand recits*, as much as a narrative productive for a host of important historiographic and methodological moves. Readers are thus invited to consider the problems of memory, translation, documentation, the politicization of categories—was Cragh a "notorious brigand" (p. 79) as witness Lady Mary de Briouze terms him, or more precisely part of Welsh colonial resistance to the English king?—that trouble historical reconstruction. Indeed, if Bartlett's book gestures toward historical recovery, it is, as the author notes, "both less and more": "It is less because it acknowledges that it is now impossible to create a complete and accurate narrative of what happened . . . Yet more for it recognizes that [this] actually provides an opportunity" pointing to "unusual and revealing circumstances" or "raising fruitful problems" that contribute to our understanding about the medieval period more generally (p. xi). On one hand, this reminds us of the tensions between acts of "recovery" and creative storytelling. On the other, it demonstrates (as the book does generally) that creative reconstruction, rather than simple "recovery" constitutes history at its most rigorous. Bartlett's book makes clear that reconstruction requires analytical creativity and creative analysis; it makes clear as well that we can understand things about medieval people that they might not necessarily have understood (or claimed) about themselves.

This is characteristically fine historical analysis. Bartlett's chapter on "Time and Space," for example, mines the discrepancies in witness testimony in standard historicist mode, offering a convincing rationale for a dating of November 1290, despite the fact that seven of the nine witnesses date the event in 1291 or 1292. Yet details never signify simply. Here, for instance, they open out upon Bartlett's consideration of the vagaries of memory and the subjective characteristics of temporal and spatial thinking, important issues in a volume that views its witness testimony as "as good an idea as we are likely to get of the spoken words of the past in the time before the tape recorder" (p. xi). Bartlett chooses his words carefully, suggesting that the archive not be mistaken for authentic or unmediated voices, much as we might wish for such access to the past. Bartlett's chapters on "Narrative, Memory, and Inquisition," like his earlier treatment of the temporal discrepancies in witness testimony, are very good indeed: characteristically smart about the ways culture mediates what gets remembered and how. If the promise of those past "voices" romantically lingers from time to time, this is perhaps understandable in the work of a scholar dedicating himself to disentangling historical narrative from the assumptions and habits of colonial rule.

Bartlett's book is, in sum, a quick and enjoyable read. It is also a complex look at history from the point of view of a particular, diverse set of subjects. As such, it will appeal equally to scholars, students, and popular audiences. Indeed, it is the kind of fascinating story, absorbingly told, that has the power to generate considerable interest in the medieval period.

PATRICIA CLARE INGHAM
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DYAN ELLIOTT. *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 350. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

In her virtuosic study *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (1998), Dyan Elliott framed the notorious rise of witchcraft accusations at the end of the Middle Ages, and the attendant demonizing of women, as outcomes of a long-term aggressive attempt by clerics from the eleventh century onward to "purify" priesthood and sacraments as a male preserve, by the repression of sexuality. Here, she examines another aspect of the late medieval clerical turn against women, namely what she calls the "criminalization of female spirituality": clerics' steadily increasing suspicion, and severe judgment, of pious women who displayed extremes of ascetic behavior and claimed to receive revelations. In most accounts of this well-known phenomenon, it is the men's resistance to women's powers as potentially challenging their own (especially in the wake of the institutional failures of the Great Schism), aided and conditioned by pervasive misogyny, that appears as its main driving force. Elliott is certainly alert to that resistance, but here she attempts a more nuanced view, treating clerics' perceptions of devout women as a function of a broader and deeper "abstract change" in late medieval culture, toward a focus on "inquisition" in the broad sense of the word, a "growing concern with what constitutes proof" (p. 1). This change, in spite of its seemingly inevitable implications, was itself not necessarily prejudicial against women.

The concern for proof found momentous expression in the Fourth Lateran Council's mandate of annual sacramental confession by all Christians as proof of orthodoxy (1215). Elliott sets this mandate in the context of the decline of the "ordeal," a judicial process relying on supernatural signs of innocence or guilt, which the council itself forbade in favor of questioning and proof as means of truth-finding; the influential Raymond of Penafort understood the sacrament as itself a "penitential forum" with the confes-

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sor as interrogator. At first, far from being victims or enemies of the mandate of confession, certain devout women became its poster children. The famous preacher James of Vitry wrote a life of the early Beguine Mary of Oignies that proposed her enthusiastic piety as a decisive proof against heresy at the time of the Albigensian crusade; the compelling virtue of the royal saint Elisabeth of Hungary in the eyes of her devotees was precisely her extreme obedience to her fierce confessor Conrad of Marburg. But the irony of the inquisitional culture was that obsession with proof led not to certainty but to ever more doubt. In form, the canonization of saints differed little from the prosecution of heretics. Not a few people who were condemned by the inquisition were popularly venerated as martyrs for their unjust suffering, and for devout women, to be a trophy of proof was also to be a potential object of suspicion. "The more sophisticated a [woman's clerical] promoter was, the more inclined to collect evidence against an imaginary inquisitional grid" (p. 182) that invited serious suspicions of deceit or self-deception not only of true frauds, like the Beguine Sybil of Metz, who faked conversations with angels, but also of the most famous holy women, like the prophets Catherine of Siena and Bridget of Sweden.

John Gerson, the fifteenth-century chancellor of the University of Paris who was a major player in the mending of the Schism, stands for Elliott as a symbol of the ironies of the inquisitional culture, especially in its implications for women. In raising questions about Bridget, among others, he attacked devout women's extreme scrupulosity about their sins as evidence of vanity, thus debunking their very commitment to sacramental confession. Ironically, he also provided the conceptual basis for others' attacks on Joan of Arc, even though Joan was a woman he himself wished to defend. He thus insured, in spite of his own intentions, the triumph of suspicion over proof.

In its focus on the pervasive tendency to seek security through procedures that fail to achieve their ends because they become ends in themselves, Elliott's picture of late medieval religious life will not be entirely unfamiliar to students of medieval religion. Yet by revealing the importance of gender-related issues where we had not seen them, she presents that familiar picture in a new, indeed unfamiliar, light.

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New Brunswick Theological Seminary [All reviews of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

KATHRYN L. REYERSON. *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier.* (The Medieval Mediterranean, number 37.) Boston: Brill. 2002. Pp. 257.

At the outset, this book by Kathryn L. Reyerson provides many insights on the topic of medieval economic history. The book reads well and easily. This fact is significant enough to be mentioned since the study of economics can be overly technical and can follow the application of mathematical models sometimes too complex for students of the humanities. The book's strength lies in its originality of topic and accessibility and will interest specialists and novices as well as graduate and undergraduate students.

The main asset of Reyerson's work is her focus outside the normal geographic and sociocultural boundaries of medieval economic studies. She deals with Montpellier, a not-so-famous medieval town in the south of France, rather than with major Italian, English, or Flemish towns. Her work concentrates on the more modest international merchants; in this case, two brothers, Jacobus and Guiraudus Cabanis, merchants, mercers, and drapers, known by their mid-fourteenth-century transactions recorded in the notarial registers of Guillemus Nogareti (for the years 1337–1342) and Johannes Holanie (for the year 1327–1328). The Cabanis are not the Bardi, Peruzzi, or Medici of Florence or the Spiafame of Lucca, but their ordinariness makes them even more endearing to the social historian.

What clearly distinguishes Reyerson's work from that of other economic historians is that through her discussion of the activities of the Cabanis brothers she allows her readers to encounter and follow the myriad of intermediaries that facilitated the many business transactions of "little" or modest international merchants. Hence the book does not focus on the merchants themselves as much as it does on the intermediaries of trade—the brokers, innkeepers, auctioneers, transporters, and notaries usually overlooked by historians. It may be a sign of our own capitalistic mentality that we usually show more interest in reading the great merchant stories of the past than in the steady accomplishment of the "little" guys. This study answers in many ways André Gouron's call for research on medieval brokerage. By favoring an analysis of the mechanism of deal making rather than analyzing the credit mechanism Reyerson unravels how connections between buyers and sellers were established, how information was passed along, and who did what in complex operations that required a large array of knowledge.

After introducing the medieval Mediterranean trade and the specifics of Montpellier, the book's narrative follows the "players" of commercial deals, from their initiations to closings. The layout of the book permits readers to encounter men and the infrastructure of commerce as transactions evolved to their maturity. The introduction discusses in general terms the activities of the Cabanis brothers in a variety of fields (textile, spices, leather, and the law books trade) but with a specialty in silk and mercery of Lucca. Like modern-day brokers, they followed the golden rule of investment strategy: diversification. The first chapter addresses the experience of Western merchants in the Mediterranean: issues of language, contacts, support networks (colonies and fondachi), commercial rivalries, and Montpellier commercial links with France,

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the Levant, and Italy. The second chapter concentrates on Montpellier and its local market. Its various allegiances to Aragon, Majorca, and France favored immigration, as did its university of law and of medicine. There is an interesting section on Montpellier's social, cultural, and commercial topography, debating the presence of trade topographic specializations. The "meat" of the book is found in chapters three through six that discuss the "Members of the Trade Infrastructure," "Personnel of the Mercantile Entourage: Kinship, Partnership, Representation," "The Discovery Phase: Making Connections and Arranging the Deal," and the final "Closing and Execution of the Deal." Interested readers will find a plethora of information on rarely discussed "agents" of commerce such as notaries, brokers, and innkeepers. The section on innkeepers is especially eye opening in its emphasis on the wide range of commercial activities they practiced, even though their reputation has been sullied throughout history by their engagement with "unsavory" characters like brigands, gamblers, and prostitutes.

One last novelty that distinguishes this work of economic history is its nondiachronic approach. This is not a story of before and after. The Black Death looms over the study but disappears from the narrative. This nondiachronic methodology allows Reyerson and her readers to focus on and perceive the existence of actual men rather than disembodied structures.

This short review can only hope to whet the appetite of readers for an unpretentious innovative book that deserves to be read by all historians as well as present and future dealmakers.

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GERARD NIJSTEN. *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages*. Translated by TANIS GUEST. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 58.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 470. $95.00.

This is an important book. It contains the destruction of an historical myth and its replacement by a commonsensical and refreshing perception of a typical medieval political and social environment. In the traditional view, the duchy of Guelders, ruled by "an obese duke," was considered a backward and fragmented political entity, and its capital the seat of a "rustic court, moving laboriously through the Veluwe's sandy woods or the soggy river clay" (pp. 4–5). I confess that Wim Blockmans and I, in our most recent overview of the history of the Burgundian Netherlands (*The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530* [1999]), still belonged to the club of skeptical historians, representing Guelders as a scattered and not really governable entity, made attractive only by its location at the command of all the great rivers. Gerard Nijsten's indignation aimed fundamentally at our thesis that "the duchy's lack of cohesion [. . .] posed a potential threat to the stability of the entire region."

The core of Nijsten's new analysis, based on a rich and unexploited corpus of documents, reveals that the talents and the credibility in the eyes of the subjects of some of the most ambitious dukes of Guelders, especially Arnold of Egmond, allowed them to turn the political potential of the duchy into political reality. At least in the decades before the 1460s, the ducal court became a cultural center for the local nobility and realized a good symbiosis with the burghers of the capital town of Arnhem. Devoted court writers of didactic treatises created the image of an ideal prince, representing and preserving the common good of all the subjects. This ideological construction subsequently provoked a form of "national" identity, including such elements as territorial unity, solidarity, and unanimity. The dukes did certainly not underestimate the political power of propaganda by artistic symbolism and by the ritual of the ceremonial entry.

In some respects, the defiant archival findings lead Nijsten to some overkill in his discourse. The Guelders' court certainly was less original and independent than suggested by the author. Structure, social composition, and radius of operation were largely imitation of the French and Burgundian models. In my view, the book's title refers emphatically to a political condition that is closer to splendid isolation than to real independence from the Burgundian "big brother." Guelders, undoubtedly, has been a much more sophisticated place than most historians, including myself, were aware of. It was an extremely urbanized area, similar to Flanders and Holland. Its court displayed a rich social complexity and an effective coexistence of noble families, clerics, and burghers, all of them involved on the same political and cultural forum. Musicians and painters, incoming from abroad, supplied the country with cosmopolitan flavor, the court was international in nature, and the dukes were restless travelers.

I appreciate Nijsten's methodology as a well-balanced combination of solid source criticism and creative use of Clifford Geertz's anthropological approach and Norbert Elias's sociological analysis of court life. But I regret a certain failure to make use of recent historical publications on essential topics for the subject: on the theory of rituals (Catherine Bell), on sacred rituals of power (Sergio Bertelli), on ritualized clothing (Susan Crane), on the power of networking and clientelism (Antoni Maczak), on the activity of chanceries in the Northern Netherlands (Eef Dijkhof and Jan Burgers). I also note the absence from the bibliography of Rob Wegman's innovative studies on the fifteenth-century crisis in the musical scene, and the marvelous book by Reinhard Strohm on music in medieval Bruges. The effect of these gaps is specifically an underestimation of the impact of the duke's political and social pressure on his officials and other social groups. The social importance of illegitimate children could have been placed in better perspective

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if Nijsten had used the recent book by Myriam Carlier (*Kinderen van de minne? Bastaarden in het vijftiende-eeuwse Vlaanderen* [2001]).

But none of these remarks diminishes my high esteem and admiration for the erudition and the originality of this persuasive monograph.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHRISTIANE KLAPISCH-ZUBER. *L'Arbre des familles*. Paris: Édition de La Martinière. 2004. Pp. 203.

This new work may at first appear to be an abridgment of Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's monumental *L'Ombre des ancêtres: Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (2000), and indeed, the underlying set of arguments in both works, which have as their common theme the family tree, is similar. Yet the differences between the two books are many and substantial, so that this more recent and, for the generalist, more accessible work definitely deserves to be noted in the scholarly literature. First of all, the scope of the present work is vaster. It reaches beyond the description and analysis of the family tree in the high medieval and Renaissance periods to a more general thematic survey of the graphic or imagic recording of "family" memories across two millennia of mainly European history. The earliest picture is a sculpture of a Roman senator who holds the busts of two of his ancestors, while the most recent is a 1954 family portrait of Leonard Tsuguhuru Foujita. Second, while the earlier work had only a few photographs and those in black and white—a definite drawback in a book about images—this one features more than a hundred, usually page-size color plates. Finally, instead of this being a picture book with slim commentaries, this book's opposite-page text provides a coherent, serious overview of the many approaches draftsmen have employed over the centuries to memorialize or imagine the shape of the many different types of societal "families" into which (usually privileged) humans have organized themselves.

The book is organized in roughly chronological terms. It shows clearly the path that brought the graphic representation of family time from building blocks to abstract forms of ascent or descent, then from the later thirteenth century to proper arborial forms, whence the way was open to explosions of vegetal branches leading off of trunks, in modern times often returning to purely lineal arrangements. Yet throughout, the problems of visualized imagic memory remain in the foreground. Recognizing at one point that the trees "lie" about the family because, for instance, they often suppress the representations of females alongside males although the former are the ones who grow the trees, or the representations of the nonaristocratic although the great families in fact stem from the pirate we see at the root of Norman Rockwell's ironic representation of the American family. Not surprisingly, the most striking image in the present work is medieval: a recently rediscovered, thirteenth-century public fresco in Massa Maritima that features a tree full of penises. Below, the town's women struggle over those they have shaken loose, an image the author interprets as an encouragement of fertility.

Klapisch-Zuber is at her most winning in discussions of some ironic modern trees. Not neglecting to record the various Trees of Knowledge and the representation of evolution in arboreal form, she arrives at Francisco Goya's capricious drawing of a horse reading a stud book. Always, however, the author's keen insights dominate mere visual showmanship, for example, in her observation that while written history proceeds down the page, the visual tree of memory usually proceeds upward. This book is a worthy achievement. One can only wonder that Klapisch-Zuber, the single most important exploiter of the written record of premodern family histories (the Florentine *ricordanze*), has now also made herself the mistress of the graphic world of family memory.

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RICHARD BARBER. *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 463. $27.95.

In this volume on the evolution of the Grail legend, Richard Barber traces in three parts its "construct of the creative imagination," by which he means its history mainly from twelfth-century French romance, along with its contemporary theological and liturgical ramifications (he does glance at Sir Thomas Malory and other late medieval variations of earlier narratives, such as the *Prose Tristan*) and its nineteenth and twentieth-century reception (p. 1). Barber begins in part one with the development of the Arthurian Grail romance during the period 1190–1240; continues in part two with the symbolic theology of the Grail and its accoutrements (dish or cup, castle setting, Grail maiden, bleeding lance); and ends in part three with succeeding secular images of the Grail, primarily the Pre-Raphaelites' and Richard Wagner's in *Parsifal*. Barber's goal is to understand how and why the nineteenth and twentieth century reimagined the ideal of spiritual perfection through popular and new mystical incarnations.

This useful and informative survey identifies the Grail as chiefly literary in import. It conveniently summarizes most of the important French and German Arthurian stories about Grail questors—Lancelot, Gawain, Perceval, and Lancelot's son, Galahad—and plumbs the origins of the Grail symbols, mainly from the New Testament and apocryphal biblical texts. The Grail romances "reveal the attitudes of the time," in this case, ecclesiastical anxiety about the rise in heresy (pp. 149, 144). Most interesting is Barber's perception of the Grail quest as a *fallible* knight's

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maturation journey: it was not perfect Galahad but imperfect Lancelot, Bors, and Perceval who most attracted later readers. In this regard, Barber stresses Chrétien's *Perlesvaus* as literal, not as allegorical; Perceval has free will, and therefore his changes in growth demonstrate the dynamism of the narrative. And the anonymous *Quest of the Holy Grail*, imbued as it is with Cistercian theology, remains romance, not sermon (hermits provide spiritual glossation on the symbolic narrative).

The survey's medievalism—discussions of how the stories and symbols have been subsequently adapted to the times in which later adaptors wrote—also enhances the importance of the Grail ideals, whatever the culture or century. Because Barber traces the Grail reception in part three even through those centuries uninterested in its ultimate significance as literary imagery—namely, the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation—before his examination of the age of Grail scholarship, with its editions, in the Enlightenment, and the age of translation and adaptation, in the nineteenth century, this study may be the fullest and most comprehensive treatment yet of the actual history of the interpretation of Grail symbols. Barber not only recognizes the major works and their contributions, from romance to translation and adaptation to work of scholarship, but he also includes in appendixes a diagram of the key twelfth-century Grail romances, a list of medieval manuscript illustrations of Grail images, and a brief theological glossary.

Barber concludes that "[t]here is no one 'truth' about the Grail" (p. 365): each age and author reinvents some aspect of its interpretation and imagery, thus explaining the "Imagination" portion of his title. Further, there is no Celtic "source" that explains its symbolism, no one "key," much to the consternation of the author, whose initial hope was that he would delve into Celtic legends. Instead, the paradigms mostly stem from Christianity and popular devotion, not Celtic folktales or Orientalism (p. 242), a conclusion that invokes the "Belief" portion of the subtitle. Despite the inspiration for Grail symbolism in Christian imagery, however, it is not exclusively Christian. Barber also details the political agendas behind some of the modern adaptations and interpretations of Grail romance. Nationalism influenced nineteenth-century French medievalists who ignored the courtly Arthurian romance in favor of the *chanson de geste* and the more feudal adventures of Charlemagne and his barons, as it did the English publication of three separate editions of Malory's *Morte Darthur* (p. 233). Barber explains the secularization of the Grail symbolism in the later centuries through the influence of non-Christian systems of thought—among others, Gnosticism, occult philosophy, freemasonry, theosophy, Rosicrucianism, Hinduism, and National Socialism.

Unfortunately, Barber undermines his presentation by several stylistic flaws. First, he irritatingly fictionalizes the origin of the writing of the romances by Chrétien de Troyes, Robert de Boron, the anonymous authors of the *Perlesvaus* and the "Vulgate Cycle," and Wolfram von Eschenbach. Later, Barber imagines his search for answers as a quest and himself as a Gawain or Lancelot rather than a more successful Perceval or Galahad (p. 91). Second, Barber quotes large swaths of text in his summaries, for example, nearly seven hundred words from the "Vulgate Cycle" in a translated extract, one of many (pp. 61–63). He justifies this practice by noting (in a stunning tautology) the reader's need to know these passages to grasp Grail authors' perceptions of the Grail (p. 86).

Barber also rarely clarifies this volume's scholarly contribution to Arthurian studies, perhaps because of his literary conception of his own research as an *aventure*. Scholars would likely agree that the meaning of the Holy Grail does indeed suggest Barber's "possibility of perfection" (p. 5); the prose romance did evolve into the modern novel in part through interest in the Grail (p. 1), although Barber fails to acknowledge Greek and Roman romances as forerunners. He also ignores gender issues: the vernacular Arthurian romance was written for a "new social class" of knights (p. 3), but what about the new readers, women, and conclusions reached by scholars such as Roberta Krueger in *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (1994)? And in his excellent modern survey of Grail-influenced literature and films, Barber barely has space to touch on Mark Twain, Charles Williams, T. S. Eliot, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, *The Fisher King*, and Umberto Eco, among the many writers he discusses. There are, unfortunately, other writers he omits, most especially C. S. Lewis.

Barber has amply demonstrated in his previous publications that his interest in Arthuriana is extensive and scholarly. This new study will enhance the burgeoning academic interest in both Arthuriana and medievalism; it is as comprehensive and important as those of Celtic enthusiast R. S. Loomis and scholars like him.

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PETER BURKE. *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 210. Cloth $70.00, paper $24.99.

As a young graduate student, newly arrived in Britain and finding myself on a bus in Leeds, I heard passengers address one another as "thee" and "thou." At the time I knew just enough history to identify them as probably being Quakers, and the thrill of that recognition sealed my fate as a future historian. The sound of a new language, or an artifact of a bygone usage, never fails to intrigue the listener. But an initial linguistic curiosity at the new or exotic had not always been the response provoked in Westerners. Other languages, pronunciations, turns of phrase, or accents might just as easily signal scorn or fear. When Martin

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Luther demeaned the papal letters, he said they were written in "kitchen Latin" (p. 120).

Peter Burke has given us a book about the complex responses found among early modern Europeans toward languages, both at home and abroad. Variously describing his task as a social, cultural, or ecological history of languages as embedded in communities, this distinguished British historian culls from travelers, dictionaries, playwrights, printers' marks, and philosophers to explain the mounting interest in languages visible from the sixteenth century onward. Only hinting at the larger political message yet to come, Burke catalogues the ways that language, dialect, and accent could be used (and, as he well knows, in some places are still used) to delineate, stereotype, identify, and malign a speaker. As Burke puts it, "using the 'received pronunciation' has been a strategy for maintaining or claiming high status over the centuries" (p. 42). Even in the use of Latin considerable divergence existed between what diplomats and bishops spoke and what the laity said. Only as Latin declined as the language of the highly cultured did the vernaculars, in tandem with the nation-states, come into their own. The power derived from the multitude of a language's speakers ultimately closed the gap left by Latin, and French—aided in part after 1685 by the Huguenot dispersion—gradually took its place. But before its demise, Latin supplied what many vernaculars, including German, lacked: the ability to express abstractions.

Burke cautions against seeing the displacement of Latin as inevitable or imagining that the early nation-states possessed any policy of standardization. Instead, at first the pressure to standardize came from many nongovernmental sources: religious authorities, particularly Protestants; scholars and educators; publishers and printers, for whom standardization could only increase sales; clerks in their chanceries; and not least aristocratic women. With this last point Burke makes one of his few original observations about gender. It departs from his tendency to catalogue the stereotypes that men applied to women's speech without providing much analysis of the reasons for their existence. He also goes against another trend in contemporary historiography by reasserting the gap he postulated some years ago between high and low culture. Now Burke adds language, accent, and pronunciation, as infallible reminders of social divisions and cultural superiority. He notes in passing that in continental Europe, until well into the eighteenth century, knowing English was rare and brought with it no social cachet, but that the highly commercial Dutch had already displayed their facility with foreign languages.

Travel and conquest mixed languages up, and Burke is particularly learned on the multitude of words and phrases that have been borrowed or coopted within Europe and between Europe and the new world. But the linguistic markers culled from slaves and conquered people strike the reader as a rather paltry harvest by comparison to the wholesale destruction visited upon African and Amerindian languages. Burke understands that the moves toward purification, or linguistic conformity, often display the dark side of European culture. On this point he owes much to his acknowledged reading of Mary Douglas. No European language was immune to purification movements, and contrary to received wisdom, these began long before the nineteenth century. As Thomas Sprat, the first historian of the Royal Society, noted during the Restoration, "the purity of speech and greatness of empire have in all countries still met together" (p. 152). Yet the purists always met with opposition, just as did the empires. Burke stresses that the purists display a kind of cramped narcissism that flies in the face of the immense diversity in our words and speech.

The stakes raised by the study of the history of language are revealed by Burke only in his conclusion. The moral of his lucid tale is that words travel in the wind, and that repressive regimes that rail against profligate usages will ultimately achieve but partial success in making everyone sound the same. After the restoration of monarchy in 1660, English Quakers by the hundreds faced prison or exile. Then they may only have secretly whispered "thee" and "thou" to one another. But they succeeded well into the 1960s in maintaining the linguistic vestiges of their radical religiosity, a living reminder of the role they once played in civil war and regicide. In his conclusion, Burke rescues the history of languages from its antiquarian associations and gives us a book well worth reading in any graduate seminar on the general contours of early modern Europe.

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WILLIAM R. NEWMAN. *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 333. $30.00.

How might the heavy metal of scholarship in the history of alchemy be transmuted into a gold mine of insights pertinent to current debate about the genetic modification of human beings? One answer might be to reexamine the ancient distinction between nature and art, made famous by Aristotle but problematized by alchemical practices that sought to replicate or expedite natural processes. In a highly original study, William R. Newman adopts this strategy, using the nature/art distinction as a window on scientific ambitions and their defense. Although the period under scrutiny runs from Avicenna and Averroes to Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, readers are constantly reminded of the topical relevance of the analysis: members of the President's Council on Bioethics are urged to acquaint themselves with the nuances of earlier controversies in which it was feared that human beings might be reduced to artificial products. Then, as now, objections were raised to tinkering with normal processes of reproduction—objections from those who could not stomach, for example, the much-depicted

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growth of an homunculus outside a womb and seeded only by the male.

Objections to the alchemists' pretensions then, as now, were often incipiently theological. For Averroes neither an artificially produced mouse nor the alchemists' gold could be identical to their natural exemplars. For Avicenna art was weaker than nature and could never overtake it. Attempts to surpass nature could appear sacrilegious. And if alchemists were thought to be counterfeiting nature, they were apt to find themselves in Dante's Hell. To what might they have recourse? They could argue that, though their products were made differently from those of nature, the end result was the same. Paradoxically, as Newman shows, they could even appeal to Aristotle, who, by many historians of science, has been seen as the arch-opponent of experimental intervention as a means of understanding natural processes. In an important revisionist account, Newman exposes a parallel repeatedly drawn between the artificial replication of the rainbow (which Aristotle discussed with equanimity) and the artificial replication of metals. But it was difficult then, as now, to pacify the doubting Thomas—whether it be Thomas Aquinas denying that it could be known whether artificial and natural gold were identical, since the "form" that characterized the latter was insensible, or Thomas Erastus insisting that those who aspired to put forms into matter, even "naturally," were impiously playing God.

If Newman's story had been just another account of religious resistance to scientific ambition it would have been diverting but lacking in depth. In fact, what he offers is a sophisticated historiography in which a recurrent theme is the ease with which the art/nature distinction could be breeched. The blurring of the distinction is exemplified by Daniel Sennert's contention that chemical operations were not "merely artificial." This was because they utilized efficient causes, such as fire, that were patently natural. The book's most captivating feature is its exploration of the polemical uses to which art/nature distinctions were put: Boyle, for example, bolstering his attack on scholastic "substantial forms" by insisting that when the qualities of the natural and artificially produced substances were demonstrably the same, invocation of a substantial form for the former was gratuitous. In an attractive chapter devoted to the various branches of "art," Newman reveals a different kind of polemic, in which the alchemists' pretensions to be imitating nature were attacked by potters and painters in defense of their own territorial rights. This "struggle for supremacy among the arts themselves" (p. 9) is illustrated by Leonardo da Vinci, who, despite his debt to alchemical recipes for his paints, stigmatized the alchemists as usurpers of God's power. Wryly, Newman observes "how extraordinary it is to find the same man who is famous for extolling the god-like power of the artist in his *Trattato della pittura* explicitly attacking the alchemists for trying to rival the divinity!" (p. 123). The prime polemicist is, however, Newman himself who, by uncovering within scholasticism an alchemical lineage in which knowledge was made by *making* things, not merely by contemplating their essences, is able to launch a powerful critique of a conventional wisdom that such an innovation had to wait for Francis Bacon.

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HAROLD MAH. *Enlightenment Phantasies: Cultural Identity in France and Germany, 1750–1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 227. $19.95.

Harold Mah's pithy, elegant, and immensely stimulating book addresses what could be called the culture of ideas in the French and German Enlightenment. Although the bulk of the book concerns intellectual cross-currents in the later eighteenth century, some chapters include discussions of Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Thomas Mann, and as Mah's subtitle suggests, "Enlightenment" refers more to a congeries of ideas and problems than to a very specific timeframe. Mostly, however, Mah uses a variety of case studies in the generation roughly contemporary with the French Revolution to show the ways in which the ideas of pivotal thinkers were shaped by their positive and negative fantasies of other places and times such as France, Italy, ancient Greece, or Rome.

Readers averse to intellectual modishness may groan loudly upon reading that "[p]resumably fixed and discrete, identities showed themselves to be porous, inconsistent, and changeable" (p. 3). But they should persevere because what follows is an eye-opening demonstration of the implications of that statement when applied to the history of intellectuals and ideas. In the introduction, Mah runs through the familiar account of half a century of American writings on the Enlightenment from Peter Gay and J. G. A. Pocock to Robert Darnton, Joan Landes, and Dena Goodman. In retelling the story of how the liberal triumphalist view of the Enlightenment has been asserted, attacked, and partially restored, Mah points out that historians tend to seize upon a characteristic identity (heroic philosophe, aristocratic salonnière, masculinist republican, grub street radical) and present that essential self at its most affirmative. While scholars no longer believe, if they ever did, that the Enlightenment was monolithic, they tend nowadays to describe it as a set of fixed oppositions: high/low, male/female, commercial/civic, and so on. Mah's point is not just that such oppositions were hardly stable, but also that "terms of identity are in some sense idealized phantasies" (p. 12), that selfhood partakes heavily of the imaginary, of desire and repression. What interests Mah is less the individual psyche, however, than the intellectual identities of influential thinkers.

The book's central theme concerns gazes exchanged across the Rhine as French and German thinkers sought in the other country what was lacking in theirs—if, most often, only to reject the lure of imagined national otherness. In some ways it is a pity that

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Mah's book opens with the only chapter he devotes to a single figure, J. G. Herder, since it makes the project seem more biographical and canonical than is really the case. But Herder does provide an excellent illustration of Mah's central point. The father of German cultural nationalism turns out to have been deeply preoccupied and attracted by French culture and civilization, dreaming of himself as a wordly philosophe and bemoaning his imperfect grasp of the French language. (The German pastor's ruminations appear to have featured phantasies about Frenchwomen specifically.) Mah's reading of Herder and other figures in his book is quintessentially post-structuralist: Herder's cultural nationalism, he posits, was hardly straightforward or unsettled forged as it was by recurrent tensions in his thought between universalism and historicism, style and substance, France and Germany.

The book develops like a piece of music, with chapters on language, aesthetics, and history offering a series of increasingly complex variations on the opening motif. The variations include a discussion of language and the problem of representation, culminating with Nietzsche, in which Mah traces the ways in which both French and German thinkers came to terms with the representational limits of French as the language of rational civility. There is an especially strong chapter entitled "Strange Classicism" that, ranging from Johann Winckelmann to Mann demonstrates the self-subverting nature of dreams of classical male subjectivity, as the masterful gaze of the artist, philosopher, or writer/character (Aschenbach in *Death in Venice*) is undermined by the resistance of its object. Germaine de Staël's multinational preoccupations also provide great fodder for Mah, who delivers a brilliant structuralist reading of the writer's *Corinne, or Italy* (1807). The discussion culminates in Marx's dual rejection of both French and German claims to ultimate modernity, the intellectual frustration that led him to reach beyond both French materialistic progressivism and German spiritualist historicism.

The book's ending with Marx may, however, leave eighteenth-century scholars perplexed about where, if anywhere, this all leaves "the Enlightenment." As is often the case with this sort of reading, Mah's discussion makes stronger methodological than historiographical claims. If it is indeed foolish, as this book elegantly demonstrates, to view Enlightenment thought as a zero-sum game between constituencies or nationalities, how do we eighteenth-century historians pick up the pieces?

That question should be good fodder for graduate seminars. In the meantime, Mah's intellectual history provides the immense service of foregrounding the role of imagination, desire, and fantasy in the history of ideas. It does so, moreover, both with rigor and without pretentiousness. In the introduction, Mah states that he hopes "to counteract what I believe are the wrongheaded notions that historians using theory are necessarily proceeding unempirically and incomprehensibly" (p. 14). As far as this reviewer is concerned, he has succeeded in that goal.

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JOHN D. GRAINGER. *The Amiens Truce: Britain and Bonaparte, 1801–1803*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 222. $85.00.

The Peace of Amiens of 1802 brought to a close the war between Britain and revolutionary France. The former had been victorious at sea and successful in conquering many French colonies, but its forces had been driven from the European mainland and its alliance system had collapsed. This had led the government to peace. In 1803, however, war resumed, and it continued, without a break, until Napoleon Bonaparte was forced to abdicate in 1814. John D. Grainger's well-researched book is a study of the negotiation of the settlement, the period of peace, and its breakdown. Matching the perspective of Paul Schroeder, Grainger's central thesis is that Napoleon was unable to accept the constraints of peace and, instead, used periods of peace to advance new claims and to prepare for fresh conflict. Unlike systemic theories of international relations, however, Grainger puts the emphasis on trust.

Analyzing the negotiation of the peace preliminaries in 1801, Grainger suggests that the French government was only marginally interested in making peace and was still considering invasion. In the subsequent negotiation of the Amiens settlement, French good faith is again found wanting. As a result, the peace was not regarded in Britain as really satisfactory, although it was just acceptable enough to maintain Addington's government in power. The legacy of mistrust arising from the negotiations was such that, in Britain, it was regarded as unlikely to last. Clashing attitudes toward international relations and national law did not help. The French were angered by the British failure to act as Napoleon wished against critical émigré writers; in turn, the British were unwilling to mold their laws to suit the French government. The nature of Napoleonic government, at once authoritarian and radical, greatly increased the chance of such cultural misperceptions.

To Grainger, there is no doubt that French moves rapidly sapped the new settlement. In particular, French expansionism in Europe and French schemes further afield concerned British government ministers and led them to judge further French moves and reports of French intentions in this light. Amiens included provision for the French evacuation of Egypt, but Napoleon sent Colonel Horace Sébastiani to report on the possibility of a reconquest and his positive report was published in the official *Moniteur*. Efforts to increase the French presence in Algiers and Muscat also worried the British. But it was not only they who were concerned. In response to Napoleon's request for mediation of his differences with Britain, Alexander I of Russia produced a plan that Napoleon rejected

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because it would have required France to evacuate Hanover, Italy, Switzerland, and the United Provinces. The tsar and his ministers were offended by the contemptuous way in which they were treated and concerned by the onward march of French policy.

In March 1803, there was a serious war panic, as France's ability to mount an invasion and talk of an expedition from Flushing led to a mobilization of the British navy and militia, which increased British governmental confidence. In turn, this helped to boost French invasion preparations. As both sides increasingly saw war as inevitable, so French diplomatic efforts were devoted to trying to cast Britain in the role of aggressor and treaty breaker. Grainger suggests that it is unlikely that any of the late French diplomacy had an effect on the British government. Instead, French policy insured that the British government declared war with a relatively united country at its back, whereas there had been considerable division at the time of the negotiation of the peace. An important side effect of Napoleon's attitudes was the French decision to sell Louisiana to the United States. Grainger's scope indeed is global, with French policy in Haiti and India being among his themes. Two months after Britain declared war, General DeCaen, governor of the Île de France, arrived off Pondicherry with 1,250 men mostly intended to train sepoys with whom to challenge British rule in India. Finding the British already in control, however, he sailed back to France. Diplomatic history is often unduly neglected. The wide-ranging resonance of this work makes it of particular interest.

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PATRICIA A. WEITSMAN. *Dangerous Alliances: Proponents of Peace, Weapons of War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 244. $49.50.

The author of this book is a political scientist, and she has written a monograph that is part theory and part history. Patricia A. Weitsman wants to apply a new set of categories to alliance formation, evolution, and disintegration, and she takes as her case studies the various associations or alliances that preceded World War I, particularly the Three Emperors' League (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia), the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy), and the Triple Entente (France, Russia, Britain).

Weitsman's theory is this: alliances are formed not only for "capability aggregation" or increased security against potential adversaries, but also for ally/adversary management or neutralization. She likes the old epigram that it is wise to keep allies close, but wiser still to keep potential adversaries even closer. The author also suggests new terminology to describe her main theoretical ideas. For example, she proposes the concepts of "hedging" and "tethering." Hedging means the formation of "low commitment" relationships with states that are "neither entirely friend nor foe" (p. 20). Basically, the hedging state tries to keep a foot in all camps, committing itself to little but seeking advantage from all sides to pursue its own agenda. Tethering is a more developed form of hedging where hostile states make agreements with one another to neutralize or control conflicts of interest or threats to each other's security. Finally, there is "balancing" where states, because of "high threat levels" (p. 30), seek to form alliances with other states to improve their security. Weitsman notes that there are varying degrees of commitment in these bilateral or multilateral relationships and that over time the relationships may evolve from managing "internal conflicts of interest" (p. 135) to countering external threats. The author is trying to formulate concepts beyond the "realist" view of international relationships based on perceptions of interest and power.

Having established her theoretical principles, Weitsman goes about applying them to the various European relationships which developed between the 1870s and 1918. For example, in the first Three Emperors' League (1873–1878), Austria-Hungary wanted to tether Russia and Germany, while Russia wanted to tether Austria-Hungary. Germany, however, wanted to hedge between Russia and Austria-Hungary and balance against France. The Franco-Russian alliance (1891–1894) "was the first exclusively balancing alliance" (p. 101). Thus, Russia wanted to balance Austria-Hungary, Britain, and Germany, while France wanted to balance Germany and Britain.

Weitsman depends on research from Italian, British, and French archives in order to establish her various positions, mainly in chapters four and five, but she also relies heavily on secondary sources. There are some good quotations; for example, in 1879 Otto von Bismarck tried to have his way with the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister by saying "Accept my proposal, I advise you well, for otherwise, I'll have to accept yours" (p. 73).

All of this is well and good, although one has to wonder just how much is new. And the author has some irritating habits, perhaps explained by her overarching interest in theory as opposed to a more empirical approach based on archival evidence. The evidence she presents seems to go in the traditional realist direction of state interests and state power. Sure, states tether and hedge, but is this a revelation? And the author likes to use jargon like "curvilinear" (frequently) or "dyadic" (less frequently), and other terminology more redolent of a contemporary American think tank.

Weitsman's knowledge of the events of World War I seems a little eccentric. The Allies were scarcely "anticipat[ing] victory" (p. 153) at the end of 1916. The French had staved off defeat at Verdun; the Somme had been a bloody catastrophe with 57,000 British dead and wounded on the first day of action. Romania entered the war only to be decisively defeated. By the end of 1916, events in Russia were going in the wrong direction for the Allies, although Rasputin, the cor-

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rupt, lecherous priest, was done in. His murder was far too late to save tsarist Russia, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, taking Russia out of the war, was signed in March 1918, not December 1917 as the author says.

Some readers may nevertheless find Weitsman's approach to be interesting: it raises old questions about international relations and examines them in new ways.

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MICHAEL MANN. *Fascists*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 429. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.99.

This is by far the best comparative study in recent years of interwar fascisms, an analytical tour de force in which Michael Mann, a sociologist, insists on sufficiently empirical answers to such questions as who were the fascists? What motivated them? Were "class" or material motivations stronger than other motivations? What did fascists believe? How and why did fascists in some countries differ from those in others? Why did fascism succeed in some European countries during the interwar period and not in others?

On the last, Mann concludes that the great divide was between Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe on the one hand (where fascisms flourished) and Northwestern Europe and Britain on the other (where liberal democracies were more entrenched). After a masterful examination of various interpretations of fascism, Mann provides his own data-rich explanations (including some of the best data from other scholars) of Italian, German, and Austrian fascisms—with additional chapters on Hungarian, Romanian, and Spanish "families of authoritarians" (Mann regards fascist movements in all six countries as "extensions" of previous right-wing authoritarianisms).

Specialists will welcome his synthesizing of so much contemporary scholarship, and general readers may be surprised by some of Mann's conclusions. According to Mann, Nazism's vision of a better society should be taken seriously, since to many Germans in 1932 it seemed both "plausible," and in politics, "minimal but resonant plausibility—never some higher standard of truth—rules" (p. 259). All fascist movements during the interwar period appealed disproportionately to the well-educated, "to students in high schools and universities and to the most highly educated middle-class strata" (p. 79). In Germany, most Nazis were not downwardly mobile "marginal" men (many women were also Nazis) but men who felt empowered by previous social success.

Mann writes that only a handful of Nazi leaders were originally attracted to the movement by antisemitism. Most Germans disliked Jews, but antisemitism was not a priority for them and Nazi leaders downplayed antisemitism at election time. Germany's media barons played a major role in stirring up a populist nationalism that boosted their audience and moved politics to the right. Alfred Hugenberg, a conservative politician who controlled Germany's largest media empire, "made the world-historical mistake of giving favorable news coverage to the Nazis" (p. 197).

Mann finds no overall correlation between class and Nazism. All classes were well-represented in Nazism. Many non-industrial workers supported Nazism (by 1930 some seventy percent of the SA were workers). In Italy, two-thirds of the labor force in 1922 remained non-union, and many previously socialist workers were tired of party rhetoric that brought few results. For them "guaranteed work was more important than risky protest" (p. 117). Few German capitalists supported the Nazis before 1933, although "even fewer hindered them" and "many finally welcomed their accession to power" (p. 197). German capitalists wanted "order" and were unhappy with Weimar's social and labor reforms, which raised taxes and reduced profits, but before 1933 they distrusted Nazism's "socialist" side, disliked its violence, and "greatly preferred" the older conservative parties of the day. Austrian fascism, by contrast, was more "class-based," and Austrian conservatives "reached for their guns too early" (p. 234), as did conservatives in Spain. In Italy rural landowners and the "nation-statist" bourgeoisie were overrepresented in fascism and the business bourgeoisie, large and small, was underrepresented. As for fascist violence in Italy, by 1926 Benito Mussolini's regime was so popular that there was little need for further violence.

According to Mann, overrepresented in fascist movements were not the class foes of communist historiography, capitalists and petty bourgeois, but rather the highly nationalistic and "macho" young from all classes, people living in border regions where communists or foreigners had earlier threatened, war veterans and younger men with paramilitary values, and, in largely agrarian countries, big and small landowners.

Mann states that a far better predictor of public support for Nazism than class was religion. Of all registered voters in Germany in July 1932, some thirty-eight percent of Protestants voted for the Nazis, only sixteen percent of Catholics, "a big difference." "The greater the percentage of Protestants in an area, the greater its Nazi vote" (p. 186). In Italy, the Catholic Church at first "looked askance" at fascists, but came to regard them favorably after they agreed to protect its institutional interests. "The Vatican preferred them to democracy if it included socialists" (p. 126), and Pope Pius XI thanked Mussolini for implementing the "Social Catholicism" of the church. Mann observes that in Austria from the mid-1920s, Christian Social governments encroached on constitutional rights, purged socialists from the army and administration, engaged in selective repression, and cooperated with the fascist Heimwehr, which itself "had intimate relations with the clergy" (p. 229). In Hungary, fascism came wrapped in both Catholicism and antisemitism. Its leader, Ferenc Szalasi, considered

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himself a good Catholic and claimed that the Old Testament showed "how God despised the Jews" (p. 247).

Mann emphasizes that fascists everywhere were extreme nationalists who genuinely believed that "nation-statism"—i.e. a mass-mobilized, right-wing, authoritarian state—would not only cleanse their countries of aliens and traitors but end class conflict and achieve class harmony.

There may be a problem with Mann's view that France, like the rest of Northwestern Europe, was largely immune to native fascism during the interwar period. Colonel François de La Rocque's Croix de Feu/ Parti Social Français (CF/PSF) was from 1934 the fastest growing and by 1938 the largest political movement on the French political Right. In the 1930s, the CF/PSF had many fascist characteristics (including some of its mass mobilization practices), and in 1941 La Rocque strongly supported the Vichy regime (although he criticized some of its officials for being too "soft" on France's domestic "enemies") and defended Philippe Pétain's "continental collaboration" with Nazi Germany. If the PSF was indeed fascist (some scholars think not), then not all of Northwestern Europe rebuffed fascist ideas as decisively as Mann suggests. La Rocque's call in 1941 for "the elimination of non-assimilatable or non-assimilated foreign elements" in France and his insistence that "the will of the State must be imposed on everybody in view of the common interest" ("Le Flambeau," March 16 and April 30, 1941) were not the only beliefs that La Rocque shared with fascists in Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe.

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RICHARD WOLIN. *The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism from Nietzsche to Postmodernism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 375. $29.95.

This motley collection of essays of varying depth and interest, published or presented as lectures over a number of years, is presumably held together by Richard Wolin's rejection of "counter-Enlightenment" alias "postmodernism"—in his usage a conceptually fuzzy, politically suspect phenomenon—and various condemnations of variously real or virtual fascisms. The many redundancies, overall lack of conceptual coherence, uneven writing, and frequently opaque argumentation speak of a hastily assembled book that relies more on moral judgments, suspicions, and denunciations than on intellectual analysis. The intended audience for most of the essays seems to be a "general" readership with a presumed tolerance for preacherly arguments against the same bad fascist and postmodernist company kept by all the intellectual protagonists in the same way in all the essays. In the current situation of rapid technological globalization, Western desecularization, ideological multiculturalism, and Islamic fundamentalism, a historically informed, well-argued book for a general audience on the intellectual and political meanings of the European Enlightenment would make a lot of sense, but not Wolin's inchoate collection.

The title of the introduction promises the "Answer to the Question: What Is Counter-Enlightenment?" It would be an answer expected to provide an explanation for the selection, and then connection, of these essays, but its melange of shorthand references to "unreason" from Herder via Nietzsche, Jung, Heidegger, Gadamer, Levi-Strauss, Blanchot, Bataille, Foucault, Derrida, de Man, Lyotard, Deleuze, etc, does nothing but obfuscate. The answer is Counter-Enlightenment=postmodernism=fascism. Wolin's partisan political use of the term "postmodernism" isolates and limits the historical phenomenon beyond recognition but, hunting down fascism, he is certain of the correctness of his findings. This book, he instructs the reader, is "an exercise in intellectual genealogy. It seeks to shed light on the uncanny affinity between the Counter-Enlightenment and postmodernism. As such, it may also be read as an archeology of postmodern theory" (p. 8). A rather large claim for an enterprise that is so focused on the upper layer—Derrida *et al.* as the loyal disciples of the fascist Heidegger as the loyal disciple of "antidemocratic" Nietzsche (p. 21)—that it excludes the first generation of German Romantics around 1800 with their heady mix of poeticized philosophizing echoed, if less brilliantly, in postmodernist discourse around 2000. Such connections are of no interest to Wolin since their writings cannot be accused of affinities to fascism, as can, strangely, Friedrich Schleiermacher's hermeneutics, if only via Nazi-tainted Hans Georg Gadamer (p. 100). Wolin's most serious problem is his lack of historical curiosity and inability to think historically, precisely what enables him to hold on to Manichean scenarios that defeat contextualization and differentiation. His severely limiting and polarizing post-Holocaust perspective on European cultural and intellectual history prevents him from understanding the ongoing transformative interactions between Enlightenment and neo-Romantic positions—one of the reasons for his inability to differentiate positions on "the Right" as well as on "the Left."

Wolin could have found a wealth of information about the historical diversity of "right" political thought and activities during the Weimar period in my *Weimar Intellectuals and the Threat of Modernity* (1988). But his purpose was to house the existing essays and lectures, not to explore critically the important questions raised by the different positions on the right. The most disappointing aspect of this book, published six decades after the end of World War II, is that it stays so simplistically on the message of denouncing evil fascism, which for the author is reflected in the "ethical relativism" of postmodernism embraced by "antihumanist-inspired Western self-hatred." I would be the first to agree with Wolin that much of

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postmodernist-postcolonialist "discourse" is highly problematic. But his approach throughout this book is very close to their abstracting simplifications regarding highly specific complex historical phenomena like cultural politics in certain countries of the Third World or, in his case, the "not so First World" of the Weimar Republic.

Wolin is highly suspicious of post-reunification Germany with its alleged desire for a normalcy that wants to deny any responsibility for the German past. Martin Walser's notorious speech (which he seems not to have read) suggests to him that "virtually *all* contemporary allusions to the fate of the Jews were misappropriations"(p. 148). Impressed by the Germans' pre-unification "enlightened self-criticism," he now "wonder(s) whether the earlier gestures of contrition were sincere" (p. 150). Does he know enough about contemporary German political culture to pose as the Grand Inquisitor? It is the striking moral certainty of Wolin's texts that makes him such an unconvincing champion of the Enlightenment.

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SARAH COVINGTON. *The Trail of Martyrdom: Persecution and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth $55.00, paper $28.00.

Some topics look just perfect for a doctoral dissertation and a first book. Religious martyrdom in Tudor England must have seemed one of them. It is a well-defined and coherent subject, it raises interesting issues, it has wider implications, and the key sources are easily available: John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), the Parker Society volumes, John Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (1872), and John Hungerford Pollen's *Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs*. But turning a promising project into a book that really matters is a demanding and difficult task. Sarah Covington has certainly done a tidy job. Her material is divided into clear, thematic chapters: arrest, imprisonment, interrogation and trial, and execution. Although much of her evidence is very well known, by treating both Catholic and Protestant martyrs she makes some neat juxtapositions and shows some common features. She tries to understand the persecutors as well as the persecuted, she is sensitive to Biblical references and models, and she writes well.

But this is a well-worked field, and it is hard to say anything significant that Geoffrey Elton, David Loades, Thomas Freeman, and Peter Lake and Michael Questier have not thought of first. Such historians have treated the martyrological sources with subtlety, but despite her own warnings Covington has usually taken the hagiography and the martyrs' own letters at face value. There is a vast amount of evidence on the 600 or so men and women who might be thought of as martyrs, but what does it tell us? Some dissidents were detected by the authorities, some were turned in by their neighbors; some prisoners had an easy time, others were treated harshly; some interrogators got the better of their victims, some were outwitted by them; some of the accused recanted, some held firm; some faced martyrdom with joy, others with terror; some made their ends a polemical drama, others were prevented from speaking; some martyrs got support from the crowd, others got abuse; some had quick deaths, others suffered horribly. People are different and circumstances vary.

With so much material to manage, it is not surprising that Covington is weak and often vague on detail, especially dates and sequences. Her summary of the career of Anthony Browne conflates two men of the same name and misunderstands both. William Tyndale was not extradited to England and burned there (he was executed near Brussels by imperial authorities), and John Hooper was not imprisoned from 1539 until 1547 (he fled abroad twice in that time). She tells of a Protestant Nicholas Shaxton being examined by Cardinal Wolsey in the early 1540s: Thomas Wolsey had died in 1530, and the incident actually saw Shaxton (by then a Catholic) himself examining a Protestant called William Wolsey in 1555. There is, sorry to say, much more. Covington has taken on a massive task and written a brave account, but perhaps a century of martyrs is just too much for a first book.

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CLARE KELLAR. *Scotland, England, and the Reformation: 1534–61*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 257. $72.00.

The tense relationship that existed between England and the other kingdoms of the British Isles was never more fraught and strategically significant than in the century of the Reformation. In this brisk and thoughtful review of the painful and constantly shifting cross-border relations, Clare Kellar offers a balanced and fresh account of a period when a common interest in religious renewal among statesmen and churchmen was inevitably complicated by long-established national rivalries. Considerations of the British question helped shape responses to the challenge of Protestantism from the first decades of reform. Thomas Cromwell's plans for British union were stimulated in part by the threat demonstrated by the evident linkage among Kildare's rebellion, the hostility of James V in Scotland, and the mischief making of Gruffydd ap Hywel. "By force of circumstances, Cromwell thought in British terms," argues Kellar, echoing claims made by Jane Dawson for the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I. As the events of the Henrician Reformation increased the pressure on the orthodox, Observant friars affected by the assault on monasticism were among those who took refuge north of the border, and Scotland would also be a sanctuary for defeated insur-

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gents after the Pilgrimage of Grace. This flow of refugees was balanced by a countermovement south of Scots attracted to the new doctrines. The mutual irritation caused by these frictions in a period so charged internationally could not go without some sort of catharsis. Although James V was careful not to commit himself too emphatically to papal schemes for military campaigns against the schismatic king of England, he provoked Henry beyond endurance by failing to attend a planned conference between the two kings at York. Since Henry had traveled north for the meeting, this was an unforgivable snub. Although James made frantic efforts to heal the breach, the two countries were soon at war. The campaign of 1542, the English victory at Solway Moss, and the subsequent death of King James thus opened a new era, as England's rulers sought to exploit Scottish weakness to force the marriage of the infant Mary, Queen of Scots, to the young prince Edward. When Arran, the new regent, demurred, English armies were despatched north once again. This period, known as the "Rough Wooing," saw victory for English armies but a perplexing confusion of purpose in English strategic objectives. The building of a pro-English faction in Scotland, broadly associated with the Protestant or reformist cause, was inevitably undermined by the brutality of the military assault. Henry VIII perceived neither this nor the apparent contradiction of promoting a reformist agenda in Scotland at a time when English religious policy had taken a sharply conservative turn. The absurdities of English policy were finally fully exposed when, after the victory at Pinkie, Protector Somerset tried to promote union through a rhetoric of English supremacy and a policy of military occupation. Such garrison evangelism finally alienated even the most loyal among the pro-English Scots.

The period of antagonistic religious settlements north and south of the border gave way in 1553 to a time when both countries were ruled by a Catholic Mary (in Scotland Mary of Guise, who had succeeded Arran as regent). Kellar finds unexpected common threads and continuities in these events, linked, in the first period, by a shared use of the reformist model of the archbishopric of Cologne, and later by a common humanist agenda. Here Kellar follows the recent controversial interpretation of Mary's objectives by Lucy Wooding, although she is forced to admit, with some understatement, that the Marian regime's pursuit of heretics "existed in some tension" with a policy of moderate, inclusive reform. The most complete identification between the religious groups that straddled the two nations came among the Protestant Marian exiles. Kellar is quite correct in remarking that the Scottish component of the exile has been consistently undervalued, particularly in Geneva, where the Scots and English exiles made a significant step toward a common ideology of repentance and religious renewal. The experience of exile laid the basis for what Kellar describes as "the most productive religious collaboration between England and Scotland since 1534," the establishment of a Protestant religious settlement in both nations, in Scotland through the intervention of an English army. That this army not only prevailed, but then peacefully withdrew, signaled that a new spirit was truly at work in Anglo-Scottish relations. But the old fears were not entirely stilled. The period covered by this book ends with the anticipated return of Mary Queen of Scots from France and renewed machinations by alienated exiles as continental courts. But the possibility of such troublemaking within the British Isles had now been foreclosed.

These are important events, and Kellar tells the story professionally and well. While the sources are mostly familiar, this renewed emphasis on the British aspect of both foreign and domestic policy is a further component of a now coherent school of writing that addresses the previous neglect of this topic.

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ALAN HARDING. *The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion: A Sect in Action in Eighteenth-Century England.* (Oxford Theological Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 415. $99.00.

Because John Wesley was unusually prolific and a large denomination still exists to keep alive his memory, it is all too easy to think of eighteenth-century Methodism solely in terms of Wesley's organization of societies and itinerant preachers (his "connexion") and to forget about other forms of Methodism that were non-Wesleyan. The Countess of Huntingdon, who died in 1791 (the same year Wesley did), inspired and gave leadership to a largely Calvinistic form of Methodism that was about one tenth the size of Wesley's organization in the eighteenth century, but she published nothing. And whereas the Methodism that descended from Wesley numbered over 20 million members by the early 1990s, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion was down to 900. No wonder, then, that the countess and her followers are largely forgotten.

Historians have begun to compensate for this neglect, and three well-researched books on the countess have appeared in the last decade. The archivist Edwin Welch organized Lady Huntingdon's papers for the Cheshunt Foundation, and his source-critical biography, *Spiritual Pilgrim: A Reassessment of the Life of the Countess of Huntingdon* (1995), augments and corrects many of the defects of the fulsome but obsequious nineteenth-century biography by A. C. H. Seymour. Anything but obsequious, Boyd Stanley Schlenther's *Queen of the Methodists: The Countess of Huntingdon and the Eighteenth-Century Crisis of Faith and Society* (1997) builds on the work of Welch to show the unique role Lady Huntingdon played as a woman, a layperson, and an aristocrat, exposing a number of unresolved tensions in her life and interpreting her faith in modern psychological terms. In a detailed narrative biography, *Selina: Countess of Huntingdon* (2001), Faith Cook writes with a sympathy for and a clear

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grasp of the Countess's evangelical and Calvinistic faith. To this trio of studies we must now add Alan Harding's book, which focuses more on the religious movement she directed than on her own biography as such.

Lady Huntingdon engaged in various religious and philanthropic concerns in the 1730s and, after her conversion in 1739, entered into the currents of revival, becoming an intimate of the leaders of early Methodism in the 1740s. Her husband's death in 1746 left her free to take on a leadership role, and she soon moved beyond private philanthropy and drawing-room gatherings to something more concerted. Exploiting her aristocratic privilege, she gathered a corps of ministers around her in the 1750s and 1760s and opened new chapels to be served by them. The founding of Trevecca College in 1768 marked a new phase in the extension of a wider network of chapels and itinerant preachers under her personal direction. Thus, although she began with an evangelical ministry among the great in more fashionable centers, her connexion was increasingly served by itinerant lay preachers (many of them her students) who addressed congregations made up of laborers and small tradesmen in provincial towns. From earliest days the students at the college went out on regular preaching tours, and in practical terms the college became the key to supplying the connexion. For nearly twenty-five years, Trevecca had a direct influence on the revival by training leaders (Harding counts some 112 students) who would go on to minister in various churches. Like much of Lady Huntingdon's work, the college did not last beyond her own lifetime, at least in the form she knew it. Yet it provided a model for practical ministerial training that was taken up by other denominations after the demise of Trevecca itself.

Often labeled Calvinist, the connexion has typically been seen as a solidarity to be placed in opposition to Wesleyan Arminianism. But as Harding rehearses the role of the countess and her followers in the doctrinal controversies in the last third of the century, it becomes clear there was a wide diversity of opinion within the connexion. More a microcosm of opinions within Calvinist evangelicalism than a cohesive force unto itself, the connexion was not, in fact, a key influence in the debates over Calvinism. Likewise, Harding emphasizes the countess's pragmatic approach to the established church and all matters ecclesiological. Licensing the Spa Fields as a dissenting chapel in 1782 and ordaining some of its students in 1783 were actions that marked the official separation of the connexion from the Church of England, but even these events were simply steps in a protracted process by which Lady Huntingdon's followers increasingly took on the character of a dissenting body. Ultimately Lady Huntingdon's connexion was a catalyst to the revival of New Dissent at the end of the century through its reinvigoration of Calvinism, its raising of congregations, and its cultivation of ministers. Over time, the countess's connexion lost its distinctiveness: there was to be no stopping place between church and dissent.

This solidly researched book does much to fill in the gap in our knowledge of the "other Methodism" in the eighteenth century and how it functioned on the ground. It represents the work of hundreds of hours of painstaking research in archives, reconstructing the story of the connexion from the bottom up. Yet although the book takes into account recent scholarship on the revival, one could wish that Harding might have engaged more directly the recent biographies of the countess. For example, he argues persuasively that Lady Huntingdon had a keen sense of mission if not the consistency of vision or organizational discipline of Wesley, and that though her achievement among the great and the low in her lifetime was significant, it was more limited, accomplished as it was largely through ad hoc initiatives. Schlenther saw something more, however, than unrealized potential and unsustained vision. He identified a pattern of instability in the countess's life, so that despite her active promotion of evangelical preaching, her path was tragically "littered with broken relationships." Did her connexional organization suffer from a benign neglect in an age when aristocratic initiatives were often simply ad hoc, or was there a deeper flaw in her character that made it unstable? Such questions remain. After having been overlooked by scholars for years, the Countess of Huntingdon is now a subject of keen research, but, despite several good studies, her life and legacy still invite further exploration.

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Vancouver

Finding Neverland. Directed by Marc Forster; screenplay by David Magee (adapted from the play, *The Man Who Was Peter Pan*, by Allan Knee). 2004; color; 115 minutes. Distributed by Miramax.

Peter Pan may be the most famous person who never lived. Substantially less recognized these days, but every bit as elusive and, ultimately, baffling, is his creator, James M. Barrie (1860–1937). As the film, *Finding Neverland*, the imaginative reconstruction of the circumstances behind which Barrie conceived his best-known play, *Peter Pan*, vividly implies, both fairy sprite and mortal man are inseparable. Barrie was married, childless, nearing forty, and already a famous novelist and playwright when, in 1898, he first encountered the children of Arthur and Sylvia Llewelyn-Davies on the verdant grounds of Kensington Gardens, near Hyde Park. Young George and Jack, respectively, were five and four years of age. Within the next five years, along came their brothers, Peter, Michael, and Nico. Together, they struck an unusual picture to curious passersby as man and boys scampered and played about the gardens, Barrie with his scowling face, fierce mustache, floppy fisherman's hat, and enormous St. Bernard dog, Porthos; and the five boys,

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in their white sailors' suits and red berets. Soon, Barrie was visiting the Davies home on a daily basis; later, he and the boys spent summers in the country, playing ferocious games of pirates and Indians. But what seemed at first to be nothing more than an Edwardian idyll of innocent play began to acquire, in the eyes of the boys' father and friends, an uncomfortable, faintly ominous aspect. Eyebrows were raised and gossipy tongues wagged at what appeared to be Barrie's undue preoccupation with the boys and with their mother. Unperturbed, Barrie continued his attentions. He was generous to a fault to the family, supporting it financially through hard times and poor health. He became the boys' guardian (he was "Uncle Jim" to them by now) after the premature deaths of both parents, and he continued in that role until his death in 1937.

Flying free out of this tangle of flesh and fantasy was the character of Peter Pan. "I always knew that I made Peter by rubbing the five of you violently together," Barrie wrote to the boys, "as savages with two sticks produce a flame" (quoted in Andrew Birkin, *J.M. Barrie & the Lost Boys* [1979], p. 119). The Boy Who Never Grew Up first appears by name in Barrie's novel for adults, *The Little White Bird* (1901), and was later developed in 1903 under the title, *The Great White Father*. The title was changed yet again for the December 1904 premiere of the stage version, *Peter Pan*. Barrie then rewrote the play in novel form in 1911, as *Peter and Wendy*.

The character and play represent Barrie's determination never to grow old. As he famously wrote in his autobiographical novel, *Margaret Ogilvey* (1896), "The horror of my boyhood was that I knew a time would come when I also must give up the games, and how it was to be done I saw not . . . I felt that I must continue playing in secret." It was a dubious legacy he left to the five Llewelyn boys. Burdened by their identification with the play (Peter once described it as "that terrible masterpiece"), they were never to crawl out from under its stifling celebrity. "[Barrie] treated them as ideal spirits made flesh," observes critic Anthony Lane, "and no child should be freighted with such an embarrassing burden" ("Lost Boys," *The New Yorker*, November 22, 2004: 103). Two of them died in Barrie's lifetime, George a wartime casualty in 1915, and Michael by drowning in 1921. Of the remaining three, Jack and Nico lived to a normal old age, but Peter killed himself in 1960 beneath the wheels of a London tube train.

Obviously, there are shadows and not a few sinister implications lurking behind this curious story. While biographer Andrew Birkin concludes that Barrie remained an innocent in all this (an opinion bolstered by the testimony of Nico, who died in 1980), the historical record—and the play—remain fraught with troubling, if never overtly stated, implications.

Finding Neverland chooses to ignore most of this, deciding instead to skim across the bright surface of the story, blithely oblivious to its darker undercurrents, simplifying its characters and incidents. The mustached, sad-eyed little man with the pipe-smoker's cough is replaced by the handsome, gentle, clean-shaven visage of Johnny Depp. Wholly innocent of guile, his Barrie is the charming, stalwart playmate and defender of the four—not five—Llewelyn boys and the gallant protector of their mother. The disapproving Arthur Llewelyn is conveniently dead at the film's opening, leaving only Sylvia's grim-faced mother (Julie Christie) to voice displeasure at Barrie's attentions. Time is telescoped: Barrie meets the boys in 1903 and writes *Peter Pan* the next year. There is nothing in the actions of the children to hint at their own ambivalence toward his affections. Barrie's relationship with his wife is barely sketched. It is not his impotence that destroys the marriage but merely his preoccupation with writing *Peter Pan*, as suggested by several key moments—as when the door to his room opens onto a golden fairyland vista, and when the sight of the children at bedtime triggers a fantasy vision of them flying out their nursery window. Finally, it is not the boys but their mother (Kate Winslet) who ultimately commands his (and our) attention. While she languishes in the final stages of her illness, Barrie brings his newly premiered *Peter Pan* to her parlor in a makeshift performance. Entranced, the sick woman watches as the walls of her room open out onto Neverland. She rises and slowly walks toward that shining vision of golden lands and fairy creatures. It is her apotheosis and the epiphany of the film. The story ends with no mention of the subsequent strains between Barrie and the boys as they grew older, or of the tragic fates that later befell them.

There is nothing particularly wrong with any of this. *Finding Neverland* succeeds as a family holiday entertainment for those, young and old, who enjoy a good cry for the season. However, those who prefer the psychological complexities of the story should turn to Birkin's BBC teleplay, *The Lost Boys* (1978). Throughout the course of its four-plus hours, and due to the profoundly compelling and nuanced performance by Ian Holm as Barrie, it probes the far more complex and tragically disturbing depths of the story. By turns pathetic and inspired, this is a Barrie who could declare, in the words Barrie put into the mouth of Tommy Sandys in that estimable novel, *Tommy and Grizel*, "I think I am rather a fine fellow when I am flying!"

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JANET S. K. WATSON. *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory, and the First World War in Britain*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 16.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 333. $70.00.

Janet S. K. Watson's book is a major addition to the literature on World War I and to the continuing historiographical concern with history and memory. Watson's contribution is to situate memory historically

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by recognizing that memory is not simply shaped by past experience but rather is a product of the times in which the past is remembered and reconstructed. It is also a social product, formed in the context of the ways that others have articulated their reconstructions of the past as well as by their class and gender positions.

In her book, Watson establishes that the wartime period itself was experienced or lived in a number of different ways by various people. There was not a single story to be told by soldiers, or by women who worked in hospitals either as volunteers or as nurses. Reading letters and diary entries with considerable sophistication, she exposes the differences that class and gender made to how people wrote about their experiences.

Her reading of letters home from the front is particularly insightful. Male soldiers wrote about how they were thriving and capable of dealing with adversity; many talked about how happy they were, even when in combat. In the postwar period such expressions of contentment were obscured by what became the familiar portrait of soldiers' agony and disillusionment. Watson makes the further argument that expressions of contentment would have been believable during the war because they were "an appropriate convention" in a society in which the "service ethic" was so significant, especially for its more elite members (p. 49). Even when soldiers described the horrors of the trenches in their letters home, they did not indulge in self-pity.

In addition, in part one of the book Watson exposes and analyzes the conflict between work and service that made for tensions between nurses and VADs. Watson's story of the nurses' struggles for professional status and female doctors' search for respect is a mini-history of women in the medical profession contained within the overall argument of the book. Moreover she notes that the conflict between nurses and VADs was not one sided. It was not only that nurses attempted to secure the boundaries around their profession against the VADs who, in another context might be termed "dilutees." Rather, the VADs valorized their contributions as service in contrast to work, a statement about their class standing in an era when class differences were supposed to be muted by the collective war effort.

As good and as useful as part one of the book is, it is part two that makes it historiographically significant. There Watson argues that the story of disillusionment that has come to dominate how World War I was experienced by soldiers was actually not a product of the war years themselves but rather was created in the context of the economic difficulties of the 1920s. Disillusionment, she suggests, was part of the construction of memory—or how to remember or think about the war—rather than a reconstruction of experience itself. She proposes that the war became culturally important in the late 1920s, not for what it had achieved but for what it had cost. The themes that dominated the works that have been considered central to the World War I literary canon concerned betrayal and disenchantment. Impressively, Watson demonstrates that in the late 1920s these articulations produced controversy—controversy about how to represent the war and about its meaning. She argues that both the critics of the "disillusionists" as well as those who espoused the thesis linked the idea of disillusionment with Englishness, the national past, and the nation's future. Further she shows that, after the 1930s, the war story had become a gendered competition between the soldiers' story, presented as the horrors of trench warfare, and stories about women who contributed to the war and their service ethic. In contrast, during the wartime period itself women and men often were portrayed as equally contributing to the war effort, albeit in gendered ways.

Watson also makes a very important move considering the controversies that have surrounded arguments about the link between literary modernism and the war. In analyzing how postwar writers rewrote the story of war, she sheds light on modernism's origins. She suggests that generation rather than chronological time was important in the cultural languages deployed by writers. Irony and modernism were generational effects rather than being produced during the war itself.

It is Watson's method of analysis that allows her to come to this conclusion. By examining how the wartime experience was constructed during the period of the war and then seeing not only how it was represented after it, but also how postwar representations of the war during the postwar period changed over time, she is able to shed new light on the subject of historical memory.

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MARK CONNELLY. *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War*. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2004. Pp. vii, 328. $29.95.

DONALD THOMAS. *The Enemy Within: Hucksters, Racketeers, Deserters and Civilians During the Second World War*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 429. $29.95.

For almost thirty years after the end of World War II, historians writing about the home front in Britain mostly went along with the view, held at both elite and popular levels, that the civilian population had excelled in enduring the war's strains and burdens. They suffered extreme danger and extended privation and yet, in a spirit of defiance and solidarity, had thrown themselves cheerfully into the tasks demanded of them and stayed the cause until victory was won. The publication of Angus Calder's *The People's War: Britain, 1939–1945* (1969) began an equally long period of revision. Calder's warts-and-all depiction of the "lows" of the civilian "performance" as well as the "highs" led

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others to wonder how much of the traditional view owed more to myth than reality, and much of the subsequent historiography consisted of piecemeal dissection of different aspects of the myth, cumulatively shredding the old picture of communal solidarity and individual self-sacrifice. More recently, the pendulum has swung back substantially to produce a more mixed—and arguably more convincing—picture of the behavior of the British people at war.

The two books under review form part of this still ongoing debate about the home front, both reflecting the current preference for a more balanced, even-handed view than those earlier, polarized perspectives. Donald Thomas goes for a title that appears at first to put the book into the myth-revising category, and, indeed, it is wholly about the bad behavior of hucksters, racketeers, deserters, and other offenders against the regulations designed to keep the home front viable (incidentally, the word "hucksters" appears only in the subtitle and is never referred to again). Thomas does, however, begin his book by disavowing any intention to impugn "the heroism of sacrifice of the British people in the Second World War" (p. xi), and he ends by conceding that "a great majority of the nations had been brave, obedient, conscientious throughout the war" (p. 392). Between these two statements lies a story of unremitting "bad behaviour," a veritable catalogue of grand and petty criminality that leaves the impression of a nation devoid either of public spirit or moral scruple. It is a question of balance; the disavowals and acknowledgements, lacking all substance, look like mere tokens crushed beneath the colorful reality of the big story.

There is no doubting the brilliance of Thomas's recreation in print of the amazingly scandalous doings of the nation's rogues. Together the stories make a good read, fascinating, entertaining material in the hands of a gifted storyteller. But one must have doubts about this compilation as a contribution to the social history of the war, not least because of the lack of an overall thesis beyond the self-evident proposition that wartime regulations provided existing criminals with new opportunities for easy profits, tempted others to join them, and ensnared otherwise law-abiding citizens into complicity. One must have reservations, too, about the reliance on just two types of source (court and tribunal records and newspaper reports); about the wealth of unattributed anecdote; and about the absence of a bibliography. And at the back of it all, there is a statistical void: the significance of wartime crime cannot be judged against an assumption that all crime would cease the moment the nation was at war. At the very least, one needs, surely, to have the figures on different categories of crime for the periods before, during, and after the war, together with some detailed analysis of them. Even in wholly new categories, such as looting, the significance of the number of cases brought before the courts could be more easily gauged within a context of overall crime figures.

Like Thomas, Mark Connelly makes it immediately clear that his aim is not to debunk. His use of the word "myth" to describe the British role in the war in way suggests a derogation; but here it is rather a subtle embracing of the term that sees it to contain many elements of truth. It is to be viewed, he says, "as a particular explanation and interpretation of events rather than as a cleverly designed falsification of reality" (p. 1). Connelly's purpose is not to test the British myth of the war against "the truth" but to explain first how and why the myth came about; then how it has been reshaped and passed on in the years since 1945; and finally why the British have been so attached to it. He seeks to demonstrate, through the evidence of popular cultural artifacts—films and radio programs, books, newspapers and comics, posters, photographs, and paintings—that there has been a popular consensus on the meaning and value of the war, amounting to a "collective national memory." This consensus, he maintains, places World War II inside a particular perspective on the big episodes of Britain's national history, above all, in its trajectory of slow and fumbling start, setbacks, defiance, and solidarity in the face of overwhelming odds, eventual triumph through inspired leadership and popular effort (the Battle of Britain in 1940 having the same pivotal significance as the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1599 in the war against Spain, and the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 in the war against France).

The structure of the book follows the first part of the trajectory from the Phony War of September 1939 to May 1940, through the military setbacks of the fall of France and Dunkirk, to the heroic triumph of the Battle of Britain and the nerve-testing Blitz, before taking on a more thematic approach, where the focus moves from the home front 1941–1945, to the British Army, then to the Special Forces and POWs, and finally to "the forgotten campaigns" of the Far East, Italy, and the war at sea. In Connelly's hands, the promise to explain the phenomenon of the British people's myth of the war is brilliantly fulfilled. The reader is presented with a jargon-free analysis of a great range of material from the popular culture of the war and of the whole period since in a way that entirely persuades one of its explanatory power. I have long had feelings of ambivalence about such artifacts, the wartime feature film on the role of women, *Millions Like Us!* and the postwar film, *The Dambusters*, for example, without ever having seriously analyzed the reasons for that ambivalence. This book makes all clear: to grow up and live in Britain is to absorb its culture, including its national myths, and this legacy's status vis-à-vis understandings about the past that derive from purely academic pursuit is complementary rather than alternative.

Connelly's book ideally requires that the reader have a basic knowledge of the history of World War II and, more especially, of Britain's role in it. The final chapter is in many ways the most interesting. In it Connelly reviews the period from 1945 to the present—a period of decline and readjustment for

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Britain—and shows how essential a role in the British people's ability to understand and adjust to these changes has been played by the "deep memory" of the war. Repeated re-running of the war through the media—film especially—"has provided Britain with a security blanket in a changing world" (p. 268). Even today, Connelly argues, the national memory of World War II continues to provide a role in how the British understand events and the contemporary world. Anyone seeking to understand the British take on, say, the Anglo-U.S. relationship, the European Union, or the threat of rogue regimes like that of Saddam Hussein could do no better than to begin with Connelly's convincingly argued guide to their roots in World War II.

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FRANCES FINNEGAN. *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of Magdalen Asylums in Ireland*. Piltown, Co. Kilkenny: Congrave Press in association with Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 256. $19.95.

Magdalen asylums were "discovered" by the Irish public in 1993 when the remains of deceased inmates of an asylum, run by nuns of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge at High Park in Drumcondra, Dublin, were exhumed, cremated, and reburied in Glasnevin cemetery. The convent had sold the original burial plot to a developer to cover financial losses incurred on investments. The exhumation provoked much media attention and public protest at what appeared to be another example of the inhumanity expressed by nuns towards those who had been in their care. From the mid-1990s, the evidence of a number of documentaries, based on the oral testimony of women who had been incarcerated in these asylums, testifies to physical cruelty and sexual abuse being perpetrated on hapless inmates whose only "sin" was to transgress an unforgiving moral code. No commentator observed that such Magdalen asylums had existed in Ireland since 1767 and that, over the course of two centuries, at least twenty-four such establishments, supported by the Irish public, existed throughout the country. Irish scholars need to grapple with this history.

Frances Finnegan's study focuses attention on four institutions, in Cork, Waterford, New Ross, and Limerick, all run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. She fails to explore the history of the Good Shepherd Asylum in Belfast. She provides a brief history of the establishment of these institutions, whose initial function had been to care for prostitute women, although it is clear that the institutions were used by other women as well. The author has researched both the annals of the various communities and the entrance registers in which details such as age, place of origin, and length of stay were recorded. The bulk of the information used relates to the nineteenth century, although passing comments are made on the twentieth century.

Finnegan provides details, for instance, of how many women entered, or left, particular institutions, and in some cases how they moved between different institutions. She seems particularly concerned to reveal the harshness of these asylums in the nineteenth century, although her own statistics suggest that the majority of the women who entered these establishments did so of their own free will, and also left of their own free will. Such institutions formed part of the welfare structure of nineteenth-century Ireland and were used, as were workhouses, by women as they needed them. Despite the argument she attempts to make, Magdalen asylums were not the places of incarceration they were later to become. One of the major problems with this study is that it lacks any social, economic, or political context. The four institutions appear as entities unaffected by the changes occurring in Irish society. There is, for instance, no investigation of the extent of prostitution in Ireland, which might account for the prevalence of Magdalen asylums. There is no exploration of how and why these institutions altered their function between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which they obviously did.

Finnegan states that the illegitimate children of women who entered the Magdalen asylums were placed in industrial schools attached to these asylums, but she provides no evidence for this assertion. Tradition, she claims, suggests that the "recycling" of girls and women between Magdalen asylums and industrial schools continued to the mid-twentieth century. The nineteenth-century example provided (p. 127) suggests a common pattern of relief found in nineteenth-century welfare institutions, where individuals moved or were moved from one institution to another; there was nothing odd about such "recycling." Comparisons are made with lay asylums in England rather than with lay asylums in Ireland, of which there were a number. Finnegan is incorrect in stating (p. 224) that convent laundries were exempt from government inspection. The nuns are the "baddies" in this story. Indeed, that might be the point of the book: to reveal how rapacious and inhumane nuns actually were. Such a simplistic view of Irish history does not help us to understand that history, or to learn from it.

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PETER HART. *The I. R. A. at War: 1916–1923*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 274. $39.95.

Peter Hart's book is a collection of articles, some of which have appeared in journals and edited volumes before this book was published. Its appeal is threefold. First, some parts will attract the interest of a popular, nonacademic audience. For instance, Hart's investigation into the "conspiracy theory" surrounding the assassination of British Field General Sir Henry Wilson is compelling, albeit not likely fundamentally to alter our perception of this important chapter in modern Irish history. Second, the book contains new

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details and findings that will be of great interest to the small community of researchers who have dedicated their scholarly lives to uncovering what really happened in the years that led to the creation of the Irish state. Hart's diligence and his (almost obsessive) interest in detail has resulted in an impressive collection of statistics and data, shedding light on, for example, the geographical centers of the Irish revolution and the social structure of Irish Republican Army (IRA) members. In doing so, Hart manages not only to add new facts and material to the body of scholarly knowledge from which future researchers will benefit, but he also succeeds in debunking some of the popular myths that other historians have taken for granted.

Hart's work is revisionist in the best sense of the word: it challenges established wisdom by carefully deconstructing the underlying assumptions and hypotheses of mainstream historiography. One of the best examples is Hart's impeccable study of IRA targeting during the war of independence, which documents the organization's inherent sectarianism and its systematic targeting of "innocent civilians." This, indeed, is of direct relevance to the debate about IRA violence in recent years, in which it has become convenient for constitutional nationalists to argue that the methods of the "old IRA" were honorable, and that it was therefore very different from its contemporary equivalent. The third, and perhaps most interesting, contribution of this book lies in showing how the Irish experience can be relevant to the study of revolutions elsewhere. Most students of Irish history have seen the tumultuous events from the Easter Rising to the establishment of the Irish Free State in purely ethnocentric terms, trying to distill their impact on the development of the Irish state and/or the Northern Ireland conflict. Hart is one of the first historians who has made a conscious as well as successful attempt at describing the Irish quest for independence in an international context, establishing that what happened in Ireland was by no means unique but similar in its logic to events in other countries with a revolutionary history. In doing so, Hart helps to understand the cultural contingencies of the Irish case. Yet he may also awaken the interest of researchers from across the globe, who will discover the history of the Irish revolution as an interesting addition to the pool of case studies from which to draw in formulating revolutionary theory.

Operating almost like a social scientist, Hart places the Irish revolution firmly within the conceptual framework that has been established by people like Charles Tilly, never failing to emphasise how the high degree to which the revolution is documented in local newspapers makes the Irish revolution an ideal case study. Hart's work is an excellent contribution to the debate about the Irish revolution. Thoroughly even-handed and with no discernible "hidden agenda," the author explores some of the most persistent riddles in Irish historiography, replacing myth with well-documented fact. Moreover, he goes beyond the Irish context and demonstrates the relevance of Ireland to revolutionary history worldwide. Hart's work, therefore, needs to be strongly commended, not only for its love of historical detail but also for its original approach and ambitious scope.

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FERNANDO BOUZA. *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. Translated by SONIA LÓPEZ and MICHAEL AGNEW. Foreword by ROGER CHARTIER. (Materials Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 108. $32.50.

Fernando Bouza is the sort of historian who enjoys juggling a number of ideas in the air at the same time. Seven variables are of particular importance in this work. Bouza singles out three deeper purposes of early modern cultural activity: expansion of knowledge, cultivation of the ability to persuade, and preservation of memory. He then identifies four means to these ends: speech, images, reading, and writing. The bulk of this brief but densely packed book explores the range of possible matches between these diverse goals and media.

What attracts Bouza's attention are the more unpredictable crossings. Proximity rather than separation as the dominant relation between the literate and illiterate sectors of Spanish society is one of these. Instead of seeing reading and writing as erecting a firm barrier between high and low, Bouza emphasizes the extensive familiarity of the illiterate with the written word through public display of lettering, oral reading practices, and the like. At the opposite end of the social hierarchy, he highlights the close attention highly learned individuals paid to nonwritten forms of communication. Courtly culture in particular was obsessed with orality, and required of its adepts demonstrable skills in the arts of speech as well as silence. Thus, while Bouza does not lose sight of the distinctive experience and expectations of persons at different social levels, his concern is to underline what they shared in common: the media of communication, along with "awareness that what was oral, visual/iconic, and written (manifested as printed and manuscript texts and as public or silent reading) all fulfilled the same expressive, communicative, and recollective functions" (p. 11). The unquestionable progress during the early modern era of print and, more broadly, textual culture did not lessen the vitality of the traditional alternatives of speech and images. Early modern communicants chose among these options as they wished, and took for granted that there were few a priori links between the contents of messages and their forms. This was not to say that all media were the same, nor that they served identical purposes. Images and writing were seen as more permanent, though less immediate, than speech, and the written word in particular was favored as a means of preserving information and safeguarding memory. This meant in practice that the fully literate

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enjoyed an obvious advantage when choosing among different types of cultural conveyance. For all the public mixing of messages, elite rank and education conferred a sort of communicative latitude largely—though never fully—denied to social inferiors. Hence the ample contemporary recognition of reading and writing as two different and often separate literacies. As Roger Chartier remarks in his foreword, reading was largely associated with the inculcation of church doctrines, while writing was seen as "a tool useful for the management of daily life or social relations, or even for a possible ascent up the social scale" (p. x). Bouza takes this point further by emphasizing the clear advantage that Catholics enjoyed over Calvinists in much of Europe thanks to their better understanding of oral and visual techniques of communication, which they moreover shored up with diverse forms of writing as the occasion required.

The method of this book is a familiar one. It is held together by a lengthy line of quotations, a sort of Ariadne's thread of exempla whose course meanders rather than hewing to a straight path of argument. And there is more than a passing resemblance with the New Historicism's penchant for ferreting out telling passages from fairly recondite texts, or what the author coyly refers to as "uncustomary but fundamental sources" (p. 107). My personal favorite among these is the very last one, a description of the 1555 Carnival that found the citizens of Toledo masked not only as Moors, Jews, university professors, cuckolds, physicians, savages, madmen, Africans, Portuguese, nuns, widows, Amazons, Basque women, hermits and monks, but also as "Celestinas with their scar and little baskets of perfume" (p. 71)—a splendid example of how local (and learned) writing made its way into the popular (and visual) culture of an early modern city. Bouza's style is telegraphic, and the transitions from one citation to another are at times somewhat breathless. There is also the occasional hint that he is fighting battles that have been won elsewhere. After all, there are now few believers in the earlier wisdom that the "triumph" of writing following the invention of printing banished oral and visual media to the outer margins of early modern communication. Still, the skillful translation of this learned and sophisticated study will allow English-language readers to glimpse a number of issues of broad significance within a specifically Iberian context. It will also afford them the opportunity to see for themselves why its author is widely regarded as the leading historian of early modern Spanish culture.

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Renato Barahona. *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya, 1528–1735*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 274. $60.00.

Renato Barahona's book examines sex-related litigation from the Basque and Vizcaya provinces of Spain for the period between 1500 and 1750. The literature on gender in early modern Spain has grown quite a bit in recent years, with much of it demonstrating women's agency within a fundamentally patriarchal cultural system, an agency that was restricted but real. Female agency—particularly in matters of love and sex—was supported by women's rights to use the court system, although the capacity of courts and laws to ameliorate gender hierarchy proved time and again to be limited. While Barahona shows those limits to be inherent in the economy, political system, and social structure of early modern Spain, he also demonstrates how, as the all-too-real sexual catastrophes and dramas of daily life became fodder for the legal system, the discourse that system produced reinforced a sexual rhetoric that emphasized victimization to persuade courts that women had been wronged.

Following a brief introduction in which the author describes his approach to the topic, an approach shaped partly by his mentor Fernand Braudel and partly by various detours away from the Braudel-selected topic (through which Barahona studied the politics and economics of the Basque region in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries), the author describes in five main chapters a variety of sex-related crimes, the language through which such crimes were adjudicated, and the role played by Spanish legal discourse on honor. Many such crimes involved courtship, seduction, and abandonment. When loving words and promises of marriage led to the loss of virginity (*estupro*) as the first chapter shows, if marriage failed to follow, women's reputations suffered (though, surprisingly, not necessarily that of their families). Women then turned to courts in an effort either to force a marriage or, what was the more likely outcome, to repair monetarily the damage to their reputations.

The second and third chapters explore in depth and with great sensitivity the discourse of sexuality contained within such cases, particularly the way that legal language reshaped narratives rooted in specific events as private became public became legal. Barahona's analysis of discourse reveals that a fierce battle of wills in which "undeniable and profound elements of coercion and violence" sometimes underlay acts and words of heterosexual love and affection (p. 58). The fact that many victims of *estupro* were socially and economically subordinate to their sexual partners reinforced the picture of a weaker female will that many legal documents, such as witness testimony, described. Class differences and verbal and physical coercion (the latter sometimes extreme) explain women's acquiescence, yet the texts also reveal that women made choices, sometimes used sex in the hopes of marriage, and also verbally and physically resisted. Barahona is, nonetheless, undoubtedly correct when he notes that "early modern distinctions between coerced and consensual sex were apparently not nearly as rigid or clear-cut as contemporary ones" (p. 80).

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Another set of cases deal with cohabitation, which Vizcayan law defined as an on-going sexual relationship between an unmarried woman and either a married man or a man who was a cleric (p. 96). Barahona's analysis of the seventy cohabitation cases he found, which makes up the fourth chapter, shows that these cases always arose from a denunciation by an outside party, often civil or ecclesiastical authorities. Two thirds of the men involved were either married or priests; the women involved were usually unmarried, often bore children, and worked at weaving or spinning, or performing domestic service. If the men bore more of the burden of any monetary punishment when a couple was found guilty, women bore the greater burden if banishment was imposed because they were the ones made to leave the community.

The fifth chapter asks whether women who lost honor as a result of crimes like *estupro* could use courts to regain lost honor. Showing that they could to some degree, the author also demonstrates that women's attempts to reestablish honor (by arguing that they had been virtuous before being defiled and by making claims for a dowry and/or marriage, or monetary damages) would inflict a "second victimization" on plaintiffs because male defendants would inevitably attack the reputations of the women involved as they defended themselves. Plaintiffs won over ninety percent of these lawsuits yet usually managed to obtain only half or less of the monetary compensation demanded.

While Barahona could have explained the number of cases and their chronology in relation to types of crimes more clearly, this book is worthwhile reading for scholars of early modern Spain and Western Europe as well as Latin Americanists interested in colonial sexuality and gender. For the latter, it could profitably be read in conjunction with Ann Twinam's *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitamacy in Colonial Spanish America* (1999), which elaborates on the theme of female and familial strategies to deal with the sexuality, relationships, and childbirth that took place outside the bonds of matrimony on the other side of the Atlantic. The careful, even deep, readings of case materials would also be of interest to scholars in both areas interested in law, gender, and society. While Barahona's argument that honor was a highly flexible and negotiable concept might be a subject for further discussion, I find the pragmatic approach he takes convincing and think the book does a fine job of exploring both the expression of and limits placed on women's agency by and through early modern Spanish courts.

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Hilary Bernstein. *Between Crown and Community: Politics and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Poitiers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 313. $57.50.

It is significant that the title of Hilary Bernstein's well-researched monograph makes no mention of the Wars of Religion, despite the fact that they dominate the second half of the book. For her study is more about Poitiers—its municipal government, its civic community, its relationship to the crown—than it is about the religious conflicts in France in the second half of the sixteenth century. And this emphasis is not merely a matter of the author's interest or focus. It conveys a thesis: that the religious wars, which in France had as their primary arena the realm's cities, unfolded within an urban structure and culture that proved resilient and adaptable in the face of violent, even radical challenges. More stayed the same than changed in sixteenth-century Poitiers, despite the confessional strife that marked the city's history for two generations.

In this sense, Bernstein's work is revisionist, taking issue with previous historians' claims linking the rise of religious movements, especially the Holy League, to fundamental changes in civic culture, municipal office holding, or cities' relations with the crown. Like these historians, she acknowledges—and documents—the steady increase of royal officials as perhaps the most striking change within the city, a phenomenon that represented the growth of monarchical power in the sixteenth century on the local stage. But unlike Bernard Chevalier, Henri Drouot, or Robert Descimon, for example, she does not argue that their presence created fundamental conflicts, divisions, or resentments among traditional elites. This is not to say that she is dismissive of these views. Rather, in a style that is cautious, if a bit plodding, she patiently weighs them against the case of Poitiers, finding little evidence of fundamental changes that could explain the vicissitudes of religious affiliation within the city. Religious change, conflict, and radicalism emerged in an urban culture that otherwise remained remarkably cohesive as well as loyal to the crown. Like many contemporary historical treatments of the subject, Bernstein's monograph resolutely refuses to connect religious change to structural transformations.

This does not mean, however, that her work is marked purely by negative findings. In fact, the primary value of this book is its detailed anatomy of urban government and communal life. Like other provincial towns, the mix of traditions, institutions, and social groups that comprised Poitiers's civic culture was exceedingly complex. We get an excellent view of this culture at work. Bernstein is especially good at isolating and defining the various kinds of men who had a role in municipal affairs, either formally or informally—the lawyers, merchants, royal officials, as well as churchmen, who both were extremely alert to their competing concerns and relative positions in the social and political hierarchy and committed to public service through municipal government. The growth in royal officials did not compromise urban independence. Merchants and lower officials were not pushed out of municipal government; nor, even, were royal

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officials excluded from the hotel de ville as a result of the royal edict of 1547, which was intended to accomplish just that. On the contrary, various elites strove to preserve and enhance their own corporate identities, sometimes in trying circumstances, while simultaneously remaining committed to defending their city and advancing its interests. In a very interesting, if somewhat inconclusive chapter, Bernstein attempts to show that the practice of municipal politics was marked by discursive and decision-making traditions that served to reinforce consensus and mute disagreement. In another, however, on the highly contested plans to make the Clain River navigable, she demonstrates the limits of this consensus, as well as the usefulness of royal power in promoting urban interests. In short, this is as nuanced a portrait of the actual workings of municipal government in sixteenth-century France as one can find in English.

If the second part of the book, focusing mostly on the takeover of the city by the Holy League, is less satisfactory than the first, this is largely because Bernstein has already argued against seeing the success of this radical movement as rooted in the dynamics of municipal life. Indeed, what stands out is her very important finding that the city's attachment to the crown was a persistent and widely shared feature of its political culture that was only abandoned by the Leaguers at the very last moment. In a very pertinent methodological comment, she notes that "there is a fundamental difference between goals and outcomes" (p. 217). "Historians," she continues, "eager to place the League within the narrative of the developing French nation, have mistakenly focused on urban independence as the goal of the League . . . rather than seeing it as a consequence of a new political situation" (p. 217). The point is well taken. It is not clear, however, whether it holds for the other major feature of the city's political orientation: its cohesion and corporate self-consciousness. Here the very evidence Bernstein accumulates suggests that a heightened sense of municipal patriotism was both the goal and the consequence of the actions of elites and populace across the period, pointing to at least one fundamental tie between city culture and the Holy League's rise to power.

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KATHLEEN WELLMAN. *Making Science Social: The Conferences of Théophraste Renaudot 1633–1642.* (Series for Science and Culture, number 6.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 461. $39.95.

For nine years between 1633 and 1642, the indefatigable Théophraste Renaudot discussed alchemy, contagion, earthquakes, magnetism, satyrs, Ptolemy, witchcraft, and a host of other topics in hundreds of public conferences held at the Bureau d'Adresse in Paris. Kathleen Wellman guides readers through the wide-ranging contents and the complicated contexts of these conferences, arguing that they capture the often paradoxical substance of seventeenth-century intellectual culture. Situated between Renaissance humanism and Enlightenment philosophy, Renaudot's conferences shed light on the collaborative and curious figures—including intellectuals, artisans, and politicians—who populated the stage during the early years of the Scientific Revolution. Though well-known in their own day through a series of publication projects, Renaudot's conferences were not held in high esteem by the majority of intervening scholars, who dismissed them as idiosyncratic, whimsical, and just plain bad science. Here Wellman seeks to refocus our attentions on how the conferences illuminate the myriad twisting ways by which modern science emerged.

The conferences are a challenging subject for the modern historian due to problems inherent in the sources, and Wellman is frank about these limitations. Nearly five hundred topics were discussed over the years, it is impossible to credit the contents to any figure because all speeches and remarks were made under the veil of anonymity to facilitate the broadest possible participation, and there was no attempt at reaching consensus in the debates that followed the speeches. To control this inchoate material, Wellman organizes her book into three parts: an introduction that sets out the genesis of the conferences and places them in context; a discussion of the materials concerned with the occult sciences, astronomy, and medicine; and a discussion of the emergence of "human sciences" such as ethics, politics, economics, and philosophies of gender. There are some problems with this modern classification—it is a system that is more legible to us than it would have been to any of the conference participants, for example—but it provides a way to give order to the evidence. All the chapters are richly detailed and convey the participants' enthusiasm and excitement about the natural world and Wellman has carefully sifted and sorted through the conferences to make them more accessible.

Where the book really comes into its own is in the section dedicated to the human sciences. Here Wellman has her best evidence that participants found science to be "an inclusive method, which could be broadly applied as a method of cultural analysis" (p. 19). In the give-and-take of the discussions surrounding topics such as human nature, the passions, honor, the state, and sexual difference we see how the participants' ideas about nature informed their notions about what it was to be human. Wellman's contention that we must press back beyond the Enlightenment to find the origins of the social sciences is persuasive and elegantly argued in these chapters. The participants' recourse to science, rather than religion, when discussing social problems and issues results, as Wellman points out, in a strikingly different tone than one can find in many other contemporary sources concerned with the same topics.

Science, as Wellman sees it working through the conferences, was collaborative, was defined through

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discussion and debate, and was about process much more than it was about conclusions. Theoretically open to a wider range of interlocutors than the salon or academy, it will be difficult for Wellman or anyone else to demonstrate satisfactorily that the inclusivity of Renaudot's vision for the conferences was born out in actual practice due to the anonymity of the proceedings. Renaudot hoped that anyone in Paris would drop in, listen to, and engage in the debates regardless of educational background, class, or connections. This was, by seventeenth-century standards, admirably open. One suspects, however, that the key analogue today is to an internet chat room: anyone can participate, provided they have the technology, skills, and free time to do so. What were the comparably real, practical limitations on participation in the conferences at the Bureau d'Adresse?

Historians of science, intellectual culture, and the Enlightenment will welcome this detailed exploration of Renaudot's conferences. Wellman provides readers with a better understanding of how this vital, short-lived experiment in intellectual exchange contributed to the Republic of Letters, the articulation of a public sphere, and the partial realization of a Baconian program of scientific research. While questions inevitably remain due to the incomplete and fragmentary nature of the evidence, Wellman offers a fresh new glimpse into the study of nature in the years when science had neither a universally accepted definition nor a defined set of practices.

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Charles Coulston Gillispie. *Science and Polity in France: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 751. Cloth $80.00, paper $39.95.

This review cannot do justice to a magisterial work that illuminates a critical phase in the historical relationship between thought and action, the classical theme of humanism. Reviews published by period and subject, and of approximately similar length, do not signal to the reader the importance of a book that transcends categories. As a work of synthesis and interpretation, it is written with the clarity, elegance, and insight the subject deserves.

This is no whiggish history. Charles Coulston Gillispie does not argue that reason and science in the Enlightenment were "prime movers" of the French Revolution. The fact remains that the French scientific community at that time was by far the largest in the Western world, and on the cusp of a major change in the orientation of science. His story is concerned with the role that scientists played in the revolution and how the course of the revolution affected them individually and collectively. Gillispie explains the emergence of modern science during the French revolutionary era, while at the same time retelling and illuminating that era. In so doing, he raises important questions about national contexts and cultures in science.

The perspective that I bring to this review is of someone whose research included topics that find a place in this book, but who is now an international civil servant with some direct experience of politics, even of crises when knowledge, lucidity, and courage are in high demand. But who in politics today would find a Gaspard Monge at his side? Political systems now dissuade the highly educated and creative from public service, while at the same time political leaders are challenged to find ways to promote research and improve education, and to implement solutions to urgent social and environmental problems that extend beyond the electoral cycle and meet resistance from vested interests. How paradoxical.

Gillispie makes it clear that many of the greatest figures of the revolutionary era, when considering intelligence and ability to act, were the scientists who participated in it, and not the people like Maximilien Robespierre who rode to power on it. Read the index: Ampere, Arago, Bichat, Berthollet, Borda, Carnot, Chaptal, Condorcet, Conté, Cuvier, and we are still only in the Cs. The revolution threw out a number of problems—from the organization of government and the administration of Paris to military supply, industrial productivity and the reform of public services, public education and the organization of scientific institutions—which called for radical solutions. The book is organized around these topics, beginning with the outbreak of the revolution and moving backward and forward throughout the 1790s as some of the same people figure in more than one episode. This method changes somewhat with the Napoleonic era, which is shaped by knowledge of incipient internal changes in science that take the story well into the nineteenth century, set against the context of institutional developments. At times the solutions did not call for a breakthrough in science; but there were instances, and the expedition to Egypt was one, when the revolutionary adventure brought scientists to contemplate questions or evidence that they would not otherwise have encountered.

It is in measuring this legacy that Gillispie's interpretive judgment come to the fore. Inevitably a revolution involves a discussion of ends and means. One example must suffice. Put in the context of local and provincial traditions, the measurement of the meridian in the 1790s seems a futile pursuit of abstraction, perfection for its own sake according to the lights of scientists rather than of the interests of those millions of farmers and landowners, shopkeepers and small producers whose interests they claimed to advance. With fine irony and rhetorical control, Gillispie attacks the postmodernist view that would relativize the metric system by setting it against an anthropocentric set of values. In the process, he gives us much to admire in the patience, objectivity, and care for the truth found in the story of how Pierre-François Méchain and Jean Delambre arrived at the measurements needed to

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validate the meter. One senses that there are things worth fighting for.

This is a book about a critical change in science, from a philosophy based on studying nature and helping man to fit in better with the natural order, to a functional stance, "a positive science of how things work" (p. 5). The shift toward quantification and control, toward studying the action of things on each other, and toward disciplines, gave politicians as well as scientists a new way of defining problems and new instruments for analysis. Well might Gillispie remark that, during the period he studied, both politics and science were progressive, "future oriented and dismissive of the past." He might have noted that politics can turn regressive. The revolutionary era was followed by political reaction, but the achievements in science were safeguarded. It is a difference worthy of another book.

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Paris [This review appears on the author's responsibility.]

SUZANNE DESAN. *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 51.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 456. $50.00.

In 1990, Suzanne Desan explored the relationship between religion and politics in her prize-winning book *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France*. In this new book, she again mines the archives of Normandy and the Department of Calvados to challenge previous assumptions about changes in gender roles, politics, and the family from 1789 to 1804 and beyond. The book's 100 pages of endnotes (there is no bibliography) show that, in addition to examining fifty-seven family-related laws and national decrees from 1790 to 1804 (Appendix 2), Desan and her research team have closely studied 142 microfilmed records for seventy-eight communes in Calvados between 1793 and 1805.

To answer the question, what was the relationship among family, politics, and state during the French Revolution, Desan analyzes interactions among family members, revolutionary politics, and state-building activities. She argues that the revolution transformed the most intimate relationships and challenged the patriarchal structure of Old Regime France and that remaking family and gender relationships was integral to forging the revolutionary state. In the role of litigants, petitioners, activists, arbiters, pamphleteers, and judges, family members shaped social policies in their homes, courtrooms, and legislatures. From 1790 until 1795, women, men, and children successfully brought about such reforms as the right to divorce, civil contract marriages, egalitarian inheritances, the reduction of paternal authority, lowering the age of majority, and the incorporation of illegitimate offspring into the family.

Drawing on the methodological insights of many historians of gender and of political culture, Desan organizes her book around the themes of marriage and divorce, inheritance, and paternity and illegitimacy. Following the French Revolution's chronology, the eight chapters show how each of its major turning points generated different gender models to underpin each new vision of the state and political order. The book challenges prevalent assumptions about the revolution's impact on women advanced by Joan Landes, Lynn Hunt, Carole Pateman, and Joan Scott. These historians have asserted that Jacobin imagery, festivals, speeches, the press, and political theory pushed women toward republican motherhood and familial duties, gradually subordinating them to males and excluding them from public roles out of fear for social disorder (p. 10).

Desan, however, proposes a new interpretation. Her analysis of social practices and cultural attitudes in the 1790s fails to reveal a new domesticity. To the contrary, it shows how successfully women, divorcees, and illegitimate children used republican ideology and new laws (regarding divorce, egalitarian inheritance, and parental authority) to challenge their domestic inferiority and change it. Desan shows how arguments advocating equality between spouses and greater independence and control over property by women and illegitimate heirs competed with the Rousseauian emphasis on docile republican mothers and wives. Not until the reactionary spring and summer of 1795, when the Convention abolished previous laws on egalitarian inheritance and divorce, did women lose significant ground before a pessimistic definition of human nature that foreshadowed the restrictions of the Napoleonic Code of 1804. In chapters seven and eight, Desan argues that the origins of nineteenth-century domesticity can be found in that imperial code, not in the attitudes or laws of the republican 1790s.

Desan's revisionist arguments will not convince everyone; however, they appear to be grounded by the evidence she marshals from the archives in Normandy. Further studies should be done to test her theories in other departments of revolutionary France. As for weaknesses, some readers may regret her cursory discussion of gay and lesbian rights during the revolution (p. 75), quibble over the handful of minor stylistic errors (possibly due to the book's having British and American copyeditors), and struggle with a few lengthy pamphlet titles not translated. But none can remain unimpressed with her massive research and her engaging style. Desan has a penchant for the apt quote and the telling anecdote; her book offers the reader a wonderful buffet of humor, satire, and passion from the hundreds of pamphlets, letters, petitions, and court documents she has examined. Her fresh insights into how the French Revolution radically redefined the internal dynamics of the family provide the dessert course in this book.

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RICHARD D. E. BURTON. *Holy Tears, Holy Blood: Women, Catholicism, and the Culture of Suffering in France, 1840–1970*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xxv, 291. $45.00.

This book continues the line of inquiry that Richard D. E. Burton initiated in *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789–1945* (2001), in which he used Christ's passion as a paradigm within which to analyze repeated acts of violence in Paris between 1789 and 1944. Here Burton extends the paradigm to women in the French Catholic Church and unveils an intriguing belief system and set of behaviors that paralleled France's transition to a secular, modern society. Burton examines an extensive body of primary and secondary literature, at the center of which are writings by and about eleven women who subjected themselves to "vicarious suffering": a doctrine whose central tenet was that just as Christ suffered to redeem humanity, individuals must experience pain to redeem themselves and, more importantly, others. In the Catholic imagination after the Revolution of 1789, says Burton, "the spiritual function of woman is to weep, bleed, and starve for the salvation of others, to offer herself up as a holocaust to appease a revengeful male deity" (p. 19). Although this culture of suffering held a minor place in Catholic devotional practice, its influence spread with Antoine Blanc de Saint-Bonnet's widely read *De la douleur* (1849). The doctrine became more prominent after 1870, when the Catholic hierarchy and writers of the Catholic literary renaissance highlighted the Christ-like sufferings of women. Burton examines not just the lives of these women but those of men who wrote about them and who appropriated their suffering. The effect of women's vicarious suffering, he argues, was "to legitimate, perpetuate, and often exacerbate the miseries of the last, the least, and the lost; it almost invariably validates hierarchy, (male) order, and inequality" (p. 217).

The women featured in this book—among whom are the well-known Thérèse Martin, Simone Weil, and Camille Claudel—suffered from bleeding and eating disorders, illness (often tuberculosis), and lived in reclusion. One of the most poignant examples is Marthe Robin (1902–1981): from age twenty-six to her death at age eighty-one, she stopped sleeping and consumed nothing but a communion wafer once a week and the moisture from a damp cloth applied to her lips and tongue. Every Friday she relived Christ's passion, bleeding from her hands, feet, left side, and forehead.

An excellent storyteller, Burton begins his book with Melanie Calvat, one of two children before whom the Virgin Mary appeared at La Salette in 1846. Unlike another well-known Marian apparition that resulted in the healing waters of Lourdes, the weeping Virgin of La Salette left a message of anger and pain so ominous that the children never revealed its entirety, and the church held in secret much of what Melanie did reveal. Her testimony became politicized and turned La Salette into a mecca for right-wing opposition to the French Republican order. Authors such as Léon Bloy and J. K. Huysmans wrote of her personal suffering and made her into an icon for the ultra-Catholic right in its antihumanist world view. Indeed, the politicization of vicarious suffering is one of the most intriguing themes in this book. Burton notes that most of the female sufferers and their male panegyrists were on the far right of the political spectrum, and the doctrine became particularly useful during the Great War and the Vichy regime.

The seventy-page concluding chapter synchronizes the book's themes with a number of apparently disparate subjects: anorexia, homosexuality and the androgyny of the church, hair and shorn heads, Joan of Arc, and Mary Magdalene, among others. Burton applies the paradigm of Christ's passion more broadly to institutions such as La Salpetrière and the Tour de France. The former, which pathologized extraordinary religious experiences, ironically resembled a convent filled with suffering women. Jean-Martin Charcot appeared as "the leader of a vast surrogate religion" (p. 186) by collecting around him psychiatrist-priests and student-neophytes, and by performing weekly lessons every Friday that resembled the sacrificial rituals of Christ's Calvary. From the inception of the Tour de France in 1903, many French writers similarly compared the ordeal of its stages to the Stations of the Cross.

Burton treats his suffering subjects with respect and sensitivity, and he effectively employs a feminist perspective. Although sentences that are unnecessarily lengthy sometimes encumber the prose, his argument is both imaginative and provocative. Historians will find Burton's linkage between the meaning of vicarious suffering and the cycle of revolution and reaction set off by the events of 1789 compelling, and they should be further inspired to wonder whether this doctrine was unique to French experience or whether it had similar political power and cultural resonance elsewhere.

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RONALD K. RITTGERS. *The Reformation of the Keys: Confession, Conscience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 330. $49.95.

This book by Ronald K. Rittgers describes the collapse of the traditional sacrament of penance and the rise of public absolution and Lutheran private confession in the free imperial city of Nuremberg, whose ruling council was one of the first to put into practice the new doctrines of Wittenberg. Rittgers's study follows the course of the Reformation in Nuremberg to 1553, examining at each stage confession and the questions of authority and doctrine it raised.

Medieval Christians described the sacerdotal authority manifest in the sacrament of penance in terms

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of the keys given to the apostles and their successors (Matthew 16:19; John 20:23). The clergy of the Church of Rome held the power to absolve penitents of their sins, as well as the authority to exclude from the Christian community those who failed to seek forgiveness. Rittgers begins with a survey of penitential theology and confessional practice in late medieval Germany, then estimates the frequency and general dimensions of lay confession in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Nuremberg. Confessors were told to suspend their penitents "between hope and fear," and Rittgers makes the shrewd suggestion in chapter two that the fervent lay piety of the late Middle Ages arose in part from the mixed message of confessors who stressed sin and judgment but prescribed only light penances, leaving the pious with a lingering sense that they needed to do more.

As with other rituals of traditional Christianity, in the 1520s the sacrament of penance was dismantled by reformers who rejected its theology and practice. Rittgers shows that the rejection of traditional confession was especially complicated in Nuremberg, where a dispute over Lutheran private confession vexed the city's officials and clergymen for several decades. At the center of the dispute stood the theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), the principled but arrogant and contentious pastor of Nuremberg's St. Lorenz church. Rittgers's discussion of Osiander's clashes with the city council in chapters four through seven would have benefited greatly by reference to Gunter Zimmermann's *Prediger der Freiheit: Andreas Osiander und der Nürnberger Rat 1522–1548* (1999), which is not cited. Instead Rittgers goes over much of the ground already covered by Zimmermann, an established historian of Reformation Nuremberg.

Rittgers concludes his narrative in chapter eight, describing the Nuremberg Council's establishment of optional private confession in the city during the interim of 1548–1553. The council emerges as the main actor in Rittgers's study, but his choice of Nuremberg as the focus of the study is problematic. Under the most closed and elite government of any free imperial city, Nuremberg was ruled by a sovereign council that was above the law. From 1460 on, council members were not subject to the city's criminal courts; their offenses, which in the first half of the sixteenth century included assault, embezzlement, and treason, were tried only by the council itself, which hid its members' transgressions in utter secrecy and usually suspended punishment for even the most violent crimes. Rank had its privileges in this patricians' city, and the council's refusal to allow the new Lutheran clergy to require private confession, examined by Rittgers in chapters five through eight, should be seen in this light. The ruling councilmen—not even subject to secular justice in their own city—were not likely to subject themselves to the spiritual scrutiny of their employees, the city's Lutheran clergy.

Rittgers's attempts to place confession, absolution, and clerical authority in their political context are based on the amazing assertion, presented in his first chapter, that "the Council governed Nürnberg as a caring but strict father" (p. 18; see also pp. 97, 148). This statement was a recurring theme in the council's propaganda, and in some cases perhaps part of its self-image as well, but to accept it at face value is extraordinarily uncritical and naïve with regard to both sides of the metaphor. Scholars such as Valentin Groebner have described the swift and violent responses of the Nuremberg Council to the extramural political ambitions of any of its members, and one suspects that the council typically valued "order"—the unchallenged social and political preeminence of the patriciate—over the welfare of its subjects. The patrician rulers of early modern Nuremberg could be brutal, discreet, pious, or paternal; Rittgers shows us only one face of this group. Better use of the abundant scholarship on imperial cities would have given the author a more balanced view. What, for example, would an understanding of Thomas A. Brady's work on the council of Strasbourg (*Ruling Class, Regime, and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520–1555* [1978]) contribute to Rittgers's analysis of the Nuremberg Council? Did the Nuremberg patriciate employ a mixture of paternal rhetoric and ruthless self-interest similar to that seen in Brady's Strasbourg? Nor does Rittgers engage with Hans-Christoph Rublack's work on the social and political functions of Lutheran private confession (although it is mentioned in a footnote). Rittgers has shown that the keys are a valuable topic, but these missed opportunities leave much work to be done on confession, conscience, community, and authority in Reformation Germany.

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George S. Williamson. *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 428. $24.00.

George S. Williamson has written a well-researched and for the most part engaging study on what he calls the "discourse on myth" in nineteenth-century Germany. This discourse is not limited to the developing scientific investigation of myth. In fact, Williamson has not written a history of scholarship, as myth emerged as a theme in the diverse disciplines of literary, religious, anthropological, and historical studies. Nor has he turned to the formation of a specifically German set of national myths—ancient, medieval, and modern. Instead, his book ambitiously defines a more inclusive field that spreads across the spectrum of philological research (classical, Germanic, and Indian) and biblical criticism (theological, historical, and philological) and that, to a lesser extent, includes the larger world of literary creation and debates on national identity. At its heart, this is a history of the intellectual discussions on myth as they played out

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against the background of the *Bildungsbürghertum*'s changing attitudes to its Christian (mostly Lutheran) faith and tradition.

Williamson clearly states his thesis in the introduction: "By demonstrating the power and appeal of a concept of myth in German intellectual culture, this study emphasizes the degree to which the supposedly secular realms of nineteenth-century art and scholarship were infused with the rhetoric, narratives, and assumptions of Christian theology. Indeed, I maintain in this study that the longing for myth is best understood, not as a secularization of traditional religion or as a form of 'secular religion,' but rather as a development *within* Christian (especially German Protestant) culture, as it confronted the cultural and political challenges of European modernity" (p. 4).

Along with a growing trend in the recent historical literature, Williamson argues (correctly, I think) that the process of secularization in nineteenth-century Germany was more complex than a uniform move away from theology and toward science and history. Williamson is less successful, however, in arguing that the "discourse on myth" influenced political life and shaped German national identity. Although in some ways this turn to myth can be seen as a response to the political, religious, and territorial divisions of nineteenth-century Germany (though Williamson neither defines these divisions clearly nor shows how "myth" could have been perceived as an understandable response), it is more difficult to understand how, in anything but the vaguest sense, how myth was supposed to overcome the "crisis of modernity" and the "fragmentation of the contemporary world." His claim is simply that the "solution" was derived from "aesthetic-religious imagery that would unite modern society just as Greek mythology had supposedly once united the polis" (p. 299).

The book is divided into seven chapters, arranged in chronological order. The early chapters deal with the Romantic interpretation of myth, the creation of a national myth, and the furor raised over Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810–1812), while the final chapters investigate the changing interpretations of biblical narratives in the 1840s, Richard Wagner's attempts to create a national mythology, and Friedrich Nietzsche's response to the newly united kaiserreich. The epilogue offers a brief overview on the continuing interest in myth in the twentieth century from the *völkisch* movement to Alfred Baumler's dark, chthonic concept of *Mythos* and Alfred Rosenberg's politically inspired *Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (1930).

Perhaps the book's weakest point in is not what is included (for it is admirable in its ambition to cross a number of academic disciplines) but what it leaves out (along with the reasons for these exclusions). There is, for instance, no discussion of J. W. von Goethe's *Faust*, the premiere example not only of a powerful modern myth but also of the ways in which classical and medieval myths could be reappropriated and merged in an interpretation of modernity. Along these lines, Williamson too often reduces Goethe's, Friedrich Schiller's, Wilhelm von Humboldt's, and Friedrich Hölderlin's complex and diverse interpretation of Greek myth as the simple positing of an "absolute standard of beauty" (p. 7). For each the relationships between ancient myth and modern reality, between antiquity and modernity, as well as the understanding of history and the formation of traditions were of central concern. Also absent is an examination of Jacob Burckhardt's cultural-historical approach to Greek myths and their central role in both the formation and dissolution of ancient Greek culture.

Williamson also tends to simplify issues that do not conform to his central thesis. He readily admits to the difficulties in defining the term "myth," but he does not help us understand the differences between *Mythos* and *Mythus*. Related to this distinction is the more troubling division between "myth" and "reality." Understandably, Williamson does not want to enter onto this highly contested ground; yet he readily dismisses the dominant twentieth-century concepts of myth (of Bronislaw Malinowski, Mircea Eliade, and Claude Levi-Strauss) without argument. As a result, Williamson inadvertently falls back into an uncritical acceptance of the opposition between positivistic research and falsifying myth, between history and mythology, and ultimately between fact and fiction. As Johann Herder, Goethe, and Humboldt originally pointed out, the study of myth by necessity involves the study of culture, language, and the historically changing relationships between culture and language. These concerns are not limited to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for they continue to preoccupy us today.

These difficulties come together in Williamson's final chapter on Nietzsche. Williamson privileges *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and reads it as Nietzsche's attempt to establish a new cultural unity in the face of the divisiveness of Otto von Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. Suggestively, Williamson argues that, despite all appearances, Nietzsche's call for a modern myth exhibits a set of Protestant motifs. Williamson does not extend this line of argument to *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (complete edition, 1891), however. In fact, he reverses this argument. The Nietzsche of the 1880s no longer believed that "cultures could be, or even had been, integrated along national, religious, or racial lines" (p. 298). *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* emerges in this account as a counter-myth (or even an anti-myth) to Wagner's *Parzifal*, overlooking Nietzsche's concern with metaphor, myth, and tragedy.

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RICHARD WEIKART. *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xi, 312. $59.95.

Richard Weikart's book contributes to the growing body of literature connecting National Socialism, and

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particularly Nazi genocide, to technocratic modernity rather than to a pathological failure to become modern. The title alludes to a second tradition of scholarship about Nazi Germany, that announced in William Montgomery McGovern's *From Luther to Hitler: The History of Fascist-Nazi Political Philosophy* (1941). Reviewing that book in these pages some sixty years ago, Benjamin E. Lippincott noted a political sleight of hand. In defining the ideological sources of Nazism, McGovern sought to discredit one political tradition (in that case, the supposed mob rule of Jacksonian democracy) and support instead an elitist liberalism (*AHR* 49 [1944]: 472–474). Weikart's own Darwin-to-Hitler approach performs an analogous sleight of hand that mars an otherwise fine piece of historical research.

The book argues that Charles Darwin and many of his followers created an ethic that devalued human life and provided a "necessary, but not a sufficient, cause for Nazi ideology" (p. 9). Weikart is careful to point out that Darwinians outside of Germany (including Darwin himself) also advocated an ethic that, according to Weikart, devalued human life. The main thrust of Darwinian ethics, for Weikart, is a belief that evolutionary progress is the highest good, trumping ethics derived from scripture, from Kantian rationality, or from human nature and natural rights. This, for Weikart, implies ethical relativism, a valorization of death (as a necessary part of evolution), and a biological hierarchy within species, with the more fit more deserving of life than the less fit. (This confusion of the "fittest" with the best is a misunderstanding of Darwin shared by some of his supporters and many of his detractors.) The strength of this book is its account of the various eugenic schemes, from birth control to war to racial extermination, advocated by Darwinians and their fellow travelers in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany. A final chapter argues that this Darwinian thought not only shaped Adolf Hitler's own ideology but also made ordinary Germans more susceptible to Nazi ethics.

For all this good research, Weikart presents an image of Darwinism at once both too narrow and too broad. Thomas Henry Huxley, for example, is cited, but only as evidence against the Social Darwinists he criticized, not as an example of ethical variations among those committed to understanding evolution. The German Darwinians who are the focus of the book appear only as advocates of eugenics, racism, and imperialism, although presumably these policies were informed by a broader intellectual project. At the same time, German anthropologists, who opposed Darwinism before the turn of the century (as a doctrine possessing no more empirical foundation than revealed religion does), are lumped with Darwinists, since these anthropologists also supported imperialism and racist hierarchies.

It would have been fascinating to learn something about the German opponents of the Darwinian ethic. Weikart varyingly describes the opponents of Darwinians as "Christian morality" (p. 24), "traditional sexual mores" (p. 144), "Judeo-Christian ethics" (p. 230), Kantian rational ethics (p. 21), and even the liberalism of John Locke—who emerges here only as a proponent of "the right to life" (p. 145). Apart from these slogans, we learn little about this opposition. We are told that Christians regarded death as "an unnatural, evil foe to be conquered" (p. 75) and that they "militated against some of the worst excesses of racism" (p. 102), including imperialist extermination (pp. 183–185). Weikart provides a nice, though unacknowledged, counterexample to this last assertion with an illustration of Spanish conquistadores watching their dogs kill Indians (p. 190).

Although religious fundamentalists in the United States and, to a lesser extent, Great Britain opposed Darwin on religious grounds, there is less evidence that their more scholarly German colleagues mounted such an attack. Indeed, Weikart appears tacitly to acknowledge this by opening the book with a discussion of Adam Sedgwick and William Jennings Bryan before more briefly discussing the German theologian Rudolf Schmid (pp. 1–2). Bryan, of course, led the prosecution of a high school instructor for teaching evolution in violation of Tennessee law. In Weikart's account, however, Bryan emerges only as an opponent of German militarism. In this distortion of the 1925 Scopes "monkey" trial, repeated twice in the book (pp. 1, 163), Weikart's political sleight of hand appears most clearly. The text seeks to lead readers from opposing Hitler to supporting the theocratic agenda of Bryan and more recent figures in the United States. There are thus good political reasons for setting up the book as a contest between Hitler and Bryan, although these do not make for very persuasive history.

Weikart's book may tempt some readers to take a more nuanced view of Darwinian politics and ethics than the author himself does. Weikart admirably demonstrates the influence of Darwinism on Nazi racism and genocide. At the same time, he shows how Darwinism challenged the authority of those theocratic elites who would stifle individual liberty in the name of unverifiable superstition. Weikart maintains that we have Darwin, among others, to thank for reproductive freedom (pp. 133–36, 147–48), gay and lesbian rights (pp. 131–32), sexual liberation (p. 133), and the movement for death with dignity (p. 232). It is to Weikart's credit that his account suggests a complex legacy of Darwinian bioethics. It is unfortunate that the ideological project to which the author latches his very good historical research allows the reader to understand the political legacy of Darwinism only by reading the book in a way Weikart clearly did not intend.

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BENJAMIN CARTER HETT. *Death in the Tiergarten: Murder and Criminal Justice in the Kaiser's Berlin*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 291. $35.00.

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Benjamin Carter Hett's study of criminal justice in Berlin during the quarter century before World War I introduces readers to an intriguing array of judges, prosecutors, lawyers, defendants, jurors, and others who interacted to determine the outcomes of some of imperial Germany's most sensational trials. Hett gives particular attention to a number of politically charged murder cases, beginning with the 1891 prosecution of the pimp-prostitute team of Hermann and Anna Heinze. The couple was convicted of murdering a Berlin night watchman. Their crime and subsequent instances of especially heinous urban violence, extensively reported on the front pages of the mass press, fed fears of growing immorality and disorder in the sprawling city. In addition to headline-grabbing homicides, Hett (although the title of his book might suggest otherwise) focuses on a number of prosecutions of individuals accused of offenses involving little or no violence. These range from the 1893 trial of essayist and publicist Maximilian Harden for lèse-majesté to the 1906 prosecution of Wilhelm Voigt, the famous Hauptmann von Köpenick. Voigt's most serious crime was making Prussian authorities look foolish, while he in the process was transformed into a celebrity.

Trained in both law and history, Hett is well qualified to investigate imperial Berlin's changing criminal courtroom culture. Concentrating on actual trials rather than on legislation, institutions, or theoretical debates related to criminal justice, he seeks to present law in action. Even without major new legislation, Hett contends, the later years of the Second Empire witnessed dramatic changes in how trials were conducted. Major trends included increasing reliance on new kinds of evidence and the social, medical, and psychological testimony of expert witnesses. Defense counsels became more assertive and officials more sensitive to public opinion. More inclined to consider mitigating circumstances, courts over time showed greater leniency in sentencing.

Hett characterizes the contentious debates accompanying these trends as elements of a culture war, which he likens to recent U.S. experience. Playing a central role in the Wilhelmine version was the mass-circulation press. Emphasizing the importance of the press as a major formative influence on the city's criminal justice system, Hett draws extensively on Berlin's newspapers as an abundant source of both descriptions and commentary. Other sources for this amply documented study include ministerial and court records, pamphlets authored by participants, popular novels, and memoirs.

Hett challenges those historians who emphasize authoritarian continuities in the practice of criminal law from the Second Empire to the Third Reich and depict Wilhelmine Germany as a seedbed of later Nazi legal abuse. Before World War I, according to Hett, it was the Right, more than the Left, that was losing ground in the struggle to shape courtroom culture. The extent to which this was so, he suggests, has been obscured by the readiness of too many historians to accept at face value Social Democratic and Left Liberal oppositional rhetoric characterizing Wilhelmine Germany as a land of peculiarly heavy-handed class justice. Hett rejects such a characterization. Far from calling all the shots, he asserts, those on the far Right found themselves in the early years of the twentieth century increasingly unable to prevent what they regarded as growing permissiveness.

In the cases he examines, Hett finds outcomes over time becoming less predictable, more flexible, and at times more compassionate than critiques originating on the Left would suggest. His purpose is not, however, to replace a one-sided emphasis on repressive class justice in Wilhelmine Germany with an equally one-sided account of progressive developments. Focusing on stories of individuals caught up in a variety of proceedings, he dwells less on identifying authoritarian or emancipatory tendencies than on conveying the complexity, dynamism, and contentious nature of criminal justice in imperial Berlin. Given the exceptional notoriety of the relative handful of cases examined, Hett's selection cannot claim to be a representative sample of courtroom outcomes. But these sensational cases, although few in number and atypical, merit the careful consideration he accords them because in their time they aroused such spirited comment from diverse perspectives. Hett, by retelling famous courtroom stories in a lively and engaging fashion, effectively illuminates for his readers a cluster of criminal justice issues of particular public concern in a society undergoing dramatic change.

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IRENE GUENTHER. *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*. New York: Berg. 2004. Pp. ix, 499. $28.95.

Irene Guenther's thoroughly researched study takes the seemingly trivial subject of female fashion during the Third Reich and makes a convincing case for its significance. The book offers valuable insight into three interrelated and still heavily contested issues in the historiography on Nazism: the lives of "ordinary," nonpersecuted women; the contradictions saturating Nazi ideology; and the remarkable extent to which the regime acceded to popular wishes. It makes powerfully apparent how fashion was often of greater concern to ordinary Germans (and to their leaders) than the trajectory of high politics, even as the story of fashion in the Third Reich became inextricable from the dynamics of antisemitism and world war.

The introduction effectively indicates the wider import of the topic in a way well suited to stimulate classroom debate. Two subsequent chapters situate the story against the background of developments during World War I and the Weimar era (here the intensity of rivalry with French style and German feelings of defensive insecurity are clearly established), followed by four chapters on the Third Reich itself. The first of these tracks conflicts about attire and cosmetics in the

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Nazi media and at the highest party echelons, and the ways these were expressed through antisemitic propaganda and inseparable from ongoing competitiveness vis-à-vis France and the United States. Guenther shows here how cacophonously incoherent Nazi injunctions about fashion were, as well as how quickly the rulers adapted to "resistance" from below. Authoritatively recommended traditional peasant dirndls, for instance, were not a success with the masses, who continued to take their style cues from Hollywood starlets and international fashion trends. Efforts to enforce a non-artificial beauty ideal only led to an ever-burgeoning cosmetics market to help women achieve that healthily "natural" look.

The second chapter on Nazism charts the immense reorganization of the fashion industry as Jews were systematically driven out, while the third provides a close look at the government-sponsored "German Fashion Institute." Without question, "Aryanization" of the economy disproportionately affected the clothing industry, to the delight of ambitious gentile designers and producers and to the frequent dismay of fashion and customer-service-conscious consumers. (And it is surely no coincidence, even as it is achingly disturbing, that to this day non-Jewish Germans repeat with pride stories of their families circumventing the prohibitions on contact with Jews in order to continue surreptitiously to purchase from favorite Jewish textile merchants, as though this exemplified civic courage.) The final chapter turns to the war years and discusses both the ways women on the home front struggled to "make do" under conditions of accelerating scarcity and the increased use of slave labor for clothing production.

In the most savage ironies documented in the book, clothes marketed in the Third Reich carried the label "made by Aryan hands," even as the clothes requisitioned from Jews about to be deported had to have the makers' tags removed so as to uphold this fiction, and even as Jewish seamstresses and tailors in the Lodz ghetto and Auschwitz death camp were commanded to produce elegant clothes from the best fabrics for the pleasure of those Nazi elites that could still afford luxuries. As Guenther argues, while the juxtaposition of superficiality and horror can appear jarring, putting them into the same interpretive frame is imperative not least because doing so foregrounds precisely that "curious mix of 'normality' and abhorrent 'abnormality' " that was one of the Third Reich's most distinctive features (p. 276).

At some moments, Guenther's sarcasm about the blatant hypocrisy and banal egotism of leading Nazi officials' wives—secretly maintaining prized Jewish designers, in the cases of Emmy Göring or Magda Goebbels, preferring U.S.-made Elizabeth Arden cosmetics or choosing black suede Ferragamo shoes for her bunker wedding, in the case of Adolf Hitler's mistress, Eva Braun—seems inadequate as analysis, remaining in the realm of snide gossip. Ultimately, however, the book's contribution lies in its demonstration of the inseparability of fashion from politics. That late into the war, for example, Joseph Goebbels and Hitler concluded that they should reverse a ban on hair permanents despite the dearth of chemicals so necessary for the war effort—because they were anxious not to arouse the ire of German women—speaks volumes about the palpable force of the public's priorities.

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WINFRIED SÜß. *Der "Volkskörper" im Krieg: Gesundheitspolitik, Gesundheitsverhältnisse und Krankenmord im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1939–1945.* (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 65.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 513.

In the aftermath of defeat in 1945, the German medical profession argued that only a few physicians were misled by Nazism, and alleged that physicians had maintained the people's health and had tended to the wounded conscientiously and effectively. Yet how far Nazism penetrated into the sinews of medical care has remained controversial. Although there has been much work on the origins and implementation of Nazi health policies, sterilization, and euthanasia, how well the Nazified structures of health fared under wartime conditions has received less attention. Winfried Süß takes on the ambitious task of evaluating the Nazi health system during the war.

What emerges is an account that is part structural and administrative, part a survey of health conditions and of health care delivery, and part a consideration of the key role of the surgeon Karl Brandt, the Führer's health commissioner. Süß tackles a range of crucial areas: industrial health, rationing, the impact of aerial warfare, and doctor-patient relations and euthanasia in the later years of the war. Missing are changing policies toward medical research and training physicians, and a consideration of how SS medicine of the concentration camps impacted more broadly on German society. He rarely ventures outside the boundaries of the Altreich, even into annexed Austria, let alone the eastern territories.

Despite the reference to the *Volkskörper*, Süß has limited concerns with ideology of the fascist body. He considers that there is a gap between ideology and practice—and sets his analysis apart from those seeking to demonstrate the biologization of social and administrative spheres, as well as from the Götz Aly and Karl-Heinz Roth school that sees health as an attempt to resolve the social and racial "problems." Süß suggests that race works simultaneously as a "program," as a sphere of practical policy, and as everyday practice in which ideological parameters are rarely clear. He sets an ambitious agenda in considering policies, conditions, and euthanasia. The research is prodigious, and the book performs a valuable task in unravelling—to some extent—the interminable Nazi in-fighting over health policy. The focus on Brandt as

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Adolf Hitler's plenipotentiary for civilian and military health is welcome, because as a surgeon he has received less attention because of his lack of a track record in eugenics. The biographical analysis brings the account to life, not least because of Brandt's efforts to coordinate civilian and military research and health services. Yet, the accusations thrown at him in Nuremberg raise questions why someone ostensibly concerned with emergency provision should have got involved in chemical weapons research.

As an attempt at a synthesis based on archival "cross sections," the results are impressive. The book is not free from minor blemishes (e.g. the incorrect spelling of the name of the first euthanasia victim, or the incorrect description of Karl Gebhardt as Reichsarzt SS). The issues are more complex than can be resolved in an overview, relying on scattered administrative sources. Much use is made of regional and local sources, but why one region rather than another appears somewhat arbitrary. Moreover, Süß assumes that because material is drawn from archives, it somehow represents the reality of health conditions. Here, a good dose of source criticism would have been desirable. The health data is on the whole taken literally rather than as symptomatic of ideological priorities in a coercive administrative context, or of fierce debates on diagnosis and misdiagnosis. Süß has to weigh the alternatives given that we have a beleaguered society undergoing a cataclysmic purge of racial undesirables. The distribution of pharmaceuticals gets a mere five pages, and vaccines are judged by a brief but interesting analysis of diphtheria, which hit children and adolescents hard during the war. We are offered an interesting account of the primacy of the factory as a productive unit, but much literature on the coercive role of the Betriebsarzt is not cited. Similarly, his treatment of Fleckfieber—or typhus—is cursory, avoiding the ideological, administrative, and epidemiological implications of the disease. Here critical analysis is required of the legitimatory accounts by key figures like the Waffen-SS bacteriologist Joachim Mrugowsky, or Leonardo Conti's claim to have successfully defended German health against a major epidemic in 1941–1942. Merely to say that there was a shortage of DDT is inadequate, when the issues raised by the authorities' insistence on using Zyklon for delousing run to the heart of Nazi race policy.

One of the most cited sources in this study is the report by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey on the impact of bombing on health. The report is taken as objective, without any weighing of the coverage and agendas of the report's compilers. The author does not cite, let alone critically assess, Allied analyses of German wartime health during the war, nor consider the role of how the Reich Health Office tried to boost the achievements of Germany under National Socialism. The sections on Brandt are valuable in outlining his role in emergency hospital provision, to repair the damage arising from Allied bombing of German cities. Brandt, who was close to Albert Speer, came up with a highly effective design for outlying emergency hospitals. Süß sees Brandt as typical of Hitler's predilection for special agencies, and as effective in achieving results with limited resources. More contentious is Süß's view that evidence is lacking to support the view that the Aktion Brandt was not a covert phase of "wild" (i.e. decentralized) euthanasia. Evidence of the Nuremberg prosecution is used, but as with interrogations primarily to give Brandt a voice. Whereas the Allied prosecutors and their expert advisers veered toward a view that Nazi medicine was depraved and corrupted, Süß lays out a system that rationally responded to wartime emergencies and was relatively effective in maintaining provisioning. Provided you were Aryan and able-bodied, effective care and pharmaceuticals remained on offer.

Overall, this is a tour de force of intelligent historical synthesis. But the synthesis has been achieved on the basis of fragmentary archival gleanings, which do not always support the generalizations and deductions made. Given the attempt to distance the analysis from some highly influential trends in writing on euthanasia, the racial state, and the Holocaust, this is an important book that will be fiercely debated for many years to come.

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STEPHEN G. FRITZ. *Endkampf: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2004. Pp. xvii, 382. $35.00.

In a work that draws both on original research and a synthesis of many (but not all) relevant existing secondary sources, Stephen G. Fritz combines both old and new military history with the history of gender and the Holocaust in a study of the end of the war in Franconia from 1945 to 1947. He begins with an analysis of how U.S. commanders' fears that the German leadership was planning a fight to the finish in an Alpine Redoubt affected U.S. strategy in the final phase of the war in Europe and U.S. forces' perceptions of German resistance. The work also studies German motives for continued resistance, before examining in four chapters the last-ditch fighting from town to town, focusing on middle Franconia from March to May 1945. Fritz draws on both the U.S. and German civilian and military perspectives and sources. Continued, and at times surprisingly effective, German resistance against the odds led to U.S. battle and post-battle violence, sometimes downplayed by Fritz. His account indicates that German women as well as youths took part in last-ditch fighting in some instances.

Fritz's work provides further evidence of the manner in which Nazism turned its killing against Germans in the final phase of the regime. His use of case studies to examine why civilian and even local Nazi Party officials' attempts to end fighting before a town was destroyed were successful in some towns but led to the

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summary executions of those involved in others is nuanced and persuasive.

The final two chapters then examine how the experience of German resistance and surrender influenced the period of occupation for, and interaction among, Germans, G.I.s, and displaced persons. Fritz's study demonstrates that organized but uncoordinated resistance to U.S. occupation continued until 1947, some but not all of it under the rubric of the Werwolf partisan movement initiated by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. Why was this resistance more widespread in Franconia than in some other areas of Germany? This is an interesting topic for further research. Adapting an insight of German social historians of this period, Fritz argues that "the end of the war" should be seen as a continuum that, in some aspects at least, did not stop until 1947–1948.

Fritz's work is a significant contribution in addition to the growing literature on the U.S. occupation of Germany. It reminds us that this was not as unproblematic a success story as popular historical memory now paints it. Contemporary political developments give aspects of the book a wider resonance than Fritz might have expected when he began the book. One wonders whether they might lead him to question his assumption that continued German resistance was always futile and irrational.

The work raises many issues, and there are points where Fritz might have probed more deeply. This observation is, however, a testimony to his achievement. He has found a way of taking further what in some other historians' hands might have been a conventional and limited study, and showing how it can enrich our understanding of Germany's defeat and its aftermath. This study suggests a new way of viewing both the military and nonmilitary experience of the end of World War II that could profitably be expanded by other historians of the period.

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ANTHONY D. KAUDERS. *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945–1965.* (Studies in Antisemitism.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism. 2004. Pp. 326.

In September 1949, in his "Report on the Future of Jews in Germany," the U.S. Army's advisor on Jewish affairs observed, "No one can work in Germany for even a brief period without being conscious of the deep, underlying hatred and hostility against the Jews which exists on all levels of life." It is widely accepted today that with the defeat of Nazism in 1945, there was no "hour zero," no relical new beginning; indeed, we are justified to speak here of the period of "late Nazism" that lingered for another full ten years after 1945. Antisemitism was rampant at the time, to the point where some returning Jews found that, in the civilian population, they had more support before 1945 than in the following years. This was not a matter of antisemitism alone, however. After 1945, Nazism was still firmly embedded in German civil society, and former Nazis were back in elite, even ministerial positions, with extreme nationalism rampant.

For the case of Munich and Bavaria, and in great detail, Anthony D. Kauders has perused party periodicals of the Social Democrats (SPD), the Christian Socials (CSU), and the Liberals (FDP) as well as of the two churches in order to trace the evolution of their internal debates concerning the Nazi past, for the first two postwar decades. Kauders discerns three time periods. During the first, until 1948, the citizens of Munich displayed outright antisemitic attitudes, ignoring the mass murder and pointing to the accomplishments of Nazism such as doing away with unemployment and restoring German national pride. During the second period, from 1949 to 1957, while remaining silent on Nazism, Germans began to take a more positive view of their new democracy, even disavowing their earlier Nazi-informed views. Many, nevertheless, held on to *völkisch* ideas of the German nation and protested the injustice of German division and the loss of territories to the East. Kauders places much weight on the significance of the *Volksgemeinschaft* idea, a form of nationalism defined by ethnic homogeneity and a sense of national collective consciousness, and he discards, the role of anticommunism in shaping West German attitudes.

The third of Kauders's phases is informed by the first German-run trials of war criminals: the Ulm Einsatzgruppen trials in 1958, the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in 1961, and the onset of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial in 1963. During that time, Jews were finally accepted as "fellow beings" or *Mitbürger*, fellow citizens. It was also a time when the political elites accepted responsibility and when "the cant of liberalism merged with the spirit of democracy."

The title of this book notwithstanding, the Jews remain for the most a passive template for democracy, not an active element in German society. Kauders rightly points to the deep cleavages between German Jews who returned, and the *Ostjuden* survivors from the East who decided to remain in Germany. Ironically, the Germans' aversion to the *Ostjuden* mirrored the returned German Jews' own aversion to this group, a point that Kauders did not address. The *Ostjuden* considered themselves not only foreign nationals, temporarily in Germany, but they also saw themselves in the "land of Amalek," the land of the murderers of their friends and families. They felt profound, openly expressed hostility to Germany and did not intend to stay on. Kauders failed to make this point, and the reader is therefore at a loss to understand the particular hostility to this group of Jews.

Kauders has based his analysis on party and church publications and personal correspondence between various politicians and he finds, predictably, that the SPD was more "democratically oriented" than the CSU, with the FDP, despite some dissenting voices,

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most open to nationalist and antisemitic sentiments. The two major churches soon became sensitized to the "Jewish Question" and began to accept German responsibility for the Nazi crimes. It is not clear, however, why Kauders excluded smaller parties that were still quite important at the time, or why he excluded the position of the labor unions. Further, a focus not on the evolution of party political consciousness but on key debates during this twenty-year period and on the theaters of memory—around war crimes trials, major antisemitic incidents, anniversaries such as Kristallnacht or Hitler's accession to power—would have been more productive and would have made for more interesting reading; as it stands, for example, Kauders excluded the debates in Munich dailies entirely. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the tabloid, however, were far more widely read than the *Sozialdemokrat* and the CDU's *Bayernkurier*. These reservations notwithstanding, Kauders has convincingly shown how German political attitudes have changed over this important period of West German history.

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Alaric Searle. *Wehrmacht Generals, West German Society, and the Debate on Rearmament, 1949–1959*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xviii, 316.

The 2004 film on Adolf Hitler's final days, *Der Untergang*, depicts the professional demise of German general officers in horror: ethical failure amid heaped corpses and strategic-operational defeat set to the cacophony of the Führer's tirades and Soviet rocket artillery. Yet, within little more than a decade of the events described in this movie—the dissolution of the Wehrmacht and the war-crimes trial of its leaders—a divided Germany boasted two new armies, in which veteran generals faced one another across the Iron Curtain. The political revival of some Wehrmacht officers forms the subject of Alaric Searle's volume, a competent introduction for an English-speaking readership to a topic well known to specialists of contemporary German armed forces and society. Based on this German scholarship and his own commendable archival research, Searle also contributes nuance and detail to the dispute on the "crimes of the Wehrmacht."

The work highlights "a politicized minority" (about thirty figures of public prominence among 2,500–3,000 former general officers) in the opening years of democratic civil-military relations in West Germany. The author recognizes four major groups of ex-general officers: neo-Seecktians, who looked to Moscow and disdained Washington; those who defended aspects of Nazi policy and deplored the July 20, 1944 conspiracy against Hitler; apolitical military technicians; and anti-Nazis, who identified with the ideals of July 20, 1944, and supported the integration of the new German soldier into the new constitutional system. Prominent here are Searle's "pro-rearmament realists": Hans Speidel, Adolf Heusinger, Reinhard Gehlen, Franz Halder, Hasso von Manteuffel, Gerhard von Schwerin, Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg, and Helmuth von Grolman. They emerged from disgrace and captivity to establish a new army and grapple with such issues as international perceptions of German military power in the past and present; security and defense policy; planning for the armament of the Federal Republic in the Atlantic realm; the integration of the soldier into democratic statecraft; and the role of the soldier in National Socialism. This pro-Bonn group contrasted to such former colleagues as the ex-Panzer leader Heinz Guderian, the paratrooper Hermann Ramcke, and the liquidator of the July 20, 1944 plot, Otto Ernst Remer. These men dissented from Western integration, doubted the strategy of forward defense, or even embraced neo-Nazi politics so openly that they made a mockery of democratic principles of the new republic.

Searle asks first how the corps of ex-generals confronted the problems of Cold War mobilization. He finds that whatever unity existed before Allied prosecutors at Nuremberg vanished in the struggle for influence after 1950, especially in the requirement to address openly the role of the soldier in National Socialism. The place of honor of the July 20, 1944 conspirators in the new army's lineage—as well as the integration of the soldier in society via a reform of command, obedience and morale, and civic education (*Innere Führung*)—fueled contention that quickly scotched harmony among generals.

The author further asks whether the ex-generals impeded the democratic integration of the new soldier into the Federal Republic. Despite the tendentious postures of some noteworthy figures, Searle finds the prevailing influence came from the pro-Bonn, pro-democracy generals. As regards the role of general officers in the public debate about the soldier in National Socialism, they came down on all sides: obscurantist and critical and open. Searle notes, that, by the end of the 1950s, granted the trials of von Manteuffel and Ferdinand Schönerer, a more critical line had asserted itself in the Federal Republic's civil-military relations, which by no means regarded the army in National Socialism as the pristine embodiment of timeless Prussian virtues in a brown swamp.

Some may dissent from Searle's judicious and thoughtful conclusions, but the book is especially valuable for readers new to the subject of transitions to democracy and the reestablishment of military professionalism in Germany. For a more complete study, however—in the tradition of the German general staff—one must pay attention to the role of colonels and grades below as well, because these men (and even more civilians) played a crucial role in the civil-military foundation of West Germany.

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JAMES C. VAN HOOK. *Rebuilding Germany: The Creation of the Social Market Economy, 1945–1957.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 312. $70.00.

It is depressing that the twelve disastrous years of Adolf Hitler's regime remain the period most written about in the history of the German people, whereas the fifty-five-year success story of the Federal Republic arouses little interest among the general public. Hitler and his evil satraps are constantly repackaged for public consumption, but the architects of West Germany's stable, tolerant, and genuinely democratic federation are hardly remembered outside Germany, even by those who were their contemporaries.

A particular victim of this amnesia has been Ludwig Erhard, who presided over the so-called "economic miracle" after World War II. The same could be said about the policy he championed. The "social market economy" has been persistently misunderstood, especially in Britain and the United States. It is now routinely referred to as the German version of the welfare state, which is exactly the opposite of what Erhard sought to achieve.

Recently, however, there have been some glimmerings of light on this dark horizon. In 2002 a pioneering German study of the Economics Ministry under Erhard by Bernhard Löffler illuminated the difficulties Erhard faced within his own organization and the ways in which he combated them. Last year Alfred C. Mierzejewski published a lively and positive biography of Erhard. Now James C. van Hook has provided us with a judicious and convincing account of the way in which the social market economy was implemented in the early years of the Federal Republic. Hook is by no means starry-eyed about Erhard, but he argues convincingly that the various historical interpretations that minimize the impact of the social market economy underestimate the importance of domestic political developments and specific economic policy decisions in enabling West Germany to stage such a remarkable recovery after 1948. Erhard's critics have claimed that the most important measures of reconstruction had already been taken by the Allied occupiers before 1948, especially with respect to communications and electricity supply. They have argued that the Allied currency reform was more important than the liberalization of prices in stimulating economic activity after June 1948. They have claimed that Erhard was fortunate in benefiting from the huge demand for German exports generated by the Korean War, and that in any case his rejection of planning was undermined by a "corporatist" decision to allow heavy industry to allocate scarce resources during the Korean crisis. Certainly all of these factors have to be considered when assessing what van Hook calls "the founding myth" of the Federal Republic, according to which the social market economy was directly responsible for West Germany's postwar recovery and formed the economic foundation for the country's successful democracy. He dryly remarks, however, that "like most myths [it] contained important elements of the truth."

One of the strengths of van Hook's account is his analysis of the interaction between Anglo-American occupation policies and West German political movements after the war. He convincingly argues that much of what happened in Germany was not caused by American commitment to free market capitalism or the British obstruction of German industrial recovery but resulted from pragmatic responses to urgent economic difficulties. He also demonstrates that the Social Democrats, who for some years seemed to be the party most likely to emerge as the leading force in West German politics, never developed a coherent economic strategy to replace the failing command economy the occupying powers had inherited from the Third Reich.

The fact remains that Erhard's decision to reintroduce the free price mechanism in 1948 was the key factor in restoring dynamism and growth to a stagnating economy. Once that decision had been taken, Erhard stoutly resisted attempts to restore government controls and price-fixing, despite initial price rises and subsequent unemployment. He was constantly urged to use interventionist measures to keep prices down, to create employment, or to interfere in resource allocation. He was accused of inactivity by critics ranging from the trade unions to Konrad Adenauer. Yet it was precisely his determination to do nothing that would interfere with market forces that enabled the social market economy ultimately to succeed. So far as more positive policies were concerned, he embarked on a long and difficult struggle to curb the power of cartels in German industry. Van Hook presents an admirable assessment of this episode, which in 1957 culminated in a law to prevent restraints on competition. He rightly points out that, although the law was much weaker than Erhard had hoped, it did establish the principle that cartels were intrinsically undesirable. It also stimulated public discussion and helped to make competition respectable in a society that had often regarded it with suspicion.

This book is to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to an overdue reconsideration of the social market economy, in Germany and elsewhere.

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ALFRED C. MIERZEJEWSKI. *Ludwig Erhard: A Biography.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 278. $49.95.

Alfred C. Mierzejewski brings English-speaking audiences the life and ideas of the influential West German economist and politician Ludwig Erhard. Drawing on the published German literature, with some primary research on key topics, he has written a solid, sympathetic biography.

After World War I, Erhard secured an economics

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doctorate and began working for a business research institute. His refusal, as a committed free marketeer, to bend to the Nazis left him politically untainted in 1945. He then secured important governmental positions: director of the Economics Administration for the combined U.S. and British occupation zones, economics minister, and, eventually, chancellor of West Germany.

Mierzejewski devotes considerable attention to Erhard's ideas. In seeking a society of free, responsible individuals, Erhard propounded an economic middle way. He vehemently opposed governmental planning or intervention in the economy, believing them inherently inefficient and likely to lead to dictatorship. Only free markets could ensure efficiency and individual freedom. However, as laissez-faire had failed to provide security and efficiency, he thought a democratic government must establish the legal and regulative framework within which individuals and companies could act and compete freely and fairly. When Erhard promoted the "social market economy," Mierzejewski argues, he meant the market was inherently the most social system because only it could guarantee growth that would provide opportunity and freedom for all. Erhard also discounted equality, arguing that people had different talents and needed the spur of inequality to elicit their best efforts.

Mierzejewski sees Erhard's role as crucial in establishing the basis for West Germany's remarkable economic success of the 1950s. Erhard, as director of the Economics Administration, pushed through far-reaching liberalization of the economy immediately after the 1948 currency reform. Mierzejewski argues that this liberalization, which he thinks no other politician would have implemented to the same degree, unleashed productive forces that had been stymied by economic controls and was indispensable for West Germany's extraordinary 1950s economic growth rates. In a society with strong collectivist and anticompetitive traditions, Erhard fought, Mierzejewski writes, for the freest possible, and hence the best, economic system.

Despite Erhard's crucial successes in 1948, Mierzejewski emphasizes his failures thereafter. American pressure during the Korean War forced Erhard to concede the principle that government could intervene in the economy to address problems. Erhard believed legislation to control cartels was crucial, but Germany's anticompetitive traditions and the power of business blocked effective legislation. Most disastrous, from Mierzejewski's perspective, Erhard failed to stand firmly against the 1957 pension reform, which indexed pensions to inflation and extended the social state. Mierzejewski identifies this as "the end of the social market economy" (p. 152). Erhard proved a generally ineffective chancellor. Despite a more reasonable foreign policy, Mierzejewski suggests, than many have acknowledged, he lacked the political base or skills to pursue an effective economic policy in the growth recession of 1965–1966.

Mierzejewski seems ambivalent about Erhard's character. He admires Erhard's ideology and his firm commitment to it, but he recognizes that Erhard was politically inept and administratively disengaged. He also deplores Erhard's occasional failure to stick to his guns sufficiently.

Mierzejewski's commitment to economic liberalism leads him to ascribe West Germany's economic success solely to Erhard's policies. However, West German economic success, while impressive, was not superior to that of many postwar Western European countries that followed much less liberal policies. Assessing the role of liberal macroeconomic policies in West Germany will require careful comparisons that identify the range of factors that made substantial economic growth the postwar European norm, not the exception.

Mierzejewski's sharp attacks on Erhard's acceptance of pension reform betray a misunderstanding of the "social market economy." For Erhard and most West Germans, the social market economy meant combining free markets with programs to provide social security. Twentieth-century West Germans had seen war, inflation, and depression drive millions into poverty. They knew that in a capitalist economy *every* form of saving is a speculation, and only government programs could guarantee security. Erhard accepted broadly based social programs because he knew that they were necessary and that Germans would not support free markets without such programs.

Although Mierzejewski's book might have benefited from less biographical detail and more historical context, it offers an informative overview of an important figure.

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DAVID F. CREW, editor. *Consuming Germany in the Cold War*. (Leisure, Consumption, and Culture.) New York: Berg. 2003. Pp. xii, 209. Cloth $75.00, paper $25.00.

This book, which emerged from a panel at the German Studies Association (GSA) Annual Meeting in 2000, provides a fresh perspective on the history of consumption, not only by looking at the two Germanies comparatively but by also dealing with the border-crossing desires and intertwined cultural discourses between two antagonistic systems.

Katherine Pence scrutinizes the Leipzig Trade Fairs in the 1950s, which were intended to impress visitors with the technological power of the socialist system but also offered a public space for meetings, exchange, and contacts between citizens of Eastern Europe and the West that the regime had to accept (although of course it tried to curtail such encounters). The comparison between East and West could not be prevented, but Western visitors' hopes that East German citizens would demand a westernized consumer culture were offset by the fact that the fairs also provided, as Pence puts it, a focus for consumer citizens, in particular female shopping "experts," to solidify their coopera-

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tion with the regime by working toward concrete improvements in consumption.

Judd Stitziel tells a story of failure in his article about East German fashion shows. In its ambition to keep pace with or even surpass its capitalist rival, the East German regime tried to create a socialist "clothing culture." Although the socialist fashion designers failed and East Berlin could never keep up with Paris, London, or Milan, the East German govenment had crossed a significant threshold toward modern consumer culture by rejecting the orthodox communist argument that fashion is symbolic of bourgeois decadence. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the dreams created by the German Fashion Institute and the reality of the retail trade was felt sharply by most East German consumers.

Eli Rubin focuses on a similar discrepancy with respect to plastic consumer goods. Because of the continuous shortage of oil as the main raw material, East German plans to raise plastics production per capita never succeeded. Nonetheless the efforts the GDR made to improve and extend the production of everyday plastic consumer goods indicate how much the image of plastics corresponded to mainstream discourse about the connection of socialism, modernity, technology, and functionality.

Jeff R. Schutts focuses on the success story of Coca-Cola in West Germany, where Coke became one of the dominant symbols of a Westernized consumer culture. Forty-five percent of all West Germans polled in 1958 answered that they found the American way of life "not so good," but more than ninety percent admitted three years later that they had tried Coca-Cola; forty-four percent of them drank it "often." In West Germany, Westernization was documented in practice rather than by public confessions. Unfortunately, Schutts has missed an opportunity to research responses to Coca-Cola in East Germany, which might have been an interesting subject for a comparative perspective.

The West German postwar years are usually decribed as an "economic miracle." S. Jonathan Wiesen asks whether there was something unique about the consumer displays and advertising—in particular the annual German industry exhibition in West Berlin and the activities of the Berlin office of the J. Walter Thompson ad agency—that gave life to this miracle. Although there were similarities in form and function to earlier exhibitions, Wiesen emphasizes that West Germany was a postwar society, and, after dictatorship, mass crimes, and devastated cities, West Germans were now able to recuperate a form of economic patriotism. Finally, Robert P. Stephens researches drug consumption in Hamburg during the 1960s.

These essays are preceded by a careful introduction by David F. Crew that spans the scope of postwar consumption in both Germanies. Crew sharpens the focus on the rivalry of economic systems, the legitimation of policy by its ability to create a consumer society, and the diverse ways, especially in East Germany, of becoming consumer citizens. Where the collection falls short is in providing information about Nazi consumer society and the continuation of a *Volksgemeinschaft* mentality after the war. There is no doubt that 1945 represents a deep caesura in German history, but, as Michael Geyer and Konrad Jarausch have recently pointed out, this discontinuity can only be understood within the wider framework of twentieth-century Germany.

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PERTTI AHONEN. *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 313.

In its first decades, as the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) attained a measure of sovereignty within the Western alliance, its relations with Eastern Europe remained tied up in questions about Germany's borders. Those borders were provisional, West German leaders asserted for two decades, relying on a particularly restrictive reading of the declarations of the Potsdam Conference, and could only be settled by a final peace treaty, making any intermediate normalization of relations impossible. West German insistence on these legal arguments, which appeared increasingly unrealistic to most of their allies (and even to many West Germans by the 1960s), obstructed relations with neighbors such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, and with the Soviet bloc as a whole, until Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* after 1969 began a new era.

One barrier to normal relations with Eastern Europe was the Federal Republic's claim to be the sole legitimate German state, and its refusal to maintain diplomatic relations with any state that recognized the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In his perceptive and well-researched book, however, Pertti Ahonen contends that German immobility was attributable not only to the exigencies of the international system (what he calls *Staatsräson* arguments) but also to the domestic political influence of the "expellees" (*Vertriebenen*) who had fled Germany's former eastern territories in the last months of the war. The nearly twelve million expellees, organized in a variety of pressure groups, posed a serious political challenge, as they demanded a return to their traditional *Heimat* and refused to accept that these territories were forever lost. Every major West German political party chose rhetorically to cater to them, promising border revisions both out of electoral calculation and out of fear that these dispossessed and (at least initially) disadvantaged citizens could provide fertile ground for the kind of radical nationalist politics that had doomed the Weimar Republic. No politician was willing to challenge them publicly, even though most admitted privately that the chances of satisfying their demands were negligible. The result was two decades of diplomatic stagnation, and continuing suspicion of German motives in Eastern Europe.

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Ultimately, the expellees, despite their occasionally extreme rhetoric, never became the threat to West German democracy many feared. In part because of their solicitous courting, the major parties gained the loyalty of most of the expellee rank and file, hastening the collapse of the expellee political party (the Union of the Expelled and Disenfranchised, or BHE). Furthermore, federal social policies and increasing prosperity hastened the expellees' integration into West German society by the 1960s. Ahonen concedes that, from this perspective, the efforts to neutralize the expellees were a success. Nonetheless, he argues that West German leaders were unnecessarily timid, and he concludes his discussion with the sobering assessment: "Many subsequent problems at home and abroad could have been avoided had the Federal Republic's elites invested less time in nourishing illusionary hopes and shown more courage in preparing the ground for what they knew would be painful but necessary decisions" (p. 279).

Ahonen's conclusions are convincingly argued, and his book on the whole offers a clear and compelling narrative of the development of expellee organizations and their influence on policy up to 1969, covering the period after 1969 in a brief concluding chapter. Ahonen's focus on the relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy is especially admirable and suggests potential comparisons with other pressure groups both in Germany and elsewhere (such as Cuban exiles in Florida). The only significant criticism, outside of a noticeable (if inevitable) tendency to cast expellee leaders only as fools or knaves, is Ahonen's almost reflexively negative view of Konrad Adenauer. After criticizing Adenauer and others for catering to expellee revanchism with promises of reunification, Ahonen then castigates Adenauer when he urged "patience" on *Ostpolitik*, claiming that this proves he had little interest in unification (p. 126). Ahonen's arguments place him within a rich and complex literature on Adenauer and unification but also risk holding Adenauer to a different standard than other politicians.

That criticism aside, Ahonen's work will be essential reading for all students and scholars of postwar West German politics and diplomacy.

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Jeannette Z. Madarász. *Conflict and Compromise in East Germany, 1971–1989: A Precarious Stability*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xvi, 276. $69.95.

In this important monograph, Jeannette Z. Madarász provides an extremely illuminating, original, and sophisticated analysis of the complex relationship between state and society in East Germany (also known as the German Democratic Republic or GDR) during the period of Erich Honecker's rule. She takes as the basis for her study four social groups: young people, women, writers, and Christians. This combination of age, gender, profession, and religious affiliation enables the reader to compare various sections of GDR society. The book is based on a treasure trove of material from the former East German archives.

Madarász argues that East Germany did not remain stable between 1971 and 1987 because of repression alone. Acceptance of the Communist system by the general population and integration of key social groups through participation in official structures and compromise with the authorities were also essential factors. The author sheds new light on channels of communication between state and society (such as the petitions system) and the ability of certain groups to negotiate with the regime for special privileges. GDR society, according to Madarász, was diverse, differentiated, and capable of articulating its own interests. State officials often felt obliged to bargain with their subjects for the sake of political and social stability. In this way an uneasy equilibrium was achieved in East Germany until Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, destabilized the situation after 1987. The book is therefore a much-needed corrective to accounts written in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War that focused disproportionately on state oppression as the reason for the GDR's survival.

Despite its pioneering research, however, the book does have significant shortcomings. For example, the author launches an exaggerated attack on totalitarian theory, which, whatever its faults, has stood the test of time. Certainly, if one takes a simplistic definition of this term, Madarász has a point. But totalitarianism does not necessarily entail the total repression of society by the state but rather its enforced fusion with state structures. Although totalitarianism might mean slightly different things to different scholars, that is no reason to jettison it altogether.

Perhaps it would have been better to take a more nuanced view and characterize East Germany as an "inefficient bureaucratic" as opposed to "charismatic terrorist" totalitarian state. This would have clearly distinguished the GDR from Adolf Hitler's Germany and Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union, while simultaneously making it plain that the central mission of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) was to control as much of East German society as possible in the name of communist ideology, regardless of its ultimate failure to do so. If one takes totalitarianism as a relative rather than an absolute concept, Honecker's GDR was undoubtedly one of the most totalitarian states in the Soviet bloc, even if it did not reach Orwellian standards of perfection. Of course, it is all too easy to find fault with existing concepts and much more difficult to come up with new ones. Since the author does not attempt to do this, her book lacks a theoretical framework. To simply describe the GDR as a "dictatorship" like any other is inadequate since it fails to acknowledge the unprecedented degree to which society was supervised by the state in East Germany.

Madarász also understates the importance of the repressive context within which the compromises she

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elucidates were made. Moreover, her claim that East German society was "viable" and "supported by the majority of the population" (p. 192) is highly contentious. Vicissitudes in the fortunes of the system notwithstanding, it is safe to say that the GDR would have collapsed at any time in its history had the Soviet Union withdrawn its support. The Berlin Wall was in place to stop the state from bleeding to death. Although the author is not seeking to explain why East Germany imploded but why it remained stable for most of the Honecker era, her short section on its demise makes no mention of long-term systemic defects which militated against the state's longevity. Without wishing to downplay the impact of Gorbachev (who was absolutely crucial to the system's destabilization), other factors also deserve a mention. Finally, the writing style is a little monotonous, and the book sometimes repeats itself. Despite these flaws, Madarász has made an important contribution to the growing secondary literature on the GDR.

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IAN REIFOWITZ. *Imagining an Austrian Nation: Joseph Samuel Bloch and the Search for a Multiethnic Austrian Identity, 1846–1919*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs. 2003. Pp. vi, 251. $42.00.

Ian Reifowitz's book examines the "nationality problem" of the Habsburg monarchy through the eyes of Joseph Samuel Bloch and others and summarizes in passing some of the most recent literature on nationalism in general and on the role of the Jews in Austria-Hungary. Bloch emerges from this study as a man of great humanity and vision, someone who, unlike his mentor Adolf Fischhof, for example, did not wish Jews to regard themselves as part of a superior German culture. This may be why some scholars have viewed Bloch as representing a transitional stage in the development of Austrian Jewry between assimilation and Zionism.

According to Bloch, Austrian Jews were to see themselves as politically Austrian, ethnically (he did not believe in the concept of "race") as Jewish, and culturally as whatever they chose. Politically "the mission of Israel" (p. 132) was to fight ethnic prejudice and to promote "the consanguinity of one single family of peoples to which we all belong—the Slav, the Teuton, the Roman, the man of brown or red or yellow complexion" (p. 132). Jews in fighting for the rights of Jews would be fighting for human rights, democracy, and an Austrian *Rechtstaat* (constitutional state). Bloch vigorously defended the monarchy ("for Jews the happiest Fatherland," p. 134) but as late as October 4, 1918, he still hoped to see a decentralized and democratic Habsburg Empire emerge from World War I. Only on November 5, 1918 did he declare (p. 158) that "the past is over."

Bloch always condemned the idea of the nation-state: "The nationality principle has, so far as it has been carried out to this point in Europe, brought nothing other than severe calamity" (p. 141). He demanded an "Austrian state patriotism ... completely without regard to nationality or confession" (p. 143).

Reifowitz compares Bloch's ideas with those of several other commentators on the nationality problem: Fischhof, Iakiv Holovatskyj, Frantisek Palacký, Joseph Eötvös, Aurel Popovici, Karl Renner, and Otto Bauer. None of this leads to any new conclusions, but reinforces the now established view that reformers simply wanted to reform the monarchy, not to overthrow it: there was a significant consensus, in other words, across political and ethnic lines on the need to preserve a multi-ethnic Austrian state and create some form of common supra-ethnic identity, a consensus that suggests that the people of the monarchy might have been able to resolve their differences and reform the Austrian state, if only their ruler had given them the opportunity and the authority to do so. In the end it was not the Habsburg monarchy but the Habsburgs (particularly Franz Joseph) who failed.

I reached the same conclusion several years ago in my *Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918* (1989) and defended it in the second edition of that book (2001). In an attempt to boost his own originality, however, Reifowitz attacks me for somehow failing to recognize the corrosive strength of the nationality problem: "[Sked] ignored the fact that military defeat alone does not explain why peoples rejected the multiethnic state along with the dynasty. For example, although the German and Russian monarchies also fell as a result of defeat in the First World War, Germany and Russia continued to exist, albeit in different forms" (p. 12). In fact, all the empires had the same experience. Germany lost its French, Danish, and Polish subjects, while Russia lost its Polish, Moldavian, Finnish, and Baltic subjects (not to mention the messy situation elsewhere). The real difference was that whereas the Germans and Russians made up the majority of their empires' populations, Austria's Germans constituted a mere twenty-five percent of the population of Austria-Hungary. However, the nationality principle deprived them all of their multinational character as well as their dynasties.

Reifowitz makes two other significant errors. He explains "k.k." as "kaiserlich *und* königlich" ("imperial *and* royal"), thus displaying an uncommon ignorance of Hungarian history (p. 153, fn. 531). Then he states—quite falsely—that it was the Ukrainian peasantry that frustrated the Polish revolt of 1846 (p. 171, fn. 575). In fact, the peasantry involved were Poles. Overall, however, the book's exposition of Bloch's ideas is to be welcomed.

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MAUREEN HEALY. *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I.* (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 17.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 333. $75.00.

Subjected to a relentless Allied naval blockade during World War I, the Central Powers were woefully short of food, fuel, clothing, and other essentials, especially during the last two years of the war. Among the major cities, none suffered greater hardships than the capital of Austria, a suffering made particularly galling by the awareness of the Viennese that, within the Austro-Hungarian partnership, the inhabitants of Budapest had considerably less to complain about. This unhappy fate, and even more the perception of and the reaction to that misfortune, constitute the essence of Maureen Healy's important study. Analyzing an amazing amount of primary source materials mainly in the Vienna state, military, and municipal archives, Healy makes clear that her purpose is to examine "state-citizen encounters 'from below' in Vienna during the final years of Habsburg rule" (p. 13). Her theses are that "hunger, violence, and a deterioration of social norms . . . left Vienna nearly ungovernable" and that "the city fell before the state collapsed in a military and diplomatic sense in the autumn of 1918." Healy does not say, but it ensues inevitably from her theses—provided that they can be proven true—that the post-World War I right-wing critics of the catastrophe in 1918 were correct in claiming that it was the *Hinterland*, the home front, that had undermined a fighting army and a still functioning administration.

The author explains well such particular dilemmas confronted by the Austro-Hungarian administration during the war as that there were three competing power centers: the Austrian prime minister, the Hungarian prime minister, and the military high command. Another specifically Austro-Hungarian problem was that there, unlike in nation-states, the ideas of state and fatherland could not be reconciled. Consequently, the Viennese were engaged in mini-wars on many fronts with the state and the municipal authorities; the Hungarian government, which, it was felt, withheld food from the Viennese; the Austrian farmers who were accused of doing the same; rich people in general; Czechs, Jews, and other nationals residing in the city; refugees from the eastern parts of the monarchy; and their own next-door neighbors, who always seemed to be better off. Interestingly, the only person to escape criticism was the ruler himself. This was true not only of the venerable Francis Joseph but, even more, of the young and inexperienced Charles who succeeded his great-uncle in November 1916, and who became for the Viennese a veritable father figure.

Healy pursues such fascinating topics as censorship, both spontaneous and official; wild rumors circulating among the population; and the imperial propaganda building up, among other things, the image of the "heroic child," ready to sacrifice himself or herself for the soldiers. She appealingly describes a gigantic war exhibit in Vienna, complete with captured guns and an orchestra of war invalids equipped with state-of-the-art prosthetic limbs. Mostly, however, the author deals with the enormous extent of popular discontent, for which her main sources are the petitions, complaints, and denunciations that inundated the authorities during the war and from which Healy concludes that the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy "was even more deeply internal than previously imagined" (p. 300). But here is precisely where the problem lies: petitions, complaints, and denunciations are written by a particular type of people; to draw general conclusions from their arguments would be just as wrong as accepting governmental propaganda at face value. The author admits that 25,616 Viennese died in service but does not say that the Viennese regiments had an excellent reputation. She admits that 6,000 policemen served in Vienna throughout the war but fails to consider that this number was proportionally far smaller than the number of policemen in peacetime New York City—and yet, there were no major riots, no uprisings in Vienna so long as Austria-Hungary existed. Most importantly, Healy should have considered that Germany and the Dual Monarchy lost the war not because they had been stabbed in the back, as General Erich Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler liked to say, but because the economy of the Central Powers had run out of resources, and because their armies had been defeated by a better equipped enemy in the West, in Italy, and in the Balkans. Such caveats do not question the convincing proofs that the author marshals on the suffering of Vienna's starving proletarian children; nor do they diminish the extraordinary informative value of Healy's work.

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NANCY BISAHA. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 309. $59.95.

How did Italian humanists view the Ottoman Turks, before and after Mehmed II captured Constantinople in 1453? Did they simply echo earlier medieval anti-Muslim polemics, as Norman Daniel affirmed? Was their interest in the Turks merely an anomalous sideline to their "genuine" humanistic pursuits, as other scholars have claimed? Nancy Bisaha argues convincingly against both of these points of view, showing how humanists wove their knowledge of the classics and of medieval texts on Islam to form new visions of the Turk.

There is much continuity with medieval images of "Saracens": Francesco Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, and others portray the Turks as idolatrous pagans; various authors have them worship Satan. More frequently, they use such time-worn terms as "infidels" and "enemies of the faith." Many reiterate medieval polemical diatribes against Muhammad (presented as

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a false prophet and lascivious heresiarch), denigrate the rites and practices of Islam (seen as "carnal" in contrast with the "spiritual" rites of Christendom), and present Muslims as irrational, semihuman creatures. The crusading ideal is alive and well among humanists, who exhort princes to take up the cross and fight the Turk. A number of them present Charlemagne as a role model for latter-day crusaders, evoking his mythic conquests of Saracen Spain and Jerusalem. The history of earlier crusades, in particular the capture of Jerusalem during the first crusade, is also held up for emulation, and the heroes of that crusade (Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond of Taranto) presented as paragons.

The humanists differ from their predecessors in creatively recasting these oppositions in the language and mental categories of the classics. The preferred term for the Turks becomes "barbarians," and parallels with ancient history abound: the Turks are comparable with (or worse than) the Goths and Vandals who sacked Rome. Mehmed is worse than the Persian emperors Darius and Xerxes, affirms Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II), since the Persians fought only men, while the Turk destroys libraries and churches. Aeneas is one of a number of humanists to portray Turks as enemies of culture, who gratuitously destroy the manuscripts and the monuments of Greece. Whereas many medieval authors expressed admiration for the learning and culture of the "Saracens," many humanists, for whom the Greek and Latin classics are the measure of "true" culture, express contempt for Turkish and Arabic learning; Petrarch famously proclaimed that nothing good could come from Arabia. Classical history provided role models for Christian princes. For Poggio Bracciolini, if Mehmed is Xerxes, Alfonso of Naples is the new Themistocles: just as the Athenian leader stopped the Persian in his tracks, Alfonso should rout the Turks and expel them from Europe.

Some scholars tried to bring the Turks into humanist discourse by conferring upon them a clear place in classical ethnography. Were the Turks' ancestors Trojans or Scythians? For Aeneas, they come from the Scythians, whom he presents as a ferocious people born of the infamous union of demons and witches; their barbarity is reflected in their sexual degeneracy and in their diet, which includes mares, vultures, wolves, and aborted fetuses. With ancestors like these, the Turks' barbarism can come as no surprise. Others preferred granting the Turks nobler forebears, eschewing the non-classical term "Turci" in favor of "Teucri," "Trojans." One epic poet, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, justified Mehmed's capture of Constantinople as revenge against the Greeks for their destruction of Troy. While few went so far, other scholars accepted the Trojan ancestry of the Turks, which made them relatives of the Romans and the French and argued against any innate barbarity. Salutati affirms that the Turks possess more of the valor of the ancient Romans than do his Italian contemporaries.

Bisaha throughout gives a careful and thoughtful analysis of the writings of humanists from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At times she exaggerates the novelty of their perspectives, as her knowledge of medieval texts is often second-hand—in particular via Daniel, whose perspective she criticizes. It would have worthwhile, for example, to present the work of Dominican missionary Riccoldo da Monte Croce, whose name crops up several times as an important source for humanist authors; good critical editions and recent studies of Riccoldo's work exist (they are not cited). Bisaha presents the careers of Greek scholars in Italy, carefully analyzing what they have to say about Turks and Islam, but she says nothing about the tradition in which they were writing; she is unfamiliar with important scholarship on Byzantine polemics against Islam (in particular by Alain Ducelier and Adel-Théodore Khoury). Also missing from her bibliography is Mustafa Soykut's *Image of the Turk in Italy* (2001). Some of the continuities with earlier perceptions have escaped Bisaha's notice. When George of Trebizond presents Mehmed II as an apocalyptic figure who will convert to Christianity and unite the world under the true faith, or when Aeneas exhorts Mehmed to become a new Constantine by converting, these are common tropes: many a medieval author expressed similar hopes about Muslim leaders such as Kerbôgha, Saladin, or al-Kâmil. Bisaha's well-written and cogent book is an important contribution to the history of East-West relations.

JOHN TOLAN
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LORENZO POLIZZOTTO. *Children of the Promise: The Confraternity of the Purification and the Socialization of Youths in Florence 1427–1785*. (Oxford-Warburg Studies.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 381.

Lorenzo Polizzotto has made a graceful contribution to a crowded field of study. Over the last thirty years, the history of Italian religious confraternities has developed into an academic industry. Scholars have identified at least twelve ideal types of lay brotherhood and sisterhood; assessed the significance of their public and private rituals, their theatrical productions, and their musical performances; related them to the societies in which they arose and the structures of power and patronage to which they contributed; analyzed their changing membership and their tendencies toward aristocracy or oligarchy; and described their encounters with an increasingly authoritarian ecclesiastical hierarchy. Polizzotto has done these things and more, assisted by his own and other historians' detailed knowledge of the vicissitudes of Florentine politics.

Confraternities in general were associations of lay persons combining to amass a fund of religious merit and prepare for death and judgment by doing good and avoiding evil. They were capable of performing every kind of virtuous action that appeared to procure

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the salvation of souls (their own and other people's) and incidentally minister to the good of society. Polizzotto discusses the fortunes of one specimen of a type of confraternity concerned with the education of young people. In Florence, children and adolescents were sometimes seen—especially in Savonarola's time—not just as potential disturbers of the peace but as the uncorrupted element in society through whom the elect nation might be reborn. It may be (this is a speculation with which Polizzotto might disagree) that cities such as Venice, which put a higher premium on age and experience, were much less inclined to give young people their head and chose to deal with them in less imaginative ways.

Florence's youth companies (there were nine by the close of the fifteenth century) addressed themselves to unruly and impressionable schoolboys, apprentices, and laborers; the age range of full members was originally between twelve and eighteen but was later extended to as much as twenty-four, as if to carry young men to the verge of their political majority. Seeking to distract their charges from wild pasttimes and dubious sexual experiments, the youth companies—as did most confraternities—drew up long lists of prohibitions. But they were no pious killjoys and offered something much broader than a narrowly professional education. They strove (as though in accordance with humanistic theories) to instill both religious and civic virtue by giving the boys opportunities to learn by acting in sacred plays, preaching their own sermons, playing and singing, and gaining a little administrative experience. Responsible adults (a spiritual director and a lay governor) supervised the company, but minor offices, briskly rotated as in the Florentine republic itself, were open to the youths.

There may be a sense of déjà vu here, because Richard Trexler opened up the theme some years ago, and Polizzotto's book on the brotherhood dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin is a companion to a detailed study by Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411–1785* (1998). But, like Eisenbichler, Polizzotto has the versatility to describe vividly and analyze with skill the shows presented by his chosen company, and he explores effectively some of the half-hidden and mildly subversive political allusions lurking in sixteenth-century plays. Like Eisenbichler he scores highly by his diligence in carrying the story far beyond the Renaissance and even the Catholic Reformation up to the point at which virtually all Florentine companies were dissolved in the 1780s. Contrasts between the companies of Raphael and of the Purification come across clearly: the Savonarolan tendencies of the Purification are well explored, and there is a convincing account of the process by which the Purification turned, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, away from youth education and toward much more traditional good works. Interestingly—perhaps the point deserves more comment than Polizzotto gives it—the company and its associates did not pursue the more avant-garde forms of redemptive charity that sought to reshape the character and conduct of undesirables. Rather, they took up the works of corporal mercy, including reception of pilgrims, clothing of the naked, and burial of the dead; it was as if they were abandoning the ideals of the Renaissance and returning to the Middle Ages.

Brian Pullan
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K. J. P. Lowe. *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 437. $90.00.

This carefully researched book takes as its point of departure the study of three convent chronicles from Venice, Florence, and Rome, and uses these as a window into convent life in the early modern period. Such chronicles were traditionally written by nuns living within the convent walls, and were designed to tell the history of the convent up to the present. K. J. P. Lowe plumbs these chronicles for insight into both early modern religious life and these women's vision of the past and their convents' place in wider society. The value of such sources, she believes, lies partly in the integrity of the female voices whose fresh accounts of convent life contrast with sources traditionally used by convent scholars that are typically "records of the controlling organs of the catholic church" (p. 1).

The chronicles vary widely in length, style, and origin, and thus allow Lowe to establish regional differences and similarities among the three convents under investigation. Like the chronicles, archival information about these convents varies, which means Lowe's conclusions are necessarily bounded by the limitations of the sources. Some contrasts among these three convents, and their cities, emerge. The chronicler of Santa Maria delle Vergini in Venice reveals a virulent antisemitism and contempt for women with non-noble or Jewish ancestry. By contrast, the Florentine convent Le Murate may have contained, and welcomed, a more diverse population of women. Lowe also finds significant certain customs, as in the choice of names given to the women who took religious vows and the degree to which they kept those names, or assumed new ones, when they became nuns.

The chronicles and the context Lowe provides for them underscore how rich convent life could be. Women's agency here was always at risk of suppression by civic and ecclesiastical authorities, but they managed to exercise it nonetheless, sometimes in inventive ways. The women who wrote the chronicles were making use of a traditional and accepted form of female self-expression to do something more: create a history, affect public policy, express personal opinions. Other nuns found different methods of self-expression, ranging from sexual activity to decorating private living quarters with skulls.

Lowe handles these challenging sources with great sensitivity. She checks what facts she can by cross-

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referencing the chronicles with other archival material and also locates the chronicles in the context of Counter-Reformation Italy. All three convents faced increasing restrictions with the ecclesiastical reforms of the sixteenth century. The Venetian and Florentine convents opposed the reforms, while the Roman one adapted to the changes more smoothly. It was in response to these changes, Lowe asserts, that the Venetian chronicle linked its convent's foundation to the 1177 Peace of Venice, in order to bind the convent's history, and future, to that of the Venetian Republic.

The women who wrote these chronicles came from different backgrounds, but all reveal considerable erudition and creative ability. The orations from the Venetian chronicle, which span four centuries, are an example of the way Lowe manages to balance comparisons among the three chronicles with attention to the individual merits (and quirks) of each. Despite the chronological span of these orations, Lowe finds some interesting patterns. Two themes that are repeated are "the abbess as a mother figure, and the reluctance of the person elected to take up office." The specific Venetian example informs a larger point Lowe is making about the chronicles' significance, not simply as records of conventual life but also as evidence of the role of women as chroniclers of history and of women's place in that history, topics with particular resonance regarding women religious.

Lowe's exploitation of these chronicles and her support of them through additional archival research is impressive. Surprising is her lack of engagement with other scholars of Italian convents, a field that has exploded in the last several years. Despite this, the book adds much to the fields of religious, women's, and early modern social and cultural history. More specifically, readers of this work will emerge with a deeper appreciation of the richness and complexity of convent life in this period.

Monica Chojnacka
University of Georgia

Bradley F. Abrams. *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism.* (The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. viii, 363. $79.00.

The communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, a country known for its democratic exceptionalism during the interwar era, has long attracted the interest of historians of the region. With this intellectual history of Czechoslovakia's postwar political culture, Bradley F. Abrams makes a valuable addition to the historiography of the topic. He argues that the communist *coup d'état* of February 1948 epitomizes the culmination of a fundamental break in modern Czech history, but not the break itself. Rather, the Munich Conference and World War II caused a rupture in Czech cultural, political, and social development that became visible only in 1945, when these experiences sparked changes that facilitated the communist seizure of power. The weakness of Czechoslovakia's postwar democratic opposition was both reflected in and contributed to the creation of that country's new, communist-dominated political culture.

Abrams fruitfully expands the discussion of postwar politics in Czechoslovakia by focusing on four groups of intellectuals: communist, democratic socialist, Protestant, and Roman Catholic. Only the last-named opposed the construction of the new political culture Abrams delineates, but these Roman Catholic intellectuals were too weak a force to pose any real threat to it. The events between 1938 and 1945 enabled a communist-enforced reinterpretation of the meaning of the nation, its organization, and its orientation. By participating in this reinterpretation, noncommunist intellectuals helped contribute to the weakening of the Czechs' democratic defenses. Czech intellectuals—communist and noncommunist—presided over a shift in Czech orientation—one that included scathing criticism of the interwar republic and "liberal democracy"—from the West to the Slavic and socialist East. These intellectuals condemned the West's betrayal at Munich, while praising the Soviet Union for its physical and moral strength during the war. They supported—or, at least, tolerated—the post-1945, communist-dominated government as a corrective to the perceived weaknesses of the First Republic.

Abrams contributes to our understanding of postwar political culture with his examination of communist efforts to create a new Czechoslovakia through reinterpretation of key Czech historic figures and holidays. He traces the fortunes of two dates: October 28, 1918, commemorating Czechoslovak independence, and the most important holiday on the secular calendar of the First Republic; and May 5, 1945, the Prague Uprising. Many Communist Party members considered the latter date to represent the state's true independence. They designated it the "May Revolution," and sought to tie it to the Russian Revolution of 1917. In what was partially a shift in generational loyalties, May 5 came to be interpreted as overcoming or completing October 28. The communist challenge to the primacy of October 28 as a foundational date was not new, of course. During the interwar period, the communists had opposed to it what they considered the revolutionary uprising of the proletariat on October 14, 1918.

Nor was the communist attempt to appropriate the legacy of the Czech national hero, the reforming Bohemian priest Jan Hus, which Abrams insightfully discusses, new to the postwar era. Having argued between the wars that the Czech national bourgeoisie had attempted to highjack the Hussite tradition during the late nineteenth century in their battle with the Germans for primacy in the Bohemian lands, the communists now claimed Hus for the working people. Similarly, the communist interpretation of the German defeat in World War II as atonement for the Battle of White Mountain has its antecedents in the interwar

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rhetoric of atonement for the same battle: the Czech Legionnaires fighting on the side of the Russians victorious over Habsburg forces at the Battle of Zborov on July 2, 1917.

Making more connections between the post-1945 Czech experience and the political milieu of the late Habsburg monarchy and early First Republic could have enriched this important volume. Closer reading of Czech and German nationalist-political rhetoric beginning in the late nineteenth century might have provided a partial explanation of the results of a survey in which Czechs ranked "the present time" (1946) third behind the Hussite era and the reign of fourteenth-century King Charles IV as the most glorious periods in Czech history (pp. 98–99). The Czechs had emerged victorious from the recently ended war with relatively little damage except to their national psyche. Neighboring Germany lay in ruins and the Germans of the Bohemian lands were vanquished, their assets seized and distributed to the remaining residents of Czechoslovakia. In short, the Bohemian lands had become Czech.

By carefully reconstructing the development of postwar political culture in Czechoslovakia, Abrams lays to rest any remaining notion of a top-down imposition of communism by Soviet outsiders, who together with a few domestic fellow travelers subverted Czechoslovakia in 1948. As he demonstrates, the Communist Party had broad popular support in Czechoslovakia. Clearly written and well argued, this volume should be of interest to modern European historians as well as to those involved in Cold War and communist/postcommunist studies.

NANCY M. WINGFIELD
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ÁRPÁD VON KLIMÓ. *Nation, Konfession, Geschichte: Zur nationalen Geschichtskultur Ungarns im europäischen Kontext, 1860–1948*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 117.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 453. €59.80.

Thinking with history is not only a special crop of meaning-making in the infinite fields of epistemological inquiry but, as Carl Schorske convincingly argues, a complex historical phenomenon that emerged in a particular epoch of European culture. The passion for history in the Western world, as elsewhere, came along with modernity, and it is little wonder that its successive waves as well as its decline are bound to the changes of the modern mind. Besides its dependency on a certain chronology of modern European and American civilization, *Historismus* (as Ernst Troeltsch and Friedrich Meinecke put it once) or *Geschichtskultur* (as Árpád von Klimó in the footsteps of Wolfgang Hardtwig and Jörn Rüsen, defines it now) is also a multifaceted cultural practice. As such, it produces different *lieux de mémoires*, rituals, and regularly held festive times, and indeed it obeys the ideological assumptions that created it. As in the case of the young German and Italian nation-states, the nineteenth-century cultivation of history in Hungary (the object of Klimó's book) revolved most often around the concept of the nation, and the goodness of the nation was measured by the extent to which its mission was fullfilled. Thus we enter the kingdom of the sacred: what role to assign to the churches (in the multidenominational Hungarian case, the protagonists were the Roman Catholics and the biggest Calvinist church of Europe) and to their providing a language to express the high expectations and deep longings of the nation in the process of constructing "imagined communities"?

Not very long ago, Eric Hobsbawm's phrase "the invention of tradition" dominated the historians' horizon, meaning not only a complete break with premodern societies but also irreversible secularization. Similarly, in Ernest Gellner's view, nationalism as a modern ideology took the place of religion to ensure the coherence of the blooming industrial society. The established canons of the secularization thesis have recently come under heavy fire from social historians like Hugh McLeod or Lucian Hölscher, and Anthony D. Smith has developed the idea of long-term sacred sources of national identity. Klimó does not accept the premises of the secularist Hobsbawm, judging them too dichotomous even though his own quest departs from a functional approach. Drawing the opposing concepts (in his wording, "ideal-types") of the Catholic cult of Saint Stephen, founder of the medieval Hungarian state, and the liberal-nationalist cult of the 1848 Revolution and War of Independence cherished by Protestants, he seeks to demonstrate how the churches gained and lost momentum in the battle for the monopoly of the national *Deutungshoheit* (ideological supremecy). Ultimately neither strategy prevailed, although their secularist replacements (especially, after 1945 Stalinist hero worship) also failed.

Klimó's rather unusual choice for a chronological departure (1860 instead of 1867, the year of the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*) seems to be justified insofar it takes into account the whole European context of mid-nineteenth-century nation-building and the latter's criss-crossings with nascent modernization. He analyzes the Hungarian pecularities in a broad framework of both political and intellectual history and on the basis of vast archival and literary sources, which he masters elegantly and profitably. One cannot deny how pioneering such an approach is for Hungarian historiography. For instance, besides shedding new light on the Hungarian "Kulturkampf," Klimó's discussion of the struggle between Catholics and Protestant liberals over the establishment of national holidays in the 1890s gives evidence of the churches' skillful use of modern tools in their efforts to preserve or renew their influence in a rapidly changing society. The same applies for the churches' responses to the colossal political changes that occured in 1945, clearly reflected in the author's observations of the metamorphoses of the Saint Stephen cult after 1945.

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In the concluding chapter, Klimó summarizes the major developments of contemporary Hungarian history that increasingly push the public to transcend historical or confessional identities. Yet the question arises whether this is the final word; despite its antiquarian dress, the encounter between Clio and the churches was also a blending of the new and the old.

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PATRICE M. DABROWSKI. *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 312. $45.00.

In 1772, on the eve of the partitioning of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Prussian, Habsburg, and Russian empires, the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau told Poles to do whatever was necessary to "establish the republic in the Poles' own hearts" (p. 11). A century later, Polish patriots embarked on just this project. The failure of the 1863 January uprising had given impetus to a shift in emphasis from military rebellion to "nation-building from within" (p. 15). In this book, Patrice M. Dabrowski engagingly tells the story of the anniversaries and jubilees organized by Polish activists in the three and a half decades preceding World War I. She begins in 1879, with the fiftieth jubilee of the novelist Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in Cracow. The Habsburg city became a Polish mecca, a site of national pilgrimage. Just over a decade later, the great Polish Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz's remains were reburied in the Wawel crypt there. Activists commemorated Mickiewicz with bronze monuments, and heroic battles (the 1683 relief of Vienna, the 1794 Battle of Racąwice, the 1410 Battle of Grunwald) with paintings and panoramas. Glorious moments were found even of failed uprisings, and these became the focus of souvenirs, artwork, and festivals. In short, Dabrowski argues, patriots willfully constructed a "celebratory public sphere."

Commemorations were often fraught with factional antagonisms and imperial restrictions, and underlying the narration of this conflict-laden history is the author's implicit question: would the Poles pull together? Would Polish nation-building prevail? Dabrowski's answer is clear: yes. Despite censorship and persecution by imperial authorities, often ambivalent responses from the church, hesitance on the part of conservative elites loyal to the imperial powers, disagreements about the great poet Mickiewicz's true legacy, and disputes among nationalists, populists, and socialists, the commemorations were a success. They inspired the formation of nationally-conscious societies, such as the Towarzystwo Szkoy Ludowej (People's School Society), which devoted its efforts to the education of the peasantry. They also provided a site for performances by patriotic gymnastics societies, which taught discipline, functioned symbolically as ersatz armies, and eventually served as precursors to the authentic military formations that emerged with World War I. In this way the stateless Poles achieved a sense of national unity and succeeded in preparing themselves for independence. The author argues for the efficacy of these commemorations, which forged national solidarity throughout three empires, integrated the peasantry, and enabled Poles to "come together so easily to form a united state after World War I" (p. 16).

Dabrowski maintains further that these commemorations were not the "invention of tradition" but rather the "reinvention," for Poles were a "historic" nation (in Karl Marx's term), and they did have a real past, which provided raw material for the nineteenth-century patriots "grappl[ing] with a uniquely Polish predicament: that of having the mind of a large nation in a stateless body" (p. 7). In the mid-nineteenth century, the peasants did not consider themselves to be members of a Polish nation at all. Yet their participation in these commemorations rose steadily; they came with time to think of themselves as Poles. In fact, the narrative Dabrowski presents is more generally one of a progressive increase in national feeling: ever greater numbers of participants; ever greater national identification on the part of the peasants; ever greater belief in a brighter future. Here the author sketches as her backdrop the rise of mass politics and of modern, ethnic-based nationalism. Poles were part of these trends, and the Polish nation that emerged in the early twentieth century—unlike its early modern predecessor—included the peasant masses while excluding many (Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, and Belarusians) who had once belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This book is a sound contribution to an already substantial literature on historical memory and nationalism, and a valuable companion to books such as *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, edited by Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (2001). Dabrowski's book departs from other works about Polish nationalism and nation-building in its shift of focus from intellectuals to the broader (albeit sometimes amorphous) public, and the latter's response to national activists. Her narration is lucid and very readable, enthusiastic, perhaps in places overly sentimental. The book is solidly researched, and the strong archival base provides many new and colorful details that will undoubtedly be of interest not only to historians of Poland, but also to historians interested in memorials, festivals, and the shaping of national memory.

MARCI SHORE
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ANTONY POLONSKY and JOANNA B. MICHLIC, editors. *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland*. Princeton: Princeton Uni-

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versity Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 489. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

JONATHAN HUENER. *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979*. (Polish and Polish-American Sutdies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2003. Pp. xxvi, 326. Cloth $44.95, paper $24.95.

The Holocaust has long held a tenuous position in Polish historiography. An event whose origins lie outside of Poland, but that occurred largely on Polish territory, the destruction of European Jewry has never fit neatly into Poles' collective memory. Instead, the Polish wartime narrative encompasses the simultaneous attack and occupation of its two powerful neighbors, abandonment by the West, devastating population loss, heroic resistance, and a half century of communist hegemony. This model of victimhood and national sacrifice has left little room for a close examination of the Polish role in Jewish mass murder. The two books under review form part of a recent effort to remedy this lacuna by interrogating "dark moments" in the Polish national past.

Jonathan Huener's narrative of Auschwitz commemoration in early postwar Poland demonstrates the dominance of nationalist sentiment in shaping the organization of the state museum. Huener describes four stages of Auschwitz representation, each closely linked with shifting political exigencies in the newly communist state. Immediately following the liberation of Auschwitz by Soviet troops in 1945, the permanent exhibit was established on the site of the base camp (Auschwitz I) rather than at Birkenau, where most Jews met their deaths. The presentation reflected a "Polish-national commemorative idiom" emphasizing Polish (Catholic) martyrdom and marginalizing Jewish suffering and victimization. In the second stage, memory work at Auschwitz was transformed into a tool of Stalinist propaganda. Exhibits focused on the ongoing fascist threat from "the West" and the revolutionary struggle between the Soviet bloc and the capitalist, imperialist powers. After Joseph Stalin's death, official "reclamation" of the Auschwitz site began (Huener's stage three), and commemoration focused primarily on resistance fighters, political prisoners, and Soviet POWs. Three kilometers away, Birkenau, with its gas chambers and crematoria, remained unreconstructed and lacked inscriptions or explanations. Only during the fourth and final commemorate stage documented here, the internationalization of the site beginning in the late 1960s, did the specific sufferings of Jews become the focus of commemorative activity. Under pressure from the International Auschwitz Committee, a separate exhibit devoted to the "Martyrology and Struggle of the Jews" was opened in block 27 of Auschwitz I in 1968. Even here, Huener argues, the exhibition effectively integrated Jewish suffering and death into a Polish nationalist framework by emphasizing Polish aid to Jews and solidarity between the two "victim" groups. The late 1960s also marked a renewed emphasis on Birkenau, as annual commemorations of the Jewish experience were staged here. Nonetheless, Huener stresses, the paradigmatic emphasis on Polish national memory and on Catholic martyrdom continued to dominate Auschwitz representation through 1979.

Huener's account represents a fascinating introduction to a sensitive and underresearched topic. His periodization is extremely helpful, and he offers copious documentation to support his claims. Unfortunately, the narrative ends in 1979 with Pope John Paul II's visit to the site and what the author sees as the "beginning of the dissolution" of the nationalist focus. The analysis stops just as controversy over papal crosses, the Carmelite convent, and commercial uses of museum property introduced competing claims about the nature of World War II representation. Huener's proposition that the collapse of communism would bring the return of multiple narratives to the Auschwitz site appears somewhat overly optimistic. Fifteen years after the change of power, the Jewish experience remains segregated from that of the masses of prisoners. Dozens of national exhibits housed in separate facilities largely ignore the fate of their Jewish citizens, and Birkenau continues to be relatively inaccessible and thinly marked. At the same time, by failing to delineate more sharply the existence of multiple narratives in the pre 1979 period, Huener also misses an opportunity to trace the origins and continuity of these competing memory paradigms. Although Polish nationalist or Stalinist commemorative strains may have held interpretive dominance at specific moments, they frequently vied for attention with the narratives of Catholic martyrdom or Jewish extermination. Huener's analysis may overconflate distinct memory strands into a single dominant thread of commemoration and thus fail to assess adequately the counter-narratives that shared public space with the agenda of state committees and party officials.

Focus on the Polish national narrative may also explain Huener's limited attention to larger claims about the Holocaust. Stalinism clearly overshadow emphasis on Jewish genocide in Poland, but the rest of the world was also unwilling to treat Jews as primary victims of Nazism in the 1950s. Alain Resnais's classic 1955 documentary, *Nuit et brouillard*, for example, famously fails to reference Jews as key targets of fascism. By the same token, the sudden willingness of museum officials to focus on Jewish suffering in the 1967 Auschwitz commemoration could be understood in the wider context of the boom in Holocaust studies worldwide in the period following the Adolf Eichmann trial. Nonetheless, Huener's focus on the complexities of the Polish case in extremely welcome. He does a marvelous job of explaining the sources of the Polish government's neglect of Jewish Holocaust representation and provides extraordinary documentation for future researchers. This is an important contribution

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to Polish history and Holocaust studies that opens up countless new opportunities for later exploration.

Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic's edited collection picks up almost precisely where Huener's study leaves off, with an examination of the Holocaust as an event with direct implications for the way Poles understand their own society. The editors have assembled some of the most important documents from the explosion of public discussion that followed Jan Gross's revelation that ethnic Poles slaughtered their Jewish neighbors in the town of Jedwabne during July 1941. They provide a masterful introduction tracing the communist treatment of Jewish history and Holocaust memory, and confirming Huener's argument that Poland's "dark past" was essentially neutralized and silenced in postwar public discussions. The editors see this silencing as part of a larger attempt by the party to present itself as a national body representing the interests of the Polish people. Here and in the introductions to the seven separate groups of essays, they highlight key tropes in Polish responses to this "moment of trauma" and provide the scholarly apparatus for readers to pursue further work. They remind us that the publication of *Neighbors* (2001) presented a "counter memory" to the canonical version of the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish relations. The genocide of Polish Jews can no longer be represented as an integral part of the ethnic Polish tragedy, as reflected in the Auschwitz exhibit, if Polish citizens collaborated with Nazi occupiers in murdering their neighbors. The shift here is from disinterested bystanders to occasionally willing collaborators.

The documents in this volume span the period from 1942 to April 2002. Most are responses to the Polish-language edition of *Neighbors* released in May 2001. Materials are divided into seven sections: initial Polish reporting on the events of Jedwabne; pronouncements of Poland's intellectual elite; statements from Poland's "officialdom"; the debate within the Catholic hierarchy; comments from residents of Jedwabne itself; elaboration by Polish historians; and a selection of comments from the extensive discussion of Jedwabne outside Poland. With the exception of the last category, all of the documents are written by Poles, including commentary from Gross himself. The collection makes four distinct contributions. First, it provides English-speaking readers access for the first time to the wide-ranging and passionate debate in Poland prompted by the release of Gross's book. A reading of the original text of *Neighbors* is incomplete without an understanding of the storm of self-reflection it set off within Polish society. Indeed, the pronouncements here from the polish president, prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and Catholic primate suggest the depth of the public upheaval the book engendered. Second and related to this, the collection offers insight into the complex of Polish attitudes toward Jews, helping to flesh out the rhetorical landscape in which Jedwabne took place and was discussed. Third, the materials fill important gaps in Gross's presentation of the massacres. Scholars such as Tomasz Strzembosz, Jerzy Jedlicki, Tomasz Szarota, and Dariusz Stola elaborate on Polish resentment of the Soviet occupation, efforts to appease Nazi overlords after June 1941, and the Gestapo strategy to mobilize local collaborators in support of genocide.

Fourth and most critically, this collection provides a roadmap for research on Polish behavior during the war. The revelations remind us at minimum of the intricacies of the already complex mosaic of Polish-Jewish relations before and during the war. The public debate surrounding the Jedwabne incident opens up uncharted territory in the previously "silent zones" of Polish history. As political freedom in Eastern Europe begets intellectual freedom, Poland is beginning to tell its past to itself anew. Now that this particular "shameful episode" is being integrated into the historical record, scholars are liberated to reexamine other aspects of World War II and the communist era. As with Auschwitz commemoration, the national paradigm no longer suffices to encompass the range of Polish historical experience.

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MARIA TODOROVA, editor. *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 374. $40.00.

In this collection of seventeen essays, Maria Todorova has assembled and edited some of the most interesting and methodologically sophisticated essays ever to come out of Balkan studies. The strengths of the volume are its variety of national contexts (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Turkey), its interdisciplinarity (anthropology, cultural studies, ethnology, literature, history, sociology, and political science), and its unity of purpose. The three sections of the volume revolve around a set of questions: how are historical memories among individuals, groups, and nations created? What are the sites and repositories of historical memories? How are such memories transmitted and commemorated, by whom, and for what purpose?

The common theoretical, methodological, and historical ground upon which the authors tread is well laid out by Todorova in her introduction. She conceptualizes the Balkans as a heterogeneous place where Ottoman, nationalist, and socialist legacies and their memories compete with, intersect with, and bypass each other in all of the region's ethnic and national communities. The reader easily sees the shifting historical terrain that at any point in time could have or will lead to a different set of identities for the peoples of this region. As Todorova explains, "the most important conclusion which follows . . . is that legacies are not perennial, let alone primordial" (p. 16). The essays that follow explore the significance and particular manifestations of these legacies and demonstrate the contingent nature of local and national identities.

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The first section explores the creation of individual, local, and national identities. Milica Bakić-Hayden's chapter on the evolution of the myths surrounding the Battle of Kosovo and Robert Shannon Peckham's essay on the erasure of Greece's regional experiences by nation-builders share a common theme. Both essays examine how dominant narratives, championed by nineteenth century nation-builders, came into existence, and how they subsumed alternate narratives of regional and historical experience. Individual and communal memories that shape notions of self and belonging inform Leyla Neyzi's essay dealing with the life history of a Kurdish woman in contemporary Turkey; Negris Canefe's chapter exploring communal memory among Turkish Cypriots living abroad and throughout Turkey; and Stephanie Schwanders-Sievers's examination of local institutions and structures reimagined and reconstructed by two disparate communitites in Albania—mountain villagers in the north and Aromanians (Vlachs) in the southern city of Korça. Emerging from these individual and communal narratives is the importance of temporal reference points for shaping or prohibiting a sense of belonging to a national community and of the power of spatial points of reference. Thus the reader not only must be aware of the significance of 1938 for Kurds in Turkey and 1974 for Turkish Cypriots but be able to imagine how a reminiscence about a house, a village, a piece of land, and exile shape one's understanding of belonging or isolation. The final essay in this section, Todorova's study of the trope of "conversion to Islam" in the historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, provides an excellent bridge between the act of creating a historical memory and the act of situating that memory in a specific realm. In this case, the site of memory is an alleged seventeenth-century chronicle (created in the nineteenth century) about the mass Islamization of Bulgarians. Todorova's discussion of Islamization and Islam as a referential point for identity highlights one of the missing objects of historical inquiry in this volume: religion.

The second part of the collection focuses on specific memory sites such as war memorials, public squares and monuments, and tales and myths about national heroes and villains. Two essays, Maria Bucur's study of the Romanian state commemorating its twentieth-century wars and Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin's discussion of the refurbishing of Zagreb's central square by four different political regimes over the past last century, focus on the fixed, external memory sites conceived and constructed by local and national elites. Both authors note that behind these acts of commemoration were the hidden mechanisms of power that operated in the production and consumption of memory sites and the erasure of memory. Heroes and villains feature prominently in many national narratives, and the essays by Anastasia Karakasidou, Keith Brown, and Ivan Čolović explore their value as "venerated national ancestors" or scapegoats and traitors. Karakasidou and Brown situate their studies along the contested border of early twentieth century Macedonia and on the contested bodies of the Greek hero, Pavlos Melas, and the "genius-villian-scapegoat" of the Ilinden Uprising, Boris Sarafov (p. 241). Both authors seek to understand local and national constructions of each figure in order to demystify them. Focusing on the phenomena of mafia affiliated gangsters who returned to fight in the wars of Yugoslav secession, Čolović explores the fusion of the two national tropes in his essay, "Criminal-National Hero?"

The final section of this collection focuses on efforts by nation-builders to instruct and teach specific national narratives and identities to their citizenry. Textbooks are an effective site of such efforts and this section includes three separate case studies on Serbian, Romanian, and Bulgarian textbooks in the 1990s and how each state has reinterpreted, erased, and reified the history and memories of the Ottoman, nationalist, and socialist periods. Costa Carras's essay is not a study of Greek textbooks but a fascinating look at the dominant narrative taught in Greek schools that "intentionally propagated a sense of identity dependent on a long view going back to Antiquity" (p. 294). The first essay in this section, by Diana Mishkova, explores how Serbian and Romanian elites in the nineteenth century shaped, mobilized, and presented their historical pasts and traditions to advance political and economic agendas. Set against the backdrop of the essays that follow, Mishkova reminds the reader that how national elites narrate and present their historical memory and history often translates into political, economic, and social policies.

These essays were originally presented at the conference on "National Memory in Southeastern Europe," held in June 1999 in Greece. From the conference to the publication of this volume, it is clear that Todorova kept her authors engaged with each other and with the current scholarly literature on memory, history, and nationalism. Their efforts to create such a rich and diverse volume must be commended.

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John P. LeDonne. *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 261. $60.00.

John P. LeDonne's latest monograph offers a fresh approach to imperial Russian history. Under the rubric of grand strategy, which, in the author's view, needed not be fully conscious but certainly suited Russia's autocratic structure, he investigates the developing coordination of military, foreign, and economic policies, from the consolidation of power by Peter the Great's father Tsar Aleksei to Nicholas I's suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830–1831. Governed by the notion that Russia represented an "autonomous civilization" competing "within the [Eurasian] heartland with the other two great civilizations of Latin Christianity and Islam" (p. 10), the author justifies his time

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frame as one of almost unbroken expansion to the west, south, and east before the Industrial Revolution placed the empire at a comparative disadvantage.

Perhaps for the sake of organization, he treats the years 1650–1743 as one distinct period ("Formulation of Russia's Grand Strategy," pp. 15–80) before following with the more manageable 1743–1796 ("Hegemonic Expansionism," pp. 85–152) and 1797–1831 ("Territorialization of the Empire," pp. 155–218). To the south, two or more Turkish wars characterized each of these periods, but Russia's chief problems to the west changed in turn from rivalry with Poland to Sweden's hegemony in the Baltic and then to French barrier policies (all in his first period), then to the Prussia of Frederick the Great and immediately after (second period), and finally to France's bid for mastery of Europe. Invariably, Russia's success in meeting a given objective created new problems for military supply and deployment, as well as new opportunities for power projection.

Yet throughout these changing times, the Russian state found ways to further state and strategic interests by using interior and exterior borderland peoples, such as Kalmyk tribesmen or Livonian aristocrats, weaker neighbors such as Sweden after 1721 or Prussia for a while after 1762, and Austria, the "friendly kingdom" (p. 61) most of the time. Invariably Russia projected and aura of "awesomeness" (pp. 139–140) and invincibility. Attending to the sinews of war and external security, LeDonne also takes the reader from Peter the Great's serf-based projects to develop a military-industrial complex to the strategically risky decision not to promote steam-based industry in the early 1800s for fear of its social consequences.

LeDonne systematically traces in prose and maps how the Russian state deployed its troops and simultaneously employed diplomacy with friendly and client states to further provisioning needs. His maps specify the 770 kilometers to Kiev, a further 1300 to Khotin, and the next 1330 for Russians to reach Istanbul; the 1260 kilometers to Warsaw, 1830 to Berlin, and 3000 to Paris; and the 700 kilometers to Kazan, 1420 to Astrakhan, and 2460 to Baku. St. Petersburg was also 700 kilometers from Moscow, and Vilno not much more. This helps the reader follow along as the army deployments shifted from a "fortress Russia" (p. 47) stance radiating from Moscow in 1725, to an echeloned forward array against Poland and Crimea in 1763, to a new forward stationing in 1796 in the lands acquired by Catherine II from Poland and the Ottomans, and back full circle to the post-Napoleonic territorialized defensive stance of a "fortress empire" (pp. 198–218), with troops in core areas, poised as in 1725, to strike westward or southward.

A book of this nature must raise general and specific objections from other specialists to the author's application of a grand strategy approach and his reading of individual events, but that is the stuff for review articles. LeDonne himself is aware of seeming contradictions with his earlier work, *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917* (1997), but he consciously challenges his readers to accept his approach or improve on it. Certainly, for an empire such as Russia, an attempt to identify and elucidate *longue durée* grand strategy, operating behind and parallel to discrete and sometimes ill-conceived policy decisions, serves a useful function, even if, in the last analysis, grand strategy is an elusive notion. At any rate, one can disagree with some of LeDonne's interpretations but still learn and profit immensely from the work under review.

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CHRIS J. CHULOS. *Converging Worlds: Religion and Community in Peasant Russia, 1861–1917.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 201. $42.00.

In the introduction to this fine monograph, Chris J. Chulos states that his topic is "the role of religion among Orthodox peasants in Voronezh province as Russia set out on the bumpy road toward modern nationhood after 1861" (p. 4). He has exhaustively mined archives in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Voronezh, and the voluminous periodical press, as well as other printed sources, and has drawn on the methodologies of social, cultural, and religious history and anthropology. He locates his conclusions, moreover, in the context of the burgeoning literature on religion, culture, society, and national identity in Russia and Europe as a whole. A significant feature of the book is that Chulos consciously sets out to rescue peasant religion from the condescension of older generations of scholars by presenting it in its own terms and in the contexts in which it was practiced. For Chulos, popular religion was "embedded in the foundation of peasant society" (p. 52) and was a source of security in the present and hope for the future as villagers sought to adapt to the changing world in which they lived.

The first four chapters examine popular religion in the villages. Attention is paid to practices associated with the home and village, sorcery and healing, and the relationship among Orthodoxy, Old Belief, and the sects. A chapter is devoted to the importance of religious feasts in marking the passages of the agricultural year and family life. Chulos goes on to argue that popular religion was very important in peasants' understandings of their history and identity, both local and national. Lore concerning the foundation of villages involved saints, such as Demetrios of Salonika and the local Tikhon of Zadonsk, and secular figures, in particular Peter the Great, who visited the province. Villagers thus saw themselves as part of the wider Orthodox and Russian worlds, while retaining their local identities. In the late nineteenth century, moreover, peasants increasingly sought to articulate their interests in their parishes, lodge complaints about incompetent priests, and challenge episcopal authority.

The final three chapters broaden the book's focus.

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Chulos maintains that the growth in pilgrimages to local and national shrines assisted in forging a strong cultural identity rooted in local experience and the ethos of Orthodoxy but did not, in spite of the close connection between Orthodoxy and Russian identity, "create a sense of nation" (p. 81). Religion remained important for many peasants as they became more literate and involved in newer, secular forms of cultural and social life. In the early twentieth century, peasants and clergymen tried to revitalize parish life but found little common ground. Popular religion, nevertheless, survived the demise of the Old Regime in 1917, and endured as a vital part of village life in the early years of Soviet power as "Religion without a Tsar or a Church" (p. 112). Popular religion was, thus, part of the brief Indian summer of peasant society and culture, together with the patriarchal household and village commune, that lasted until they were largely destroyed by Joseph Stalin after 1928.

Throughout the book, Chulos contrasts "village tradition" and "urban enlightenment" and implies that the abolition of serfdom in 1861 constituted a major break in rural society. Some scholars may consider these contrasts too stark, especially as peasant migrants transported parts of their culture to the cities, and since the reform took decades to alter significantly many aspects of village life in largely rural and agricultural Voronezh province. Chulos is aware that a large minority of peasants in Voronezh province were Ukrainian, but he denies that there was much difference ethnically between them and their Russian neighbors (p. 133, n. 16). This may merit further investigation and suggests the need for research on popular religion among the empire's non-Russian Orthodox peoples. Quibbles aside, this impressive book makes valuable contributions to our understanding of popular religion, peasant society and culture, and broader processes of change in late tsarist Russia. Chulos's achievement is to some extent reminiscent of Thomas Hardy's engagement, in literary form, with another rural society where older religious practices held great meaning for many people as they encountered and participated in changes similar to those experienced by peasants in an equivalent agricultural region of Russia.

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MATTHEW LENOE. *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers*. (Russian Research Center Studies, number 95.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 315. $49.95.

Matthew Lenoe's book is a study of the Soviet press from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, the period of the First Five Year Plan, collectivization, and the cultural revolution.

I agree substantially with many of Lenoe's ideas, perhaps because he restates key elements of the thesis of my *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* (2000) and views developed in earlier published articles. For example, consider Lenoe's argument below that the Bolshevik leadership at the end of the New Economic Policy (NEP) shifted from efforts to engage common readers to attempts to mobilize political activists: "The shift from enlightenment to mobilization was not one of rhetoric . . . but one of practice. A number of changes in practices signaled the end of the NEP mass enlightenment project, among them the decline of studies of audience response . . . But most important for this book's story, the Central Committee leadership in 1929–1931 retargeted newspapers all over the USSR at rank-and-file party activists" (p. 2). Now compare that to my own words: "The shift from an imagined mass public to be swayed by rational argument to a narrower and less critical audience of insiders coincided with the implementation of the great Stalinist coercive projects," and "The workers and peasants whom editors had often courted in the 1920s were supplanted in the press by officials and enthusiasts, and the large-scale studies of common readers carried out so assiduously during the NEP virtually ceased" (pp. 15–16, and 54–55).

The issue here is not replication of text; clearly the presentations differ. Moreover, footnote fifteen in chapter one of Lenoe's book provides a brief listing of prior work on the history of the Soviet press. Despite evident knowledge of and general reference to the relevant body of literature, Lenoe presents key conclusions of the prior work as his own without explicit reference or attribution. Although the book contains interesting new material, the major ideas of the first part of the book—i.e. the notion that the Bolsheviks turned from enlightenment to mass mobilization, and that their target audience shifted from common readers to activists—are not new.

The thesis of the second part of the book is more original than that of the first, although it owes much to Sheila Fitzpatrick's work, particularly *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (1992) and *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921–1934* (1979). Lenoe finds that "the development of Stalinist culture in the newspapers was integrally linked to the social revolution made by the party leadership in the 1920s and early 1930s" (p. 138). From the 1920s, he suggests, radical journalists created a "mass journalism," and these journalists achieved a "takeover of the press in 1928–1930" (p. 134). One wishes that the author had extended this interesting discussion to examine relations between the journalists and their bosses through the 1930s.

The book's last chapters, one on the Central Committee's curtailment of reportage of shortcomings, corruption, and mismanagement, and the other on efforts to publicize Soviet heroes, are the most stimulating. Lenoe's argument that "both socialist realist literature and mass journalism arose from the party and Komsomol's search for forms that would substitute for bourgeois sensationalism, have a genuine

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popular appeal, and mobilize rank-and-file activists" (p. 244) is overstated. Socialist Realism was established, as Lenoe notes earlier, at a time when journalists had chosen to disregard the preferences of common readers and focus instead on activists. Moreover, its appearance followed collectivization and the sharpening divide for many between life as experienced and life as portrayed in the press. The biggest change associated with Socialist Realism and the First Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers had little to do with mass journalism; it was in the integration of writers into the command economy as "engineers of the human soul."

From its structure, language, and uneven coverage, the book appears to be a revised dissertation, which may explain some of the gaps in its references. Even under this charitable interpretation, however, one can note that the review of the relevant literature should have been up to date.

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KATE BROWN. *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 308. $45.00.

Kate Brown calls the subject of her "biography" the *kresy*, a Polish term that commonly referred, during the years of her study, to the eastern borderlands of the Second Polish Republic. This is the territory that the USSR annexed first in 1939 and again in 1945. But Brown's book, which covers the interwar period and World War II, does not concern lands and peoples of the Polish state, as the use of the name *kresy* suggests. Rather, she writes about a part of the western borderlands of the USSR: namely, Right Bank Ukraine. The use of the Polish name for this region leads Brown to make the bizarre statement that "by 1945, the *kresy* itself had moved permanently to central Ukraine after the Soviet annexation of eastern regions of Poland was complete" (p. 224).

A work of Soviet history, the book covers its major developments from 1922 through the Stalinist period: the promotion of national autonomy, collectivization, the famine, forced deportations, the purges, Nazi occupation, and subsequent population transfers. Brown investigates these familiar episodes in an underexamined region. Using party and government archives at the village, regional, and republic level, as well as in Moscow, she offers new details about the founding and dismantling of the Marchlevsk Polish Autonomous Region (1925–1935), the state's attempts to modernize the borderlands, the uprisings of 1930, Stalinist repression, and the responses of the victims. Some of the most interesting material has to do with A. F. Zborovskii, the man in charge of the "resettlement" of Polish and German villagers from the border zone in 1935.

Above all, Brown assesses the cumulative effect of these state-led processes on the local population. She endeavors to evoke the character of this population, which, at the beginning of the 1920s, included Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, and Germans, of varying degrees of national consciousness and distinctiveness. The main theme of Brown's book is the destruction wrought—on land, bodies, and souls—by the pursuit of "progress." In the southwestern borderlands of the USSR, old village cultures and identities, interdependent, tied to the locality and to spirituality, were destroyed by the state's drive to modernize and control an area considered backward. The imposition of national taxonomies on a diverse population by the Soviets, with first benign and then punitive intentions, by Nazi racial policy, and then by the postwar fallout, rendered it homogeneous. National identity came to supercede all other affinities and provided the criterion for reshaping the territory, resulting in a Ukrainian "nation-space." As Brown points out, this was not a unique result of Stalinism or totalitarianism but a global trend connected with the modern state.

Brown pays tribute to the culture lost in this process. Describing, in moving prose, her recent visits to the region and interviews there, Brown approaches its inhabitants with sympathy and compassion, seeing her task as much that of ethnographer as historian. Her presence in the text and descriptions of present-day conditions give the book a journalistic tone, appealing to a broader audience than that of historians.

Indeed, historians will frequently be frustrated with the book. Many of the ironies and puzzles that Brown muses on were raised decades ago, such as the similarities between capitalist and communist exploitation of workers, and the confessions, during the Great Terror, of former prosecutors. A major problem with the book is that the author does not engage the relevant historiography. Many of the topics Brown touches on—the shift from class enemies to national ones, the Nazi Final Solution in the East, the triumph of integral nationalism in Eastern Europe, the homogenizing impact of the modern state—have large historical literatures devoted to them that she either disregards or simply mentions, sometimes just in a footnote.

Brown often fails to substantiate her points with clear use of evidence and careful discussion. For example, her conclusion that the uprisings of 1930 differed from the long tradition of peasant jacqueries because of their evangelical quality is not convincingly argued, particularly as she fails to offer thorough comparisons with uprisings earlier and elsewhere. The attribution of women's high participation in the uprisings to the egalitarianism of sectarian groups is mere speculation and does not offer proof of the evangelical influence—especially since women's involvement in other rebellious episodes is not considered. In many places the book is impressionistic and speculative rather than systematic and analytical. A more careful amassing and interrogation of evidence would have

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made the work more rigorous and appealing to serious scholars of the region.

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ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE: ARMENIANS LOOK BACK AT THE STALIN TERROR. Produced and directed by Zareh Tjeknavorian. Narrated by Eric Bogosian. 1998; black and white and color; 58 minutes. Distributed by Armenian General Benevolent Union.

This film effectively weaves together documentary footage of the Stalin era, with English subtitles, interviews in Armenian with the survivors of Stalinist persecutions as well as with former informants and KGB agents, with English voiceovers and narrator Eric Bogosian's comments and analysis, which provide the necessary historical backdrop. The contrast between the old black and white footage and the more recent color interviews and contemporary scenes adds to the film's impact.

A scene from Joseph Stalin's funeral procession in Moscow, 1953, opens the film. "Stalin is no more," announces a gloomy voice. Thousands of people with somber faces, some wiping away tears, wait patiently in Red Square for their turn to pay their last respects. The beloved leader of the people is dead. Then the scene switches to Yerevan, Soviet Armenia, where the chagrin is no less. "Under Stalin, Armenia was the microcosm of the hope, faith, and betrayal of the Revolution": the narrator's statement sets the tone, and the story begins.

"The death of one man is tragedy. The death of millions, only statistics." This statement by Stalin, cited in the film, had come true. Stalin's death was a tragedy for the Soviet people, but his persecution and extermination of millions of men and women remained a dry statistical figure in history books. From the early 1930s until Stalin's death, an estimated twenty-five million people were sent to gulags. Some were exiles; others "volunteered" to work in horrible conditions in gold, chrome, and coal mines. They were the "proud" builders of the pillars of Stalin's socialism.

In the film, the ex-prisoners and the sons and daughters of those who did not return speak one by one. Each one has his or her own story about being informed on and arrested. Some remember who informed on them; others do not. None know why they were labeled as an "enemy of the people" and prosecuted. Being a child of an "enemy of the people" was even tougher. Everyone would avoid you. The schoolmaster discriminated against the prisoners' children and set them apart. "By demanding that people take a hand in their own destruction, Stalin made all of society an accomplice in his crimes," the film's narrator maintains.

Interviews with former inmates, men and women whose faces speak of the terror they lived, are interspersed with scenes of labor camps and footage of Stalin's speeches addressed to thousands of excited and cheering audiences. Where was the truth buried? Was it in the faces of the enthusiastic followers and believers in Stalin, those who worshipped him and mourned his death with such sincerity, or in the decrepit faces of the survivors of Stalin's prisons and gulags, who lost the flower of their lives in these horrible places?

"Hiding behind a smoke screen of innocence, Stalin used the secret police known alternately as the Cheka, NKVD, and KGB to lead the witch hunt," and the method worked. The revolution was fetishized. The war against capitalism was deemed the ultimate goal of the Soviet Union, and Stalin knew very well how to use people's sentiments, their sense of belonging and identity. "Stalin demanded conformity. Stalin was the State. To be against him was to be against Revolution."

The interviews slowly evolve into those of World War II veterans. Over twenty million Soviets died during the war. They were the heroes; but those who survived in the enemy's camps and returned to their country fell under suspicion. They were regarded as traitors, as agents of the enemy, and persecuted. Chekist officers, instead of family members, greeted them on the border.

Stalin also suspected that ethnic minorities could rise against him and began to displace them. Thousands of Armenian families, those who had immigrated to Soviet Armenia after World War II with such enthusiasm and zeal, were also persecuted and exiled to southeastern Siberia. Their stories are presented as another facet of Stalin's terror.

The title Zareh Tjeknavorian chose for his film appears over a scene of destalinization: the dismantling of Stalin's huge statue hovering over Yerevan. This epigramatic juxtaposition repeats again when the scenes of hardship in the labor camps follow Stalin's cheered and applauded speech in his days of peak glory, his promise to protect the Soviet people, "the working class, the peasants and intelligentsia."

But what is Stalin to the Armenian in the streets of Yerevan today? Significantly, the question is posed to passersby and the footage is inserted at the beginning of the film. For the new generation, Stalin and Stalinism mean almost nothing; for the older generation, they are things of the past not even worth talking about. But for some, Stalin is a source of indomitable pain, anger, and frustration, a dreadful memory that refuses to die. This film puts a human face on Armenia's victimization under Stalin's reign of terror.

The film is highly recommended for classroom use at the high school level and above as an effective tool to teach that portion of the history of the Soviet Union.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

S. S. HASAN. *Christians versus Muslims in Modern Egypt: The Century-Long Struggle for Coptic Equality*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 320. $45.00.

This book by S. S. Hasan focuses on reform within the Egyptian Coptic Church from the beginnings of the Sunday School Movement of the 1940s until the present. Reforms have included such Protestant features as Sunday school, but also efforts to revive the Coptic language, socioeconomic projects, better clerical education, inclusion of lay members in governance, centralization under the papal office, and anticorruption campaigns. The intrusion of Protestant missionaries, secularization, the development of Islamic movements threatening Coptic security and the possibility of equality, and economic deprivation have stimulated change, but the reforms have "autochtonous" roots that were drawn on to foster communal ties and a lay "Protestant ethic." The monastic schedules, for example, introduced Egyptians to the "notion that time is a precious commodity." Pope Shenuda (1971-) and other educated reformers drawn from middle-class families with links to traditional religious culture wrested leadership of the community from the Coptic secular elite. Under their sway, the Copts have become a "nation" in the making, demanding group rather than individual rights. They are, moreover, a nation under siege, "surrounded by a diffuse, but nonetheless palpable, atmosphere of Muslim prejudices."

Although this work is valuable for its treatment of a scarcely studied subject, it is schematic and reductionist, and therefore marred by major errors of commission and omission. A couple of examples will have to suffice. Hasan constructs a false dichotomy between an idealized cosmopolitan pre-1952 Egypt and a "strident" Arabist and Islamist (the two are wrongly elided) Egypt initiated by Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Free Officers, Hasan writes, "had not come into contact with Western secular thinkers or with the notion of the separation of Church and State." The claim is preposterous, as anyone who knows anything of Nasser's reading habits (Thomas Carlyle, Mohandas Gandhi, Charles Dickens, Voltaire) or of Egypt's centrality to the essentially liberal and secular Arab Renaissance will recognize immediately. Nasserists were not hostile to cosmopolitanism but to imperialism, and to the extraterritorial privileges that imperialism bestowed upon comprador elements. These may have spoken French "in soft, trailing Mediterranean accents" to one another, but their knowledge of Arabic was often limited to the requirements of elementary exchanges with domestics. Hasan also disregards efforts by the United States and Israel to exploit Coptic and other forms of Middle Eastern minority identities for their own purposes. Fearing the emergence of an autonomous, strong Arab state or bloc, they have long supported various separatisms (Kurdish, Berber, Christian) as vehicles for leverage. Such deconstructive efforts continue, abetted by an alliance of the American Zionist lobby and the Christian right. A Congressional law allowing the United States to place penalties on foreign states that violate religious freedom (it will not be invoked on behalf of Palestinian Christians and Muslims) is a recent manifestation. In 2002, the United States threatened to curtail aid to Egypt if it did not reverse a prison sentence against the dissident sociologist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, while it remained indifferent to the improper arrest and sentencing of other academics. The double standard can be attributed to Ibrahim's Israeli/American ties and the nature of his activism (which includes promoting the idea of the Copts as an oppressed minority). Israel will, to be sure, appear more normal in a Middle East of narrow ethnic/denominational identities. Hasan's forced analogies between the nationalism of Zionist settler colonialism and Coptic politics (shaping the tough Sabra "pioneer" is compared to the church's fashioning of today's "self-assertive" Copt) can themselves be regarded as an intellectual contribution to such normalization.

The determination to draw boundaries too rigidly, and at the service of a main theme that is unconvincing, colors the entire book apart from these specifics. Church leaders may have conquered a religious space to carry out reform projects, but does this mean that "the vast majority of middle and lower class Copts" now inhabit "a matrix of meaning not rooted in the national language?" Hasan herself admits that she does not possess sociological studies to support her sense of the church's successes. The Copts in fact inhabit a number of intersecting worlds, including an Egyptian Arab world united by the Arabic language and a secular culture that remains far stronger than Hasan's exaggerations about bigotry among Muslims and Islamization would have us believe.

There are, moreover, important convergences. Disillusioned with radicalism, neo-Islamists are everywhere scrambling to construct an Islam of free markets, media interlinks, liberal democracy, civil rights, and civil society. These are the types who joined like-minded Copts in the Egyptian Wassat Party in 1996. They have the same class origin and the same "modernizing" aspirations as the Coptic "Protestant" heroes of this book.

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ELIE PODEH and ONN WINCKLER, editors. *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xv, 365. $59.95.

This book is the product of a conference convened at the Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1999. The organizers sought to provide a comprehensive reevaluation of the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's authoritarian-populist ruler from 1952 to 1970,

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and the role of Nasserism (pan-Arab nationalism and Arab socialism in variant forms), the dominant political discourse of the Arab world from Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 until the catastrophic Arab defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Abdel Nasser led the Free Officers' Movement that overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 and the Revolutionary Command Council that ruled the new regime. In 1954, he negotiated the withdrawal of British forces that had occupied Egypt since 1882. He initiated, with India's Jawaharlal Nehru and Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, the Afro-Asian movement for non-alignment and positive neutralism. Unlike any previous Egyptian political leader, he spoke directly to peasants and workers using colloquial Arabic, exhorting them: "Lift up your head my brothers. The days of oppression are over."

The chapters of the book cover representations of Abdel Nasser and Nasserism; foreign, economic, and social policies; legal history; and cultural studies. Their quality ranges from the antiquarian (a content analysis of a biographical dictionary) to the pedestrian (the chapters on foreign, economic, and social policy add little to what is already known), to the original and noteworthy. The most innovative contributions are in the fields of legal and cultural history. Nathan Brown argues that Abdel Nasser's regime devised more effective means of governmental accountability than those prevailing in the monarchy. Yoav Di-Capua examines the role of sports in forming a revolutionary culture. Joel Gordon offers a study of Abd al-Halim Hafiz, a popular vocalist closely associated with Abdel Nasser's regime. Gabriel M. Rosenbaum presents a review of representations of Abdel Nasser and Nasserism in literature and songs.

The editors of the volume, Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, claim that this "is the first systematic attempt to rethink the Nasserite phenomenon" and that "the quantity and quality of research [on Nasserism] have not reflected Nasser's perceived centrality in the annals of Middle Eastern History" (p. xiii). I cannot imagine what the basis of such statements might be. No topic in the history of the twentieth-century Middle East boasts a larger body of literature. Much of it is referenced in Podeh and Winckler's introductory essay. They would have us believe they have made a great discovery by categorizing Nasserism as a form of populism. But their own essay references several others who have previously used this term to describe Nasserism (pp. 4–5). They seem to be unaware that the term "authoritarian populism" has a long history originating in a well-known article on Latin America by Guillermo O'Donnell. Marsha Pripstein Posusney (*Labor and the State in Egypt: Workers, Unions, and Economic Restructuring* [1997]) was aware of this when she wrote, "Nasserism resembled Latin American populism." But this quote is relegated to a footnote with the complaint that the term is not elaborated (p. 34). Podeh and Winckler likewise do not fully explain Raymond Hinnebusch's use of the terms "populism" and "post-populist authoritarianism" (*Egyptian Politics under Sadat: The Post-populist Development of an Authoritarian-Modernizing State* [1985]). Nor do they mention John Waterbury's reasons for not using these terms (*The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes* [1983]). All this creates the impression that Podeh and Winckler offer something dramatically new when they do not.

What could explain their inflated claims? As Podeh's own contribution to this volume acknowledges, during the 1950s and 1960s, Israeli governments demonized Abdel Nasser and did not regard Nasserism as a legitimate form of politics. Egypt was Israel's military adversary in four wars. Many Israelis then believed (and still believe) that the Arab-Israeli conflict is due to an unfathomable Arab desire to kill Jews. Israeli political leaders and the media, after a brief honeymoon with Abdel Nasser, often referred to him as "Hitler on the Nile." Despite knowing this, it seems that Podeh and Winckler reverted to the Israeli default perspective before advancing to the discovery that Abdel Nasser and Nasserism were expressions of a political style common in much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the best of circumstances, this book could not possibly fulfill its promise of a "systematic attempt to rethink the Nasserite phenomenon" because no official Egyptian documents from the Nasser period are open to researchers. Can one imagine an attempt to rethink the administration of any American president without access to presidential papers, government records, and party documents? None of this is available for post-1952 Egypt. Moreover, not a single Egyptian or other Arab presented a paper at the conference. The only Egyptian contribution to the book is a competent but unexceptional overview of Nasserist development strategy by Mohamed Riad El-Ghonemy based on a lecture he delivered at Haifa University in the same month the conference convened. Is it not rather arrogant for foreigners to imagine that they can offer a comprehensive reconsideration of an important period in another country's history without significant input from scholars living and working in that country? This is not possible in the case of Egypt and Israel because most Egyptian intellectuals have refused all contacts with Israel since the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty on the grounds that this was a separate peace that did not address the Palestinian people's national rights. As it was (or should have been) known in advance that few, if any, Egyptians would attend, why hold a scholarly conference on such a topic in Israel?

The best chapters do explore new territory in Egypt's legal and cultural history, reflecting the belated arrival of the cultural turn in Middle East history. Interesting as this is, it is unlikely to provide the basis for a comprehensive reassessment of Nasserism without new political, social, and economic histories, which

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cannot be written until the necessary primary evidence is available.

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MICHAEL M. LASKIER. *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xv, 351. $65.00.

Observers and writers generally tend to treat the entire Arab world as a homogenous unit despite the fact that the Arab East and the Arab West have distinct histories and different relationships with Israel as well as with the major Western and former colonial powers. While much has been written on the acrimonious and complex Arab-Israeli conflict, only a small portion of that voluminous literature has focused on the North African (Maghrebian "Western") Arab states of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. This book by Michael M. Laskier helps to correct that imbalance.

The relationship between Israel and the Maghreb is a complicated one with interesting turns and numerous clandestine components. There are commonalities and well-documented differences in Israel's relations with Morocco and Tunisia, on the one hand, and Algeria on the other. Understanding the incentives and motivations of the Arab states in their relations with Israel is difficult, but Laskier illuminates this aspect well. He tells us about their varied colonial pasts and describes the roles of their Jewish communities in the relationship.

This volume is a fine overview of the relationship between Israel and the Maghreb from 1948 to Oslo and beyond. The author stresses the importance of the North African states in the Arab-Israeli conflict and provides a work filled with detailed information and careful analysis. The result is a well-written, clear, and readable contribution. The book is amply documented with extensive use of archival and other primary sources and interviews and is enhanced by appendixes of interesting documents, illustrations, and some data on emigration from North Africa and *aliyah* (immigration) to Israel.

The author's objective (well implemented in the text) is spelled out in the preface: "to examine Israel's relations and conflicts with the North Africa Maghrebi states of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria from the late 1940s, when France was still the dominant power in the area, to the beginning of the twenty-first century" (p. xiii). In his summary of the book's focus, Laskier identifies four major themes: "hostile encounters, back-channel and open contacts and common interests or actions" concerning Jewish emigration to Israel, inter-Arab affairs, and the Arab-Israeli conflict; Israeli involvement in internal Maghrebi politics; the "pioneering role" of Moroccan and Tunisian political leaders in promoting peace in the Middle East; and the special contribution of the large Moroccan Jewish community in developing and promoting the secret ties between Morocco and Israel and contributing toward an Arab dialogue with Israel (p. xv).

Some of the subjects studied here have been considered elsewhere, albeit usually in a more cursory fashion. Much is new, and certainly the weaving of the story together takes a different form. Laskier provides substantial detail, facts that serve to produce a coherent picture of the evolving relationships. He provides new understanding of the major events in the contemporary history of the three states as they relate to Israel, including the Mehdi Ben Barka disappearance, the emigration of the Jewish communities (mostly, but not solely, to Israel), the peace proposals of Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba, and the crucial role of Morocco in facilitating the initiative of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (and the consequent Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty). There is also an intriguing discussion of the Mossad's role in Israel's relations with Morocco and in the Moroccan *aliyah*.

Although the focus is on Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, the author argues that Egypt "is pivotal in this volume" (p. xiii) because of its influence in the Maghreb and because of its place in inter-Arab relations and its centrality in the Arab-Israeli conflict, whether in war or peace.

As the first major work to examine and evaluate the role of the North African countries in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the author has made an important contribution to the literature and our knowledge and understanding of the Maghrebian states and their relationship with Israel.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

STEPHEN ELLIS and GERRIE TER HAAR. *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*. (Series in Contemporary History and World Affairs, number 1.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 263. $19.95.

This remarkable book urges us to recast our approach to understanding modern African history by recognizing the religious basis of African political practice. Stephen Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar range widely over the African historical landscape, from the failures of colonial and postcolonial states to establish bureaucratic rule, implement effective legal systems, or develop modern economies to the flexibility of African traditions in incorporating new influences and the recent upsurge of traditional, Muslim, and Christian revival movements.

In such situations, Ellis and ter Haar argue, Africans resort to the invisible world of the spirits as well as a visible material one to explain the world and manage their affairs. Seeking the religious equivalent of "indigenous knowledge," the authors demonstrate the complex ways that material wealth and power are gained through the acquisition of esoteric knowledge

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and powers originating in the invisible world. Such powers are capable of being used for either good or evil, to protect one's followers and insure prosperity or to exploit them and create chaos. In the present political climate, where political, social, and economic chaos is frequently endemic, African leaders are widely seen as witches who enrich and empower themselves by sucking the life forces of others. Political corruption and economic collapse are thus understood as fundamentally moral problems to be overcome through restoring personal and collective relations with the spirit world.

Religious ideas are both conceptual and performative. Power ultimately lies in an invisible world of ancestral and other spirits who gave rise to contemporary social groups and moral practices. Individuals must comply with these practices and maintain good ritual relations with the spirits in order to insure their continued health and prosperity. Similarly, leaders and elders communicate with the spirits through dreams and possession to gain secret knowledge necessary to insure collective well being. Illness, social crises, or natural disasters, in turn, result from immoral actions in disregard of the spirits. Moral actions thus have material consequences and vice versa.

Similarly, individuals gain wealth and power from the spirit world and are accountable to it. In a world of finite resources, some can advance only at the expense of others, and in a world where wealth is normally invested in people rather than land or capital, wealth and power are only legitimate when distributed equitably and deployed for the social good. Wealth not socially shared or power abused are seen as immoral witchcraft. Witches are the amoral that presume the moral; they fly through the air, naked, at night and gain their wealth and powers through consuming the products and flesh of others.

The contemporary crisis in Africa has been brought about through a series of historical actions that have left Africans increasingly powerless before such evil forces. Colonial governments banned practices to counter witchcraft, leaving Africans unable to confront immoral and antisocial forces while also convincing them that the colonial state was itself evil. At the same time, Christian missions preached that all spirits, benevolent as well as malevolent, were creatures of the devil, thus demonizing the entire spirit world. And "moral ethnicity," which once guided social conduct, became perverted "political tribalism" as postcolonial leaders mobilized ethnic support and fomented ethnic hatred for political gain. As a result, Africans were powerless to combat the increasingly destructive forces impinging on their lives and well-being, forcing them to seek to regain moral control through new religious movements, many now couched in Christian or Muslim terms.

Ellis and ter Haar's approach is not wholly original, of course. They frequently invoke the spirit of Max Weber and engage an unusually wide range of African, European, and Asian, anglophone, and francophone scholars, but none have embraced the overall field of religious thought and political practice in the modern world so persuasively or so elegantly. This book is a critical corrective to much of the recent literature on colonialism and globalization that interprets modern African history largely in terms of alien influences and ideas and forces us to take spiritual forces and ideas as seriously as material ones.

Further, the authors argue that Africa is not unique and that religious thought continues to be significant in Asian, Latin American, and North American politics as well. While Americans may shake their heads uncomprehendingly at the rise of Islamicist movements, Europeans think evangelical American electors quite mad. Such is the state of our flawed understanding of contemporary religious revival in a world conceived largely in secular and political terms.

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JEAN ALLMAN, editor. *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress*. (African Expressive Cultures.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 247. Cloth $50.00, paper $21.95.

Has African dress—that is, the totality of a person's clothing, accoutrements, and body arts—reflected changing fashions over the centuries, or has African dress been stultified by the stasis of "tradition"? If the latter is the case, can the study of African dress have any historical value? Editor Jean Allman and her contributors challenge the romantic, Eurocentric views of a proudly or unchanging or "vanishing" Africa that one still discovers in some coffee-table books. In Africa, as everywhere else in the world, power and authority are "represented, constituted, articulated, and contested through dress," for fashion is an "incisive political language capable of unifying, differentiating, challenging, contesting, and dominating" (p. 1). Furthermore, just as politics must change to meet the needs of new circumstances and emerging social relationships, so dress is altered to reflect and, indeed, to stimulate such transformations. Yet fashion in Africa, like fashion everywhere, is most readily associated with women, and while women's history is often difficult to reconstruct because of gender politics, illiteracy, and other forms of discrimination, dress provides an "alternative archive" that yields histories of women's identities, sexualities, and interpersonal relations rarely recorded otherwise.

Laura Fair offers compelling consideration of historical processes such as these in her lead essay on "dress, performance, and the cultural construction of cosmopolitan Zanzibari identity." After the Sultan of Oman moved his residence to Zanzibar in the 1830s, the place became a hub of commerce in spices, ivory, and slaves. Zanzibari dress reflected social status, ranging from the "elaborate costumes and headdresses" of the Omani elite (which Fair nicely portrays

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through vintage photographs) to the abject wraps of those enslaved or indentured. The radical changes of emancipation in 1897 were reflected in clothing created to give "bodily form" to people's "new identities as free 'Swahili,'" and within a mere three years, "island women . . . were said to be busily transforming themselves from slaves into 'slaves of fashion'" with intensifying "cosmopolitan . . . sophistication" (pp. 18, 19, 21).

Sophistication was also demonstrated early in the twentieth century, when people in western Nigeria "displayed their critique of colonialism by shedding Victorian dress and recommitting to 'traditional' Yoruba dress" (p. 31). Judith Byfield illustrates that dress can be a potent instrument of nascent nationalism, as when women showed newfound solidarity by donning identical Yoruba outfits at political rallies in the 1940s. Dress may reflect also internal politics within the contemporary nation-state. Elisha Renne notes that Nigerian politicians saw the transition from a military junta to civilian leadership in 1999 as a welcome shift from "khaki to *agbada*" (p. 136). *Agbada* is a term for Yoruba men's robes, and the simple phrase refers to a stunning history of sumptuary clothing and gown-giving for political favor.

Young people in urban Angola also engaged in both collective and self-styling for nationalistic purposes, for as Marissa Moorman tells us, "the cut of a jacket, the length of a skirt, or the tilt of a hat" could imply *angolanidade*, or "Angola-ness." Indeed, "cultural sovereignty was secured in the swagger of a step, the sweep of a pant leg, or the swell of the fabric wrapped around one's head" (p. 85, 87). Such tactics are transcolonial, for they are still exploited in many contemporary circumstances. As Heather Marie Akou describes the dress of Somali immigrants living in the Twin Cities, wearing "traditional" clothing "is almost all they have left of their [war-torn] nation" (p. 50).

Eschewing African dress could be a powerful political gesture as well, however, for as Margaret Jean Hay reports, "many western Kenyans saw donning Western clothing as appropriating symbols of modernity and power from the intruders who had conquered them" (p. 69). Such acts could cause schismatic reactions, however, as in the 1920s when some Kenyans felt that "Christians' use of [European-style] clothing was . . . a shocking symbol of their having turned their backs on the ancestors" (p. 72), and nativistic movements arose "to restore pride in indigenous customs" (p. 73) by discarding Western-style clothes and once again wearing old-*fashion*ed skins (my emphasis).

If the pithy Yoruba saying "one's appearance determines the degree of respect one receives" (p. 32) suggests how politically important cloth and clothing can be, then undress can be all the more powerful a protest strategy. Byfield tells of important political victories won as the nudity of matronly Yoruba women shook the establishment, for "undressing expressed women's loss of respect for those in authority" (p. 45). "Nudity" is a relative term, however, as Allman demonstrates in her strong chapter about the "anti-nudity operations" of Hannah Kudjoe. An Akan activist in the Nkrumah government of the late 1950s, Kudjoe sought to transform non-Akan "'northerners into proper 'Ghanaians' through dress" (p. 145). Allman is quick to note that people in the "stateless" societies of northern Ghana hardly thought of themselves as "naked" just because they did not wear as many or as sumptuous clothes as did Ghanaian southerners; yet clothing and its lack became of abiding importance, as it "(re)inscribed southern or Akan hegemony over the very construction of 'nation'" in its portrayal of "northern 'backwardness'" (p. 157).

What some might call "semi-nudity" is also of interest, as Andrew Ivaska and Karen Tranberg Hansen contribute chapters about early postcolonial reactions to miniskirts in Tanzania and Zambia, respectively. In both cases, miniskirts were deemed "'indecent,' 'decadent,' and antithetical to 'national culture'" (p. 104), but specifically as these terms of reference were and are defined by men for rather than with women. Gender politics come to the fore, then, and as is so often the case, women's bodies become the body politic.

A final topic is the political economy of African fashions in global markets, articulated in a brief offering by Boatema Boateng on *kente* cloth made by Akan in Ghana but now used for all manner of "African" material culture by African Americans, and in a more substantial piece by Victoria Rovine on how Malian "mudcloth" has burst upon fashion scenes from Bamako to Brooklyn. Rovine's is the most theoretically significant chapter of the volume because of its elucidation of the term "traditional." *Bogolan*, as mudcloth is known in Mali, is still worn by some Bamana because of its talismanic powers to promote and protect, even as it figures in haute couture fashion on French, American, or Japanese runways. For global markets, mudcloth has become a floating signifier, divested of its particular referents but retaining an aura of "African authenticity," a fact capitalized on by Malian fashion designers selling *bogolan* creations to local and international commerce. "Tradition" has its own situational histories, then, some deemed fashionable, some not.

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Kairn A. Klieman. *"The Pygmies Were Our Compass": Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2003. Pp. xxxiv, 253. $64.00, paper $26.00.

Kairn A. Klieman's erudite exploration of one of the most stereotyped central African peoples, the so-called pygmies, is both tantalizing and audacious. Following in the footsteps of Igor Kopytoff's *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional Afri-*

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can Societies (1987) and Jan Vansina's trailblazing *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (1990), Klieman proposes to jettison once and for all the "noble savage" paradigm that has so conveniently stymied any serious research on the "pygmies." By replacing nineteenth-century social evolutionism, the "noble savage" paradigm has continued to hinge on racial premises and to view the Batwa as primeval beings with little or no interactions with Bantu-speaking agriculturists. Vansina deftly demystified the rainforest long thought by Europeans to be a glaucous, impenetrable "green hell," exhaling miasmas; a place where only stultified "pygmies" had managed to survive and, as a result, "became living fossils: human insects caught in the amber of the green sea." Klieman's contribution is far more ambitious. Not only does her book encompass the much neglected area of West Central Africa, including modern-day Gabon, the Republic of Congo, and southern Cameroon, but it also attempts to dredge up virtually the entire history of the area, from the waves of Bantu migrations (starting circa 4500 B.C.E.) to the imposition of European colonial rule in the early twentieth century. This is achieved through multifarious sources, combining archaeological, linguistic, and oral data, most of which derive from an impressive ethnographic and historical corpus.

Admittedly, the author's main hypothesis—that only by looking at how the Batwa interacted with their neighbors can we arrive at a clearer understanding of sociocultural and political developments in West Central Africa—is a valid one. For Batwa hardly constituted reclusive and elusive groups of forest specialists, but they enjoyed a prestigious status as firstcomers. In fact, Klieman posits that until the introduction of iron and bananas in the last millennium B.C.E., the autochthonous Batwa served as teachers to the latecomer Bantu, who looked up to them as the owners of the land. In some cases, Bantu groups integrated Batwa individuals into their *gandā* (houses) in order to gain from them access into fecundity and fertility initiation rites. With the introduction of both iron and bananas, which ushered a period of relative demographic densification and trade, social distinctions were gradually created between Batwa and Bantu, leading to the social demotion of the former. Bantu immigrants slowly morphed from supplicants into usurpers. They bypassed Batwa intermediation and established their sway over the land, and more often than not, prompted the Batwa to retreat deeper into the rainforest.

While Klieman's fine-grained narrative leaves no stone unturned in her ambition to show that, contrary to a longstanding historiographical tradition, Batwa did enjoy some social prestige that came with their status as firstcomers, several of her hypotheses and sweeping conclusions are less persuasive. For instance, the notion that Bantu latecomers adopted the ancestors of the autochthonous Batwa as their own is loosely demonstrated and rests on a tenuous body of linguistic evidence. Bantu speakers came as immigrants, lacking in both prestige and knowledge of the land. They revered the primordial Batwa as the rightful owners of the land and the depository of all religious rudiments. They relied upon their social networks and rituals to prosper. Given this, one would have expected the Batwa to wield greater influence over the newcomers. But, according to Klieman, it was the Bantu that "recruited" autochthonous Batwa and integrated them into their own incipient lineages. They created "egalitarian sociopolitical units" comprising Bantu speakers and autochthons, although it was presumably the Bantu *kūmu* ("big men") who controlled the entire system. By the end of the first millennium C.E., social distinction between Batwa and Bantu widened as these *kūmu* either claimed Batwa ancestry or inserted their own ancestors into the Batwa pantheon, a political foil that allowed them to buttress their local chieftaincies. This narrative could have more clearly demonstrated how these "egalitarian units" operated and how and why Batwa and Bantu remained distinct in spite of intermarriages and the creation of common religious, linguistic, and political patterns that endured over millennia.

Notwithstanding, Klieman's study is a maze of hypotheses that deserves credit for dredging up from the ethnographic backwater the history of the Batwa-Bantu interactions and widening the paths for more scholars to venture into a much-neglected area of the continent. This, however, should not be done with only second-hand oral and ethnographic data, nor should it be only a discussion within the Western historiographical tradition. It should incorporate more contemporary oral data and tap into the well of sources ignored in too many African universities and research centers.

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Erik Gilbert. *Dhows and the Colonial Economy of Zanzibar, 1860–1970.* (Eastern African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. Oxford: James Currey. Zanzibar: Gallery Publications. 2004. Pp. xiii, 176. Cloth $49.95, paper $26.95.

In this book, Erik Gilbert aims to demonstrate that dhows were the backbone of a regional monsoon-based maritime economy that included Madagascar, western and southern India, the Persian Gulf, and southern Arabia and that remained vibrant from the precolonial to postcolonial eras. According to the author, this runs counter to the majority view that European capital had, by the mid-eighteenth century, transformed the Indian Ocean economy, and that heavy-handed European colonialism crushed indigenous entrepreneurship.

In focusing on the dhow (a European term used loosely to cover all indigenous vessels, redefined in the colonial era as indigenous craft of less than fifty tons), this work underlines the importance of considering the eastern African littoral in terms of an Indian Ocean economy, and the continued strength of that economy

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throughout the colonial era. Through it, Gilbert reveals the weakness of a colonial regime that first attempted to suppress dhows as symbolic of an anachronistic slave trade era, but that subsequently, due to heightened demand for ships during World War II and the postwar boom, grudgingly came to admit their importance and even to encourage them. Dhows were cheaper to build than steamships, had lower overheads, required less dock facilities, could respond quicker to demand, and, because of their small size and shallow draught, could negotiate shallow waters and coves inaccessible to larger vessels. Ironically, it was an African revolutionary government from 1964 that put an end to the dhow era through anti-Arab legislation and an overemphasis on clove production that, with the 1980s collapse of clove prices, undermined the economy of Zanzibar.

The study has some weaknesses. Gilbert fails adequately to place his study in the context of a long history of vibrant indigenous maritime trade that connected the east African littoral not only to other countries of the western Indian Ocean but also to Southeast Asia and China. He also pays scant attention to a considerable body of existing literature that shows the vitality of the traditional Indian Ocean economy to the end of the nineteenth century and of African entrepreneurship under colonialism. This reveals a narrowness of focus. While asserting that dhows were central to a regional monsoon economy than connected East Africa and the islands to India, the Persian Gulf, and southern Arabia, Gilbert concentrates almost exclusively on Zanzibar and its connection to the mainland, and to Aden. Little attention is paid to the important dhow trade to India and none to the vibrant dhow traffic to and between Mozambique and Madagascar. He thus misses the crucial role played by dhows in the "southern" slave trade after it was banned in Zanzibar in 1873, and in the expanding Indian trade network on both sides of the Mozambique Channel.

In addition, Gilbert considers that there was a radical difference between a modern "international" economy that operated in the Atlantic and a traditional western Indian Ocean regional economy, the first handling cash crops such as cloves and "international" commodities such as cotton goods, and the second "regional" commodities such as mangrove poles, rice, and dates. This appears to confuse "international" with "Western." However, international trade also included the exchange of commodities across vast distances within the western Indian Ocean, and some such commodities could, as in the case of mangrove bark, experience periods of demand in Western markets. Moreover, Gilbert underestimates the complex relationship among commodities, credit, and capital that linked western Indian Ocean countries to each other and to Europe and North America. Of particular importance was India, which played a central role both in the pre-1800 "global" economy and in the international economy that emerged in the nineteenth century.

Despite such weaknesses, Gilbert's work is a valuable contribution to the history of eastern Africa and of the western Indian Ocean maritime economy. Hopefully his work in revealing the role of the dhow in Zanzibar will stimulate similar investigations into the role of indigenous vessels in the other main ports of the region.

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WILLIAM BEINART. *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770–1950*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 425. $99.00.

The historiography of South Africa is as rich as any, but until now it has featured only a small literature on the region's environment. The silence is notable as it was South Africa's farmland that attracted white settlers and initially provided a good part of its colonial wealth. Nowadays, it is South Africa's landscape and wildlife that draw tourists to the region.

William Beinart has written a state-centered history of conservation relying for the most part on public inquiries and commissions, drawn from the Cape and Union Parliaments. Such commissions and their supporting transcripts present a range of voices that in Beinart's hands, reveal intense political struggles over land use and management. Those struggles were between the state, its agencies, and scientists on the one side and individual farmers on the other. The author has also conducted interviews with farmers in the Karoo and the Eastern Cape, but within his narrative vernacular knowledge is subordinate to the official voices. Beinart is more interested in how ideas about conservation were used by competing interests to gain and then enforce authority.

The book's focus is limited geographically to the Karoo, that semi-arid region that made up a large part of the old Cape Colony and the Eastern Cape. The region's agriculture has been ignored by historians and for good reason. The narrative wanders by necessity across the boundaries of botany, hydrology, forestry, geology, and veterinary science. The author also has to deal with the vagaries of the global markets for wool and meat. There is a small secondary literature to which Beinart himself has been a major contributor, but it was necessary for Beinart to configure the field. The theme of land degradation is central to that story. Behind debates about land use lay an image drawn, rather surprisingly, from the United States: that of a Dust Bowl, which from the early 1930s some South African officials feared was about to engulf the landscape.

Beinart's methods are scrupulous, and his book contains a wealth of information for other scholars. The beautifully structured narrative begins with European travelers and scientists and moves into the problems of fire and plant survival, sheep and cattle viruses, drought, irrigation, and introduced species. There are

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also an intricate section on conservation debates and a case study on the career of a Karoo farmer, Sidney Rubridge. Beinart shows how the pastoral industry shaped the region's history and where it fits into parallel histories of European settlements in Argentina, the U.S., and Australasia. It is a surprise just how much contact there was between scientists and administrators on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

Writing this environmental history through the structures of the state, science, and commerce means that it is mostly about white rather than black farming and about the uses of state rather than less formal centers of power. It becomes a masculine world of male politicians, farmers, scientists, administrators, and bureaucrats. There is a single reference in the index to female labor. Beinart's refrain is that there was no pristine landscape that suffered the predations of farming, and in that regard his argument is convincing. All farmers have a vested interest in preserving the land, and Beinart shows that to assume otherwise may be naïve.

The book is best on the process of change and incongruities; for example Afrikaaners who embraced science and innovation and English farmers who wanted to be left alone to hunt local fauna as if they were foxes. The highlight is a chapter on the jackal, the pirate of the prairie, and along with it other small predators, which were poisoned, trapped, and hunted in great numbers under a system of state-supported bounties. In the period from 1914 to 1923, over 317,000 jackals, along with 25,000 caracals, 2,000 eagles, and 543 leopards were killed. Farmers blamed jackals for slaughtering their sheep, but there were, as Beinart shows, a minority who understood that jackals were part of a complex ecology. The jackal's fate gives some insight into the costs of industrial agriculture.

This book demonstrates that the intersection of farming, animals, plants, and landscape is an aesthetically and politically rich field. If such a narrative works in the South African context, where the human drama is writ so large, then it will work anywhere. This book features a substantial index, a bibliography, and a bibliographical note on sources. It is also richly illustrated.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

MARK SALBER PHILLIPS and GORDON SCHOCHET, editors. *Questions of Tradition*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 325. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

MARK SALBER PHILLIPS, What is Tradition When It is Not "Invented"? A Historiographical Introduction. ANDREA LAFORET, Narratives of the Treaty Table: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of Tradition. RUTH B. PHILLIPS, Disappearing Acts: Traditions of Exposure, Traditions of Enclosure, and Iroquois Masks. CHRISTOPHER B. STEINER, The Tradition of African Art: Reflections on the Social Life of a Subject. MIEKE BAL, Zwarte Piet's *Bal Masqué*. JAMES CLIFFORD, Traditional Futures. MICHAEL MCKEON, Tacit Knowledge: Tradition and Its Aftermath. DANIEL T. RODGERS, The Traditions of Liberalism. DAVID LIEBERMAN, Law/Custom/Tradition: Perspectives from the Common Law. GEORGIA WARNKE, Tradition, Ethical Knowledge, and Multicultural Societies. PATRICK H. HUTTON, Ideas about Tradition in the Life and Work of Philippe Ariés. GORDON SCHOCHET, Tradition as Politics and the Politics of Tradition.

PETER SEIXAS, editor. *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 255. $60.00.

CHRIS LORENZ, Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies: Some Preliminary Considerations. JAMES V. WERTSCH, Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates. JÖRN RÜSEN, Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development. MARK SALBER PHILLIPS, History, Memory, and Historical Distance. JOCELYN LÉTOURNEAU and SABRINA MOISAN, Young People's Assimilation of a Collective Historical Memory: A Case Study of Quebeckers of French-Canadian Heritage. PETER LEE, Understanding History. CHRISTIAN LAVILLE, Historical Consciousness and Historical Education: What to Expect from the First for the Second. ROGER I. SIMON, The Pedagogical Insistence of Public Memory. ROGER SIMON, JÖRN RÜSEN, and others (edited and introduced by KENT DEN HEYER), A Dialogue on Narrative and Historical Consciousness. TONY TAYLOR, Disputed Territory: The Politics of Historical Consciousness in Australia. JOHN TORPEY, The Pursuit of the Past: A Polemical Perspective.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MARK BEVIR and FRANK TRENTMANN, editors. *Markets in Historical Contexts: Ideas and Politics in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 257. $70.00.

MARK BEVIR and FRANK TRENTMANN, Markets In Historical Contexts: Ideas, Practices And Governance. JAMES LIVESEY, Improving Justice: Communities of Norms in the Great Transformation. RICHARD WHATMORE, The Politics of Political Economy in France from Rousseau to Constant. DAVID EASTWOOD, Tories and Markets: Britain 1800–1850. HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT, Guild Theory and Guild Organization in France and Germany during the Nineteenth Century. DONALD WINCH, Thinking Green, Nineteenth-Century Style: John Stuart Mill and John Ruskin. JOSE HARRIS, Tönnies on "Community" and "Civil Society": Clarifying Some Cross-Currents in Post-Marxian Political Thought. AXEL R. SCHÄFER, German Historicism, Progressive Social Thought, and the Interventionist State in the United States Since the 1880s. PATRICIA MACLACHLAN and FRANK TRENTMANN, Civilizing Markets: Traditions Of Consumer Politics In Twentieth-Century Britain, Japan and the United States. ROB JENKINS, The Ideologically Embedded Market: Political Legitimation and Economic Reform in India. SASKIA SASSEN, The Locational and Institutional Embeddedness of Electronic Markets: The Case of the Global Capital Markets.

DAVID R. GREEN and ALASTAIR OWENS, editors. *Family Welfare: Gender, Property, and Inheritance since the Seventeenth Century*. (Contributions in Family Studies, number 18.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xii, 306. $74.95.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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ALICE FAHS and JOAN WAUGH, editors. *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 286. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

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P. S. BARNWELL and MARCO MOSTERT, editors. *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*. (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, number 7.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2003. Pp. 213. €60.00.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

LAURA LUNGER KNOPPERS and JOAN B. LANDES, editors. *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 304. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

To the Editor:

I was not surprised to encounter a critical reading of my book, *Reel History: In Defense of Hollywood* (*AHR*, October 2004, pp. 1263–1264), since I had raised some strong objections to the reviewer's published arguments within the book's pages. It *was* surprising, however, to discover that Sumiko Higashi misconstrued several arguments in the book.

In *Reel History* I challenge the familiar claim that cinematic history should be dismissed as light entertainment merely because its creators exercise a great deal of artistic license. Dramatic cinema can introduce important ideas about the past, I argue, but not in the manner that teachers and scholars present history in lectures and publications. Movies communicate in distinctive ways. When intelligently crafted, they can arouse emotions and stir curiosity.

While developing this argument I express disappointment about some film scholarship, arousing vigorous objections from Higashi. My commentary is not radically dismissive. It acknowledges that specialists in film studies have contributed important insights that are worthy of consideration by those who operate primarily from within the field of history (pp. 161–63) I note, however, that problems remain concerning inter-disciplinary communication. Historians are responsible, in part, for the shortcomings (some operate without attention to issues raised in film scholarship), but so are film studies professionals who promise a great deal but sometimes deliver considerably less. Unfortunately, much of the film theory recommended to historians is replete with jargon, vague references to the ideas of favored French gurus, and exercises in political correctness.

Higashi reacts defensively to my questioning rather than acknowledging the challenge of discovering new ways to strengthen cross-disciplinary understanding and communication. Instead of dealing with fundamental questions raised in *Reel History*, the reviewer registers a series of detailed complaints that misrepresent my thesis.

For example, Higashi shows displeasure over this writer's observation that Claude Lanzmann's documentary film *Shoah* is without "dramatic representations." Sumiko Higashi declares that *Shoah* is "replete with drama if not reenactments." I certainly agree and also concur that *Shoah* addresses weighty philosophical issues. My point refers to information in *Reel History* (p. 121) showing that Lanzmann objected strenuously to *Schindler's List*. The documentary filmmaker recorded statements from witnesses to the Holocaust and argued that the "sacred subject" should not be fictionalized. Did Higashi fail to read this page and, therefore, not understand the meaning of the term, "dramatic"?

Higashi also claims that I am guilty of "dismissal of unconventional works," especially in my comments about the movie, *Walker* (1987), a Higashi favorite. Did the reviewer see my discussion (p. 164) of *Walker*'s intriguing contemporary messages? *Reel History* acknowledges that provocatively designed films, such as *Walker* and *JFK*, "raise important issues for the study of cinematic history," particularly through challenges to official claims about "truth." My point is that experimental movies with radically configured narrative structures rarely attract huge audiences or excite broad public discussions about the value and limits of cinematic history (*JFK* is a notable exception).

It is evident that the reviewer needs to read more carefully before making sweeping judgments. For example, my book acknowledges the value of Hayden White's questions about the objectivity and truthfulness of scholarship (in contrast to filmmaking). Yet *Reel History* also questions how far interpreters of film can stretch this argument (pp. 161–167, 177). Higashi characterizes this commentary as a damning criticism

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of virtually all film scholars who embrace White's ideas. Quite an assumption!

My interest in bridging communication between historians and film scholars remains strong. As suggested in the book, film specialists can offer much of value to historians, and historians can present important ideas to film professionals as well. Furthermore, a single individual can work with a deep appreciation of these interrelated interests. We need not lead segregated lives, as Robert A. Rosenstone has shown in several insightful commentaries that connect the work of history and film professionals. Unfortunately, a reflexive response to the invitation for improved cross-disciplinary dialogue, evidenced in Higashi's commentary, obscures the issues and hinders communication.

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN
University of North Carolina, Wilmington

TO THE EDITOR:

Why does Robert Brent Toplin assume that his criticism of an essay that I wrote about film as history motivated a negative review of his book? Would I not first have to take his critique seriously?

For the record, I have never written about *JFK*, as Toplin repeatedly alleges, so that, as far as I am concerned, his critique is irrelevant. And if I had, I would certainly not label a film that adheres to so many genre conventions as "experimental."

I plead guilty to writing about *Mississippi Burning* and *Walker* and opting, in this case, for postmodern rather than illusionist film as history. But why does Toplin ascribe my preference for Alex Cox's irreverent treatment of Americans in Nicaragua to political correctness (p. 166)? Anyone interested in filmmaking can marvel at Leni Riefensthal's documentaries without endorsing fascism.

As stated in my review, Toplin does make a credible, if defensive, argument in favor of popular films as history. "Gross misrepresentations" of such an unexceptional thesis, however, require more interest in the subject than I possess. Since historical dramas in a postmodern electronic age often lapse into camp or kitsch and unwittingly become self-parodic, blockbuster films can be read in multiple, even contradictory, ways, especially by the young. Yet such issues are unexplored. Box-office receipts, moreover, do not constitute evidence that audiences are reading historical films as academics think they are. Almost since the invention of cinema, representations of history have been associated with eye-popping spectacle. Would audiences have paid to see *Titanic* if it were a low-budget disaster movie?

Within the context of praise for blockbusters like *Saving Private Ryan*, Toplin's discussion of "*Walker*, *JFK*, and other avant-garde movies" does sound dismissive (pp. 163–66). (Neither *Walker* nor *JFK*, by the way, can be defined as avant-garde.) As for his argument that such pictures fail to attract large audiences, what else is new? An exquisite film like Eric Rohmer's *The Lady and the Duke* may be forgiven poor receipts because it reveals so much about artifice in constructing history.

Stating the obvious ("movies communicate in distinctive ways"), misreading works, and writing without nuance are problems that mar Toplin's work. For example, I state that "Scholars enthusiastic about postmodern films that foreground the construction of history are criticized for embracing Hayden White on 'the relativity of historical truths'" (*AHR*, October 2004, 1264). Toplin misreads this as his having written a "damning criticism of virtually all film scholars who embrace White's ideas." An equally tendentious argument can be made about our differences regarding Claude Lanzmann on the unrepresentabilty of the Holocaust and its dramatizations. But splitting hairs is a pointless exercise.

What is at issue here is the value of interdisciplinary dialogue involving historians and film scholars. Although Toplin claims to be interested in such discourse, his writing suggests otherwise. Why characterize film studies in general as a Marxist enterprise? Why describe "much of film theory" as "exercises in political correctness"? Why misunderstand Louis Althusser and Jacques Lacan as articulated in psychoanalytic and semiotic reductionism, a theoretical move that is now passe? Why confuse issues of class with those of gender? Why fail to make a rigorous distinction between cultural and economic hegemony (pp. 168–71)? Why, in sum, misread a discipline in the process of critiquing it and then claim to be promoting a dialogue?

Granted, many film theorists (as distinct from some film historians) write thickets of jargon signifying professional trends that ensure a limited shelf life for their works. Yet they still have much to say about issues of stylistics, representation, narrative, realism, genre, spectacle, and ideology. Comprehending their work requires an investigation of a field that is often epistemologically at odds with history and demands time.

Although academic turf is constructed in terms of disciplines, the "historical turn" in screen studies presents an opportunity for dialogue between film historians and historians studying film. A number of media specialists would profit from discussion of issues including historiography; periodization; reification; human agency; social groups and dynamics in reception studies; contextualizing films; national cinemas and globalization; and so forth. Unfortunately, Toplin's book contributes little to such a dialogue.

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TO THE EDITOR:

First let me thank you for reviewing the book I edited with Lois Beck (*Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003) in your most recent issue (December 2004). However, I am distressed by Elton Daniel's review of my introductory article since it so misstates and misunderstands what I did.

Having read his comments several times, I have concluded that he missed entirely the point I was making. He claims that my main thesis is that Islamic teachings had very little impact on the status of women in Iran, and he uses this claim to dismiss my introduction as "standard refrain of modern apologetic Muslim literature. " Had he read my words more carefully he would have realized that what I showed was *why* religious teachings, whether Islamic, Zoroastrian, or otherwise, do not play an important role in determining the status of women. Instead I argue that their status and that of men are determined by social and economic forces that also influence religious and the value systems they underpin.

My aim in this and other work has been to introduce a different methodology for understanding the social and economic forces that affect women and the value systems that become institutionalized in response to such conditions. I argue that the status of women, including the veil and their absence from the public sphere, evolved in response to the evolution of urban life beginning in the Sumerian period in the region. I elaborated this point with examples about women in the Achaemenian period. These points appear to be original, and to my knowledge have not been advanced by any other scholar. Perhaps I did not develop my argument in a clear fashion, but that should be the basis for any criticism.

Daniel claims that the essay is not based on "original work in the primary sources," yet the references in the footnotes show that most of the sources I used, such as Babylonian law codes, Achaemenian tablets, Herodotus's work, the many volumes of Zoroastrian sacred writings, the Qur'an, and Ibn Ishaq's *Sirat Rasul Allah* (Biography of the Messenger of God), are indeed original sources. To be sure, with the exception of Arabic and Persian, I am not familiar with Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Old Persian, Greek, Latin, and Pahlavi. But I do not believe such knowledge is necessary in providing context for the post-Islamic period. My aim was to show the continuity between the pre- and post-Islamic practices.

Finally I would like to refer Daniel to a brief reference to my methodology by Judith Tucker, in *Gender and Islamic History*, published by the American Historical Association a few years ago. She credits me with a "third distinct interpretation," which she says, "minimizes the impact of the rise of Islam on the prevailing gender system." That is precisely what I also did in this introduction.

GUITY NASHAT
University of Illinois, Chicago

TO THE EDITOR:

Guity Nashat makes a number of erroneous assertions in her communication. Among other things, I did not comment on her "introductory article"; I discussed what is presented separately as her contributor's essay, along with and in the context of the nine essays by other authors that make up the book. I did not "dismiss" her essay as a "standard refrain of [*sic*] modern apologetic Muslim literature"; I noted how similar one key part of her argument, and what it suggests about Islam and the status of women, is to modern Muslim apologetics and agendas, an irony apparently lost on Nashat. She asserts that I have misunderstood her essay since I claim that her "main thesis is that Islamic teachings had very little impact on the status of women in Iran." I would challenge her to demonstrate where in fact I make any such claim. I say nothing of the kind. To the contrary, I indicate that her "basic thesis" is that the status of women was dependent on "conditions of life," a brief allusion to the very "social and economic forces" she mentions in her communication. I see no fundamental conflict between my interpretation of the significance of Dr. Nashat's essay, which I present mostly in the form of direct quotations, and the view of Judith Tucker, cited approvingly by Nashat, that she "minimizes the impact of the rise of Islam on the existing gender system." Nashat should not confuse an attempt at succinctness with misunderstanding.

Nashat also disputes my observation that the essay is "not based on original work in the primary sources" since she used "original sources" (note the change in wording). I, however, explain specifically that my comment means that the essay relies on "secondary sources and some translations." This is entirely accurate, as can easily be verified by looking at the documentation for the essay and corroborated by Nashat's admission that she does not know most of the languages involved. Her use of the source languages she does know, Persian and Arabic, is negligible at best. Out of the vast corpus of classical Arabic historiography and literature, she cites (rarely) only three works by three authors—all three from English translations. She does give a couple of references to verses from the Qur'an, but even there acknowledges that she "consulted" the Arberry translation. For Persian works, she cites one article by a modern Iranian scholar and a recent Pahlavi to Persian translation of a Zoroastrian text. Now, by any standard known to me, the primary source is the original text, not a translation of it. Dealing with a cultural tradition through bits and pieces of it, and only then if they happen to have been

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translated into a language one can read, is not the same as dealing with the appropriate parts of that tradition as they were written. A general survey, while useful, does not carry the weight of the views of a specialist. Several very good essays in the volume reviewed are written by authorities on the periods they cover and are based on extensive readings in genuine primary sources. Nashat is a fine scholar of modern Iran, and her commendable work as co-editor in bringing this volume to press is not at issue. Nonetheless, she is hardly an established authority on the periods she discusses, and she has not exploited the sources the way those other articles do. In my opinion, the volume would have been stronger had articles on the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods also been written by experts in those fields. For these reasons I judged Nashat's contribution, as indicated in the review, less satisfactory.

Given the rather spurious nature of these complaints, I can only conclude that Nashat is primarily annoyed that I did not give her essay the extended attention and pride of place in the review that she obviously thinks it warranted. My task, however, was to provide my assessment, in rigidly limited space, of the book as a whole; suffice it to say that under those conditions I gave her essay the treatment I judged it deserved.

ELTON L. DANIEL
University of Hawaii, Manoa

TO THE EDITOR:

Managerial ideology in the business world and, increasingly, in the political arena often denies or at least underestimates the importance of top-down power. It holds that inspirational "leaders" manage subordinates via "influence" derived from superior "values." This ideology implicitly, sometimes explicitly, denies the wisdom of traditional democratic suspicion of power. It thrives in business schools, has considerable sway in the higher levels of corporations, and is most visibly embodied in the current occupant of the White House, the first president with an MBA degree.

My book, *False Prophets: The Gurus Who Created Modern Management and Why Their Ideas Are Bad for Business Today* (2003), is a history of this subtly undemocratic ideology. Early in my book, I gave an example of the power of this ideology—a manager I know personally who actually believed that in a corporate context he could forego the use of power and lead through moral influence (p. xix). His career went awry as a result. It may be this example that leads your reviewer (*AHR*, December 2004) to assert that I "claim that employers were reluctant to exercise power" (p. 1606). While contemporary managerial ideology does have such an effect on some naive employers, I scarcely think it typical. Elizabeth Fones-Wolf therefore errs in thinking my "central proposition is that too many employers today are uncomfortable with exercising authority over their workers" (p. 1605).

The book's real central proposition—or at least one of them—is that managerial ideology promotes moral arrogance in managers. It allows them to reconcile their exercise of power with their putatively democratic convictions by encouraging them to believe that they are not merely bosses but also moral leaders. That such arrogance promotes even worse abuses than the powerful would otherwise commit is a traditional teaching of democratic theory and is borne out by the reality of much of corporate life today.

Therefore, far from arguing that managers are too "uncomfortable" with power, I argue that they should increase their discomfort by recognizing that their power is morally illegitimate: "Only if managerial power is understood as an undemocratic but necessary evil in an imperfect world does moral caution have a fighting chance to engage the manager's conscience" (p. xix). Unfortunately, however, managerial ideology with its unrealistic overemphasis on leading by "values" grows ever more influential, promoting moral arrogance among managers and among political leaders as well.

JAMES HOOPES
Babson College

Elizabeth Fones-Wolf does not wish to respond.

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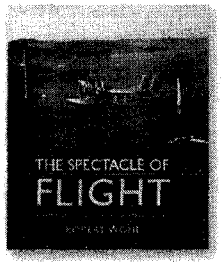
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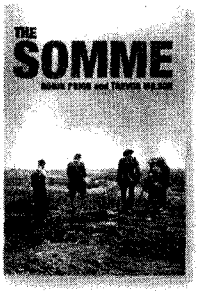
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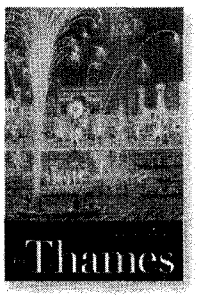
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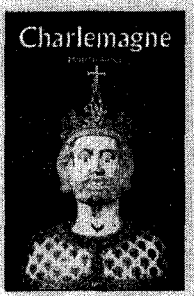
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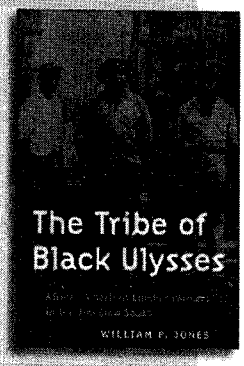
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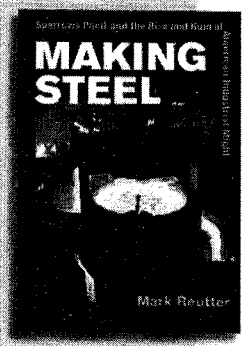
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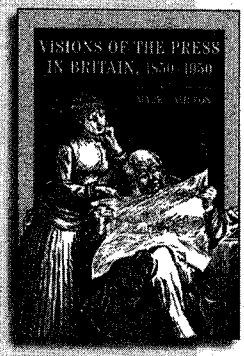
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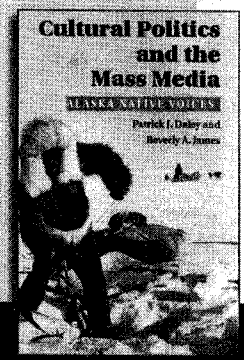


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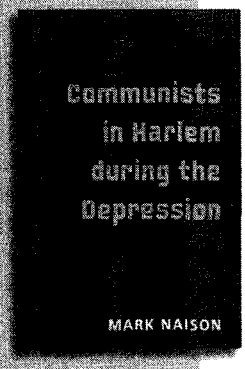
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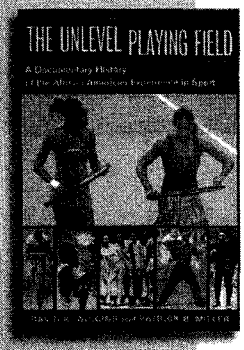
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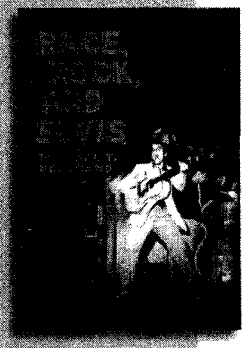
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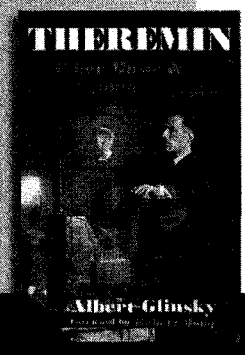


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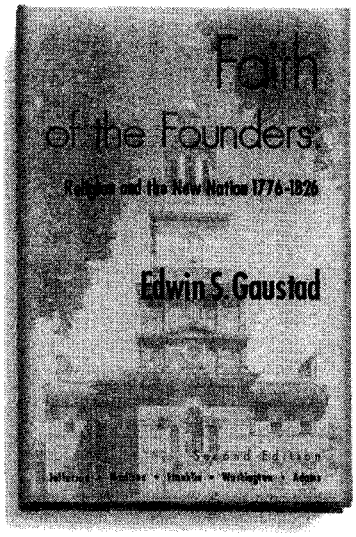
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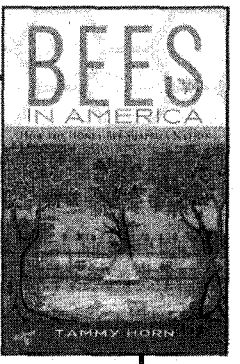
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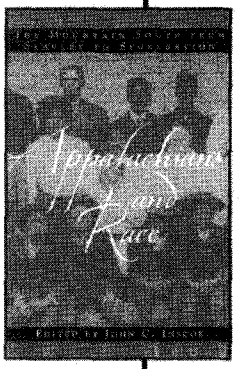
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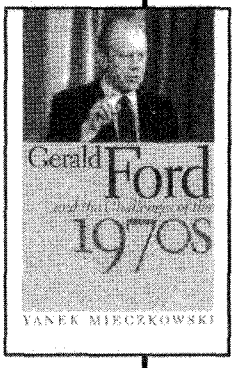


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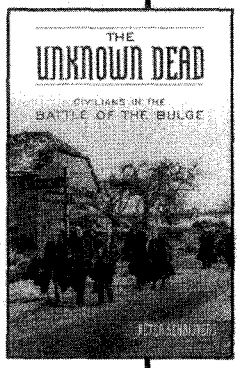
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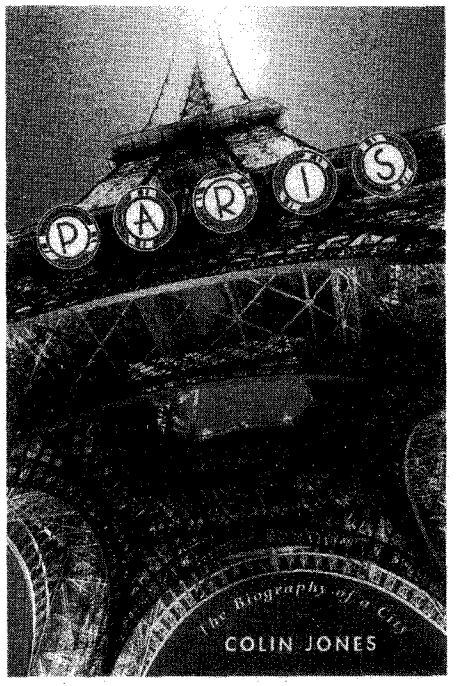
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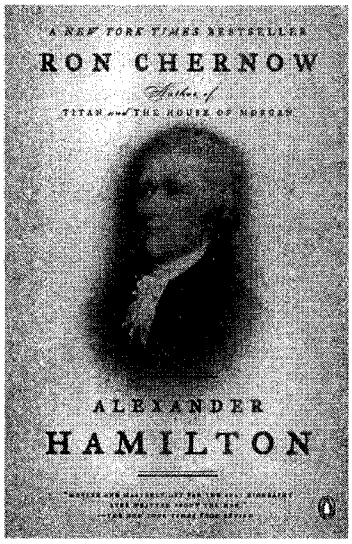
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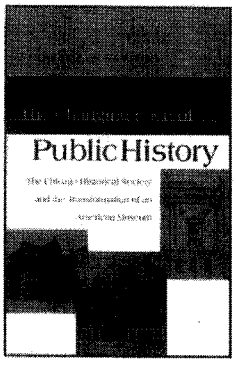
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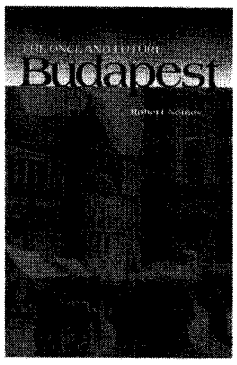
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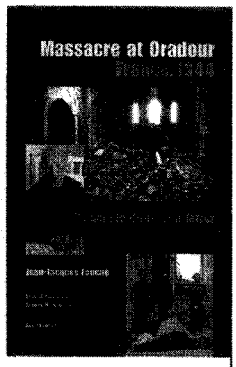
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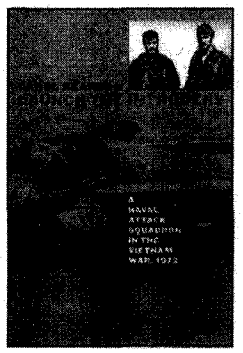
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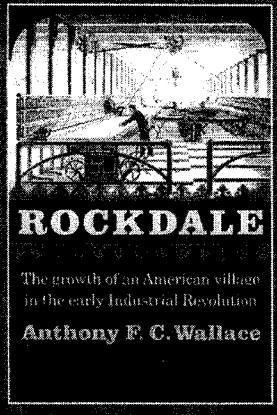
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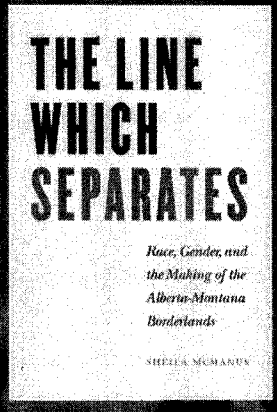
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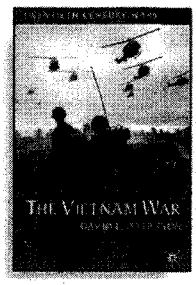
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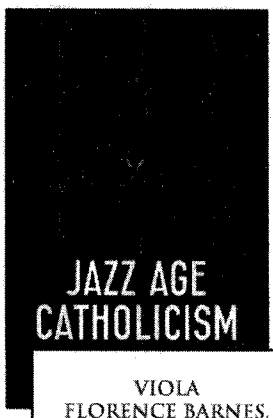
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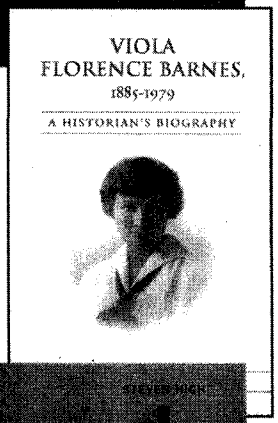


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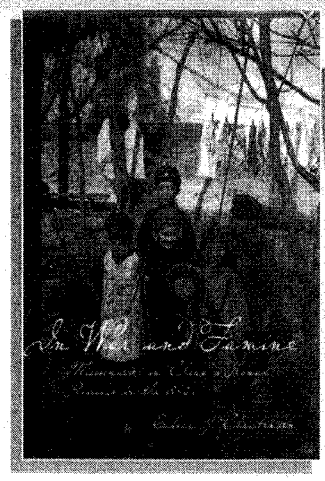
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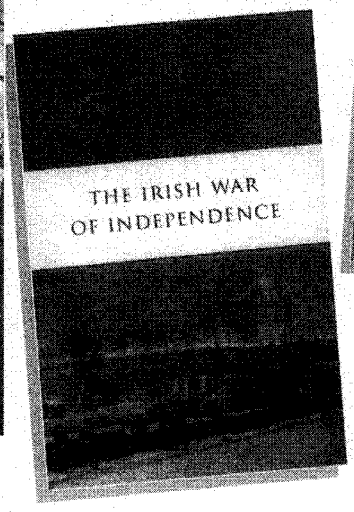
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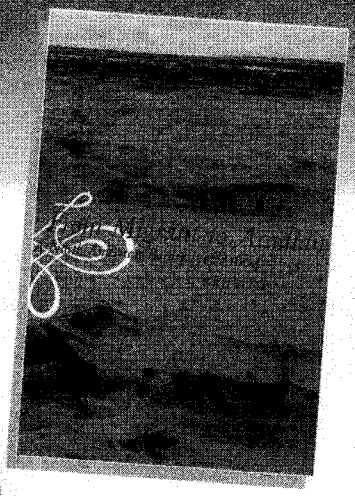
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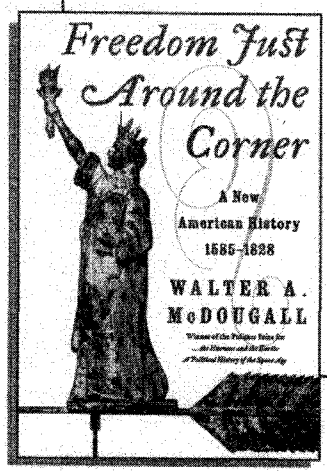
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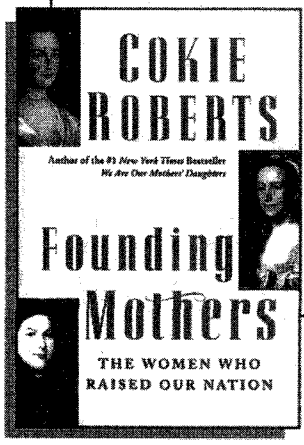
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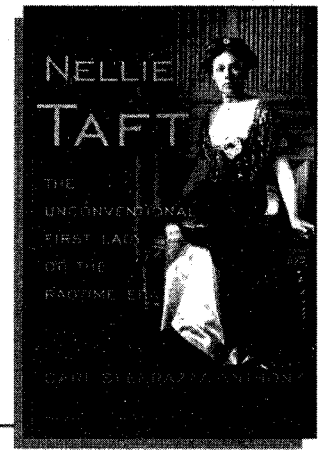
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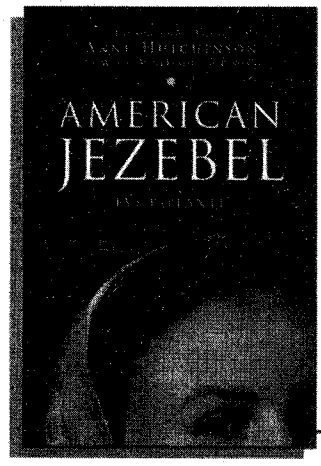
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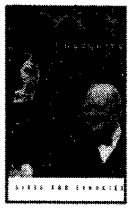
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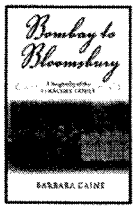


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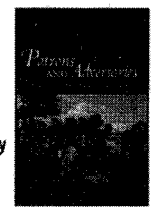


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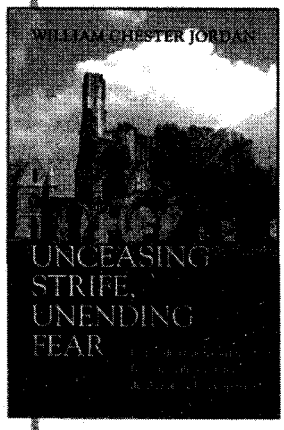
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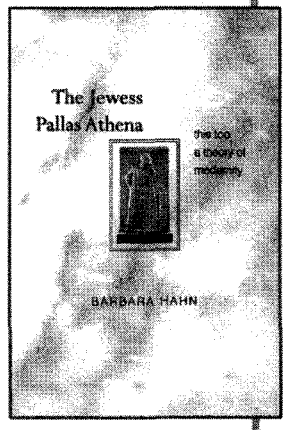
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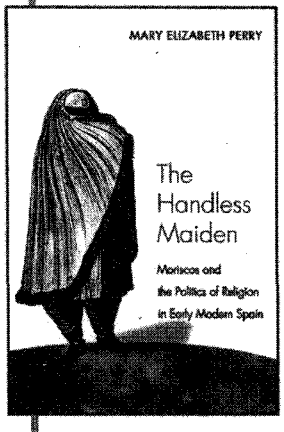


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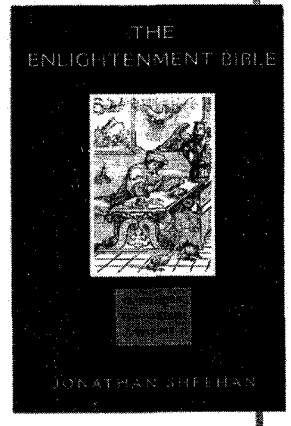
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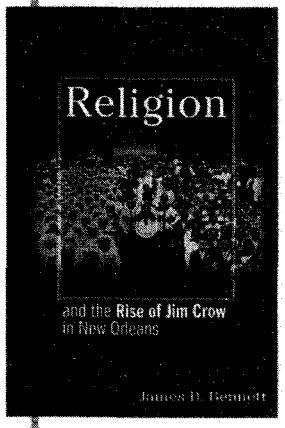
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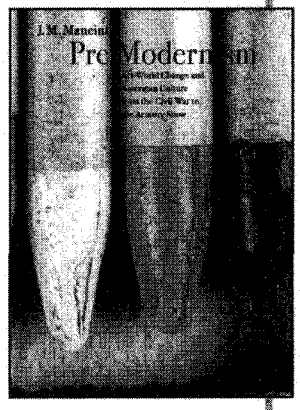
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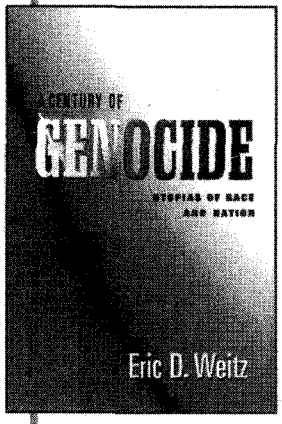
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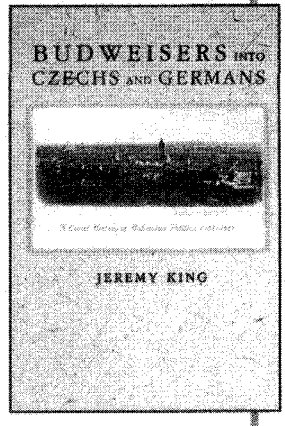
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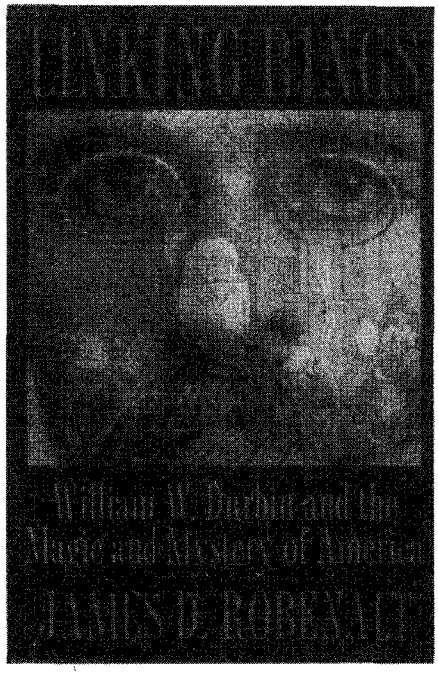
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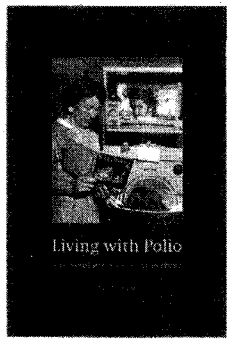
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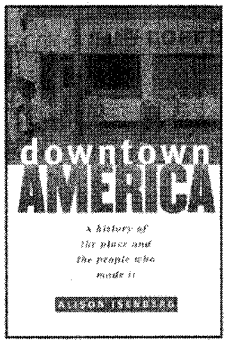
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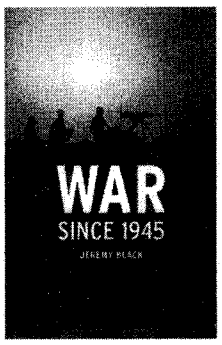
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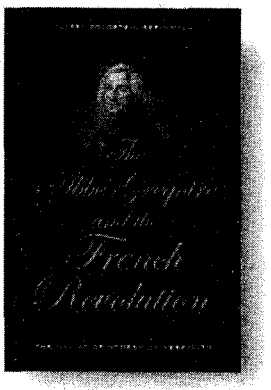
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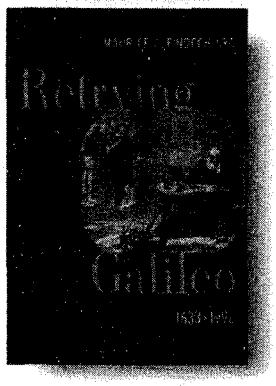
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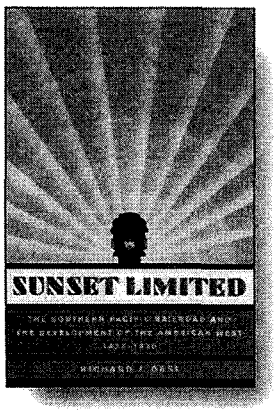
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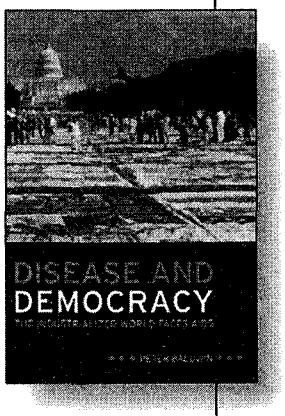
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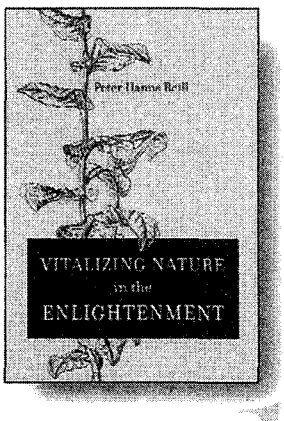
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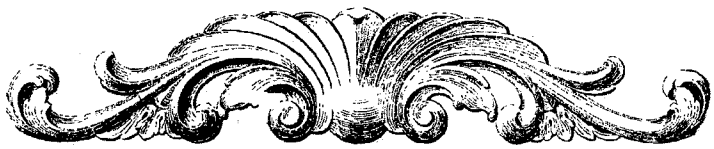
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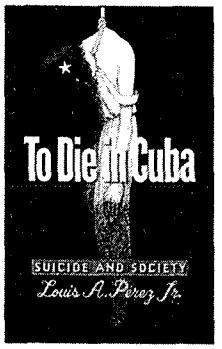
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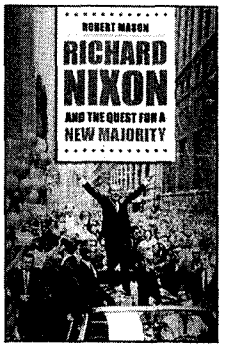
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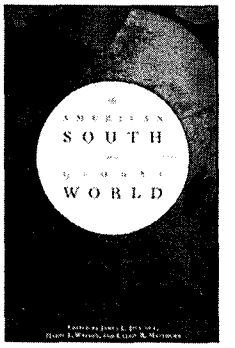
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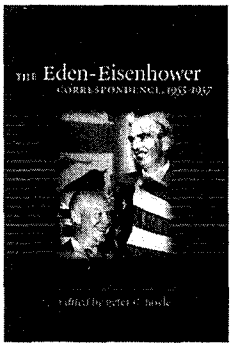
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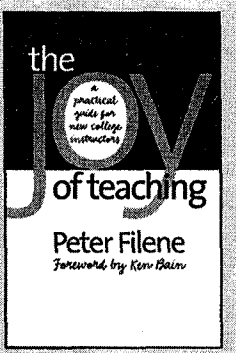
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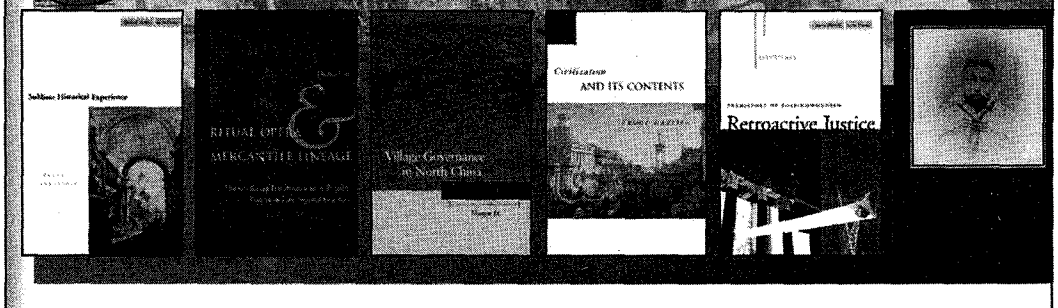
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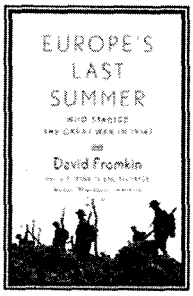
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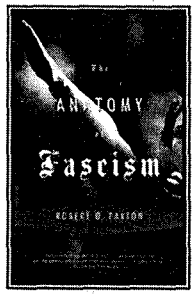
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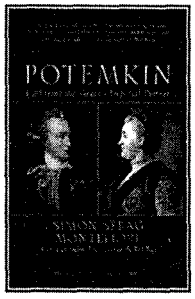
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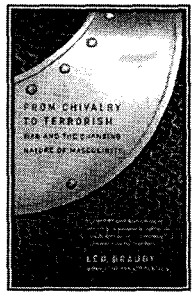
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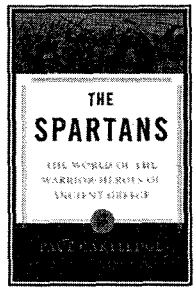
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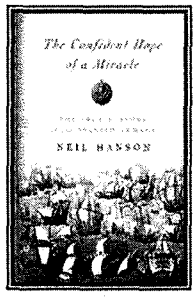
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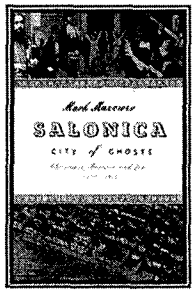
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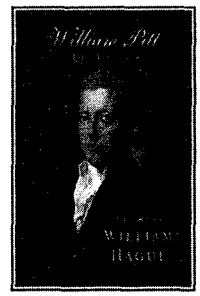
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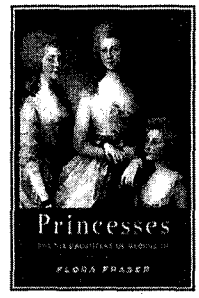
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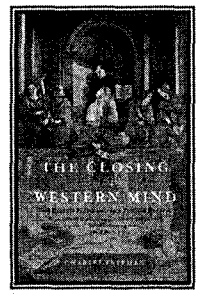
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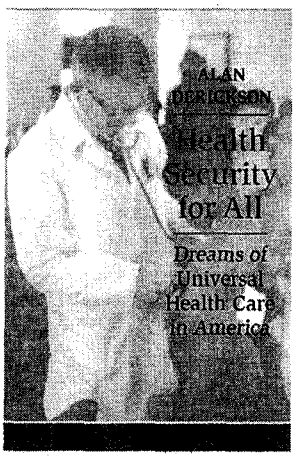
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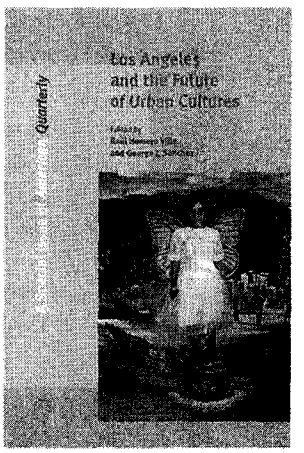
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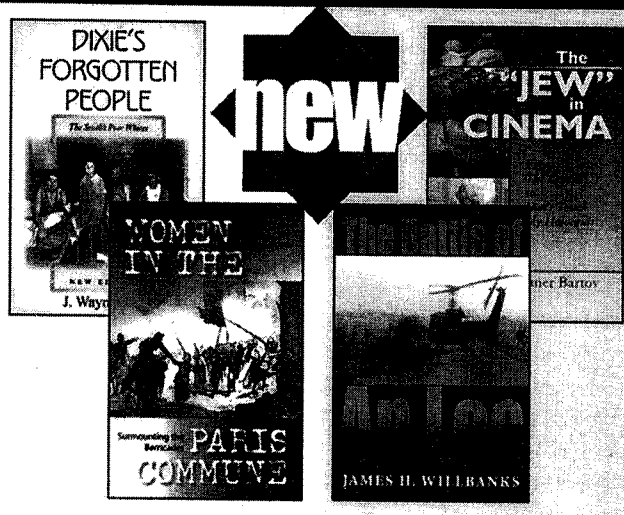
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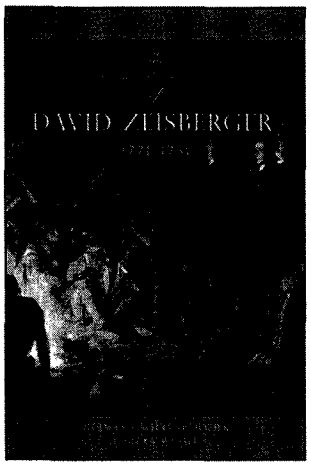
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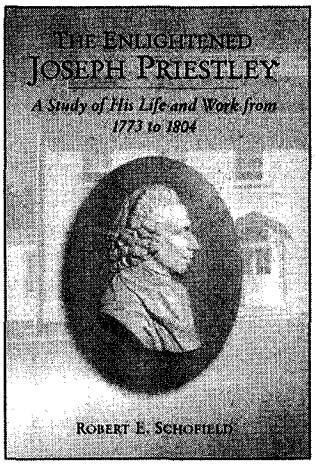
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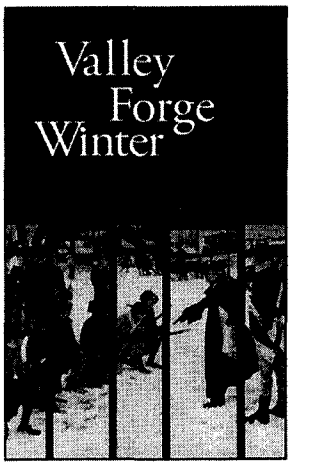
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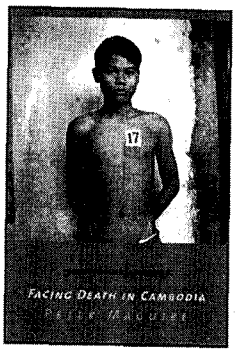
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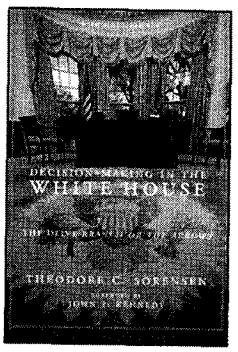


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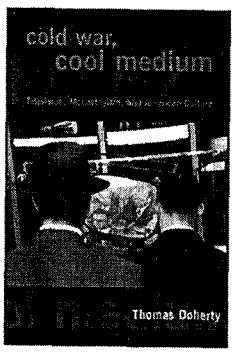


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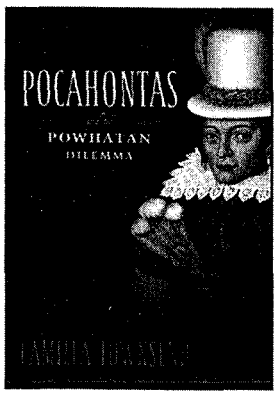
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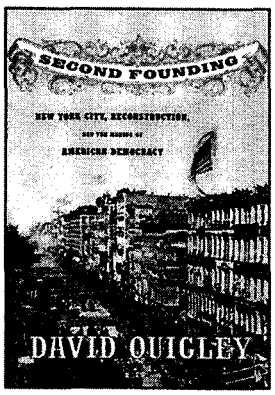
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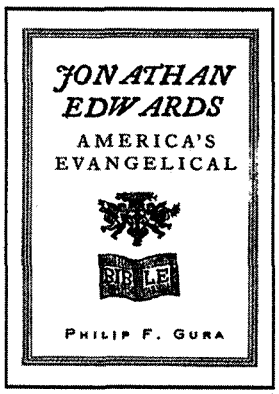
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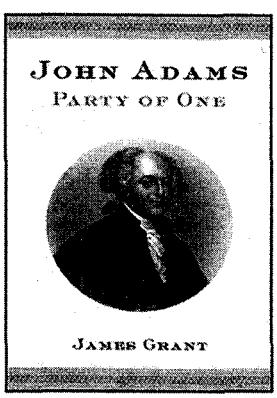
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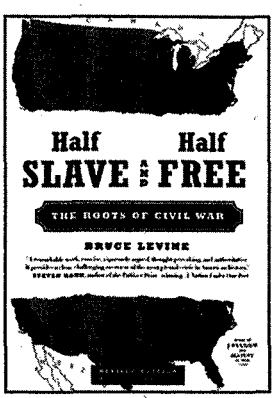
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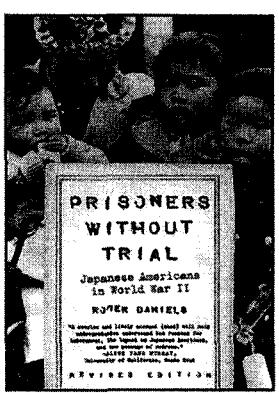
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AHA Book Awards, 2005

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AHA Prize in Atlantic History: This annual award recognizes an outstanding book that explores aspects of the integration of Atlantic worlds before the 20th century.

George Louis Beer Prize: The Beer Prize is awarded annually for the best work by a U.S. citizen or permanent resident on European international history since 1895.

Albert J. Beveridge Award: The Beveridge Award is conferred annually for the best work on American history from 1492 to the present (history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America).

James Henry Breasted Prize: The Breasted Prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book in any field of history prior to A.D. 1000.

John B. Dunning Prize: The Dunning Prize is awarded biennially in odd years for a book on any topic in U.S. history. Entries must be the author's first or second book.

John E. Fagg Prize: The Fagg Prize is awarded for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America.

John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History: The Fairbank Prize was established in 1968 by friends of John K. Fairbank for an outstanding book in the history of China proper, Vietnam, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, or Japan substantially after 1800.

Herbert Feis Award: Established in 1984, the Feis Award—funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation—is conferred annually for the best book, article(s), or policy paper by a public historian or independent scholar.

Morris D. Forkosch Prize: Awarded for the first time in 1993, this prize is offered for the best book in the fields of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history since 1485.

Leo Gershoy Award: This award, established by a gift from Mrs. Ida Gershoy in memory of her husband, is given annually to the author of the most outstanding work in English on any aspect of the field of 17th- and 18th-century western European history.

Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History: Established in 1984 by the CCWHP/CGWH (now CCWH) and administered by the AHA, the Kelly Prize is offered annually for the best work in women's history or feminist theory.

Littleton-Griswold Prize: Established in 1985, this prize is awarded annually for the best book in any subject on the history of American law and society.

J. Russell Major Prize: The Russell Major Prize is awarded annually to the best work in English on any aspect of French history.

Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize: Established in 1973, the Marraro Prize is awarded annually for the best work in any epoch of Italian history, Italian cultural history, or Italian-American relations.

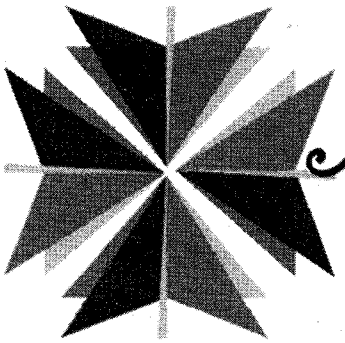
George L. Mosse Prize: Established in 1999, the Mosse Prize will be awarded annually for a major work in European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance.

Wesley-Logan Prize: Established in 1992 by the AHA and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, this prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book on some aspect of the history of the dispersion, settlement, and adjustment, or return of peoples originally from Africa.

Further information and submission guidelines are available on the AHA web site at http://www.historians.org/prizes/

Submission deadline May 16, 2005

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Members are invited to suggest names of individuals who can be nominated for the Theodore Roosevelt-Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award. Named for the two former AHA presidents who were also presidents of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt (AHA president in 1912) and Woodrow Wilson (AHA president in 1924)—this honorific award recognizes individuals outside the historical profession who have made a significant contribution to the study, teaching, and public understanding of history.

The suggestions for possible nominees can include (but need not be restricted to), for example, persons who may have made a significant contribution to the support and encouragement of history through their actions. Such noteworthy actions may include philanthropy, supporting or working for the National History Day, helping to protect and preserve a national historical monument or park, or working in the community to develop a regard for history. First presented in 2004, the previous honorees have been Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WVA) and Brian Lamb (C-Span President and C.E.O.).

The executive director and the AHA president will consider members' suggestions and other names to choose the nominees. The AHA Council will thereupon make the final selection.

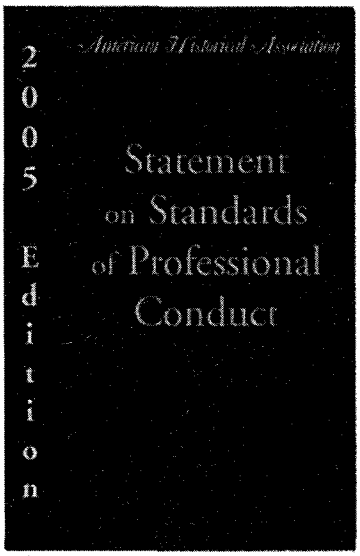
Mail your suggestion (along with a one-page note justifying the suggestion) to the Executive Director, AHA, Attention: The Roosevelt-Wilson Award, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889.

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Education of Historians:

A Workshop for directors of graduate studies (and others interested in graduate education)

August 4–5, 2005, at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn, Virginia.

Register today and take advantage of this invaluable opportunity!

The *Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century*, a report of the AHA Committee on Graduate Education, funded by the Carnegie Corporation, recommended workshops for directors of graduate studies.

The American Historical Association first sponsored such a workshop for department chairs and directors of graduate studies at the 2005 annual meeting in Seattle, and is now sponsoring another workshop.

Directors of graduate education and others interested in graduate education are invited to participate in this summer workshop, which will provide important information about, and facilitate discussion of, a range of issues critical to the work of the directors of graduate education and others involved in graduate education.

The workshop will be held at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn at Key Bridge in Rosslyn, Virginia, just across the Potomac from Georgetown in Washington, D.C. The hotel is three miles away from the Ronald Reagan National Airport and one block from the Rosslyn Metro Station. The Kennedy Center, Smithsonian Museums as well as Arlington Cemetery are a short distance away. Free parking is available at the Hotel.

Program

Thursday, August 4, 2005

The program will begin on Thursday, August 4, 2005, with a reception that will be held from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., and dinner (with a speaker) from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Friday, August 5, 2005

First Session: 8:30–10:00 Models for Best Practices in Graduate Education.

Speakers will include representatives from a Preparing Future Faculty program and from the Carnegie Initiative on the Doctorate (CID)

Second Session: 10:30–12:00 Training for Research and Teaching in a Global Context.

Speakers will include representatives from graduate programs that are addressing globalization.

Third Session: 1:00–2:30 Tools for Planning and Assessment in Graduate Programs.

Speakers will include Robert Townsend of the AHA, and representatives from government agencies and private organizations that are involved in developing data sources critical to graduate education planning.

Fourth Session: 3:00–4:30 Negotiating Institutional Review Boards.

Speakers will include government and professional associations representatives involved with developing standards and regulations for IRBs.

Registration and Accommodation

The registration fee of $200 will include a reception, full breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and two coffee breaks. Registration fee is due July 1, 2005.

Rooms are available at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn at Key Bridge in Northern Virginia. The number of rooms is limited, however, and reservations must be made (directly with the hotel) before July 1, 2005 to receive the special, discounted rate of $119 plus tax. The discounted rate is available August 4–6, 2005. To make a reservation, please call Holiday Inn Rosslyn at 703-807-2000. Details about the hotel are available on the hotel's web site, **www.ichotelsgroup.com/h/d/hi/1/en/hd/waswp**.

For more information about the workshop, contact: Dr. Noralee Frankel, nfrankel@historians.org.

Registration deadline is July 1, 2005

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The William Gilbert Award

The **William Gilbert Award** for the Best Article on Teaching History recognizes outstanding contributions to the teaching of history through the publication of journal articles. The prize was endowed by a generous gift from Mrs. William Gilbert in memory of her husband, a distinguished member of the history department at the University of Kansas.

Eligible for consideration in a given year are articles by members of the AHA, published in the United States between 1 June 2003 to 31 May 2005. Journals and individual members may submit nominations on the teaching of history (including scholarship of teaching and learning, methodology and theory of pedagogy) for each biennial cycle of this award. Journals, magazines, and other serials can submit up to two articles for each award cycle. Each nominator is required to provide a brief letter of support (no more than two pages) with the article.

One copy of each letter of support and article must be sent for each member of the Committee on Teaching Prizes. Entries must be postmarked by **July 15, 2005**. Entries will not be returned. No faxes will be accepted.

Send six copies of your completed entry to

Gilbert Award Coordinator

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400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003.

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Nominations are invited for the

John E. O' Connor Film Award

The AHA annually offers the John E. O'Connor Film Award to recognize outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The award honors Professor O'Connor's exceptional role as a pioneer in teaching and researching film and history.

The honorific award for 2005 will be announced at the 2006 annual meeting in Philadelphia. Key elements to be considered by the committee are stimulation of thought, imaginative use of the media, effective presentation of information and ideas, sensitivity to modern scholarship, and accuracy.

The committee will receive nominations from filmmakers, historians, and others. Eligibility will be restricted to films and videos completed between May 17, 2004, and May 16, 2005. Laserdiscs, slides, and related teaching materials will not be eligible for consideration. Please forward submissions in VHS format. Entries will not be returned.

The nomination deadline for the 2005 award is **May 16, 2005**.

For guidelines and submission information, please visit:

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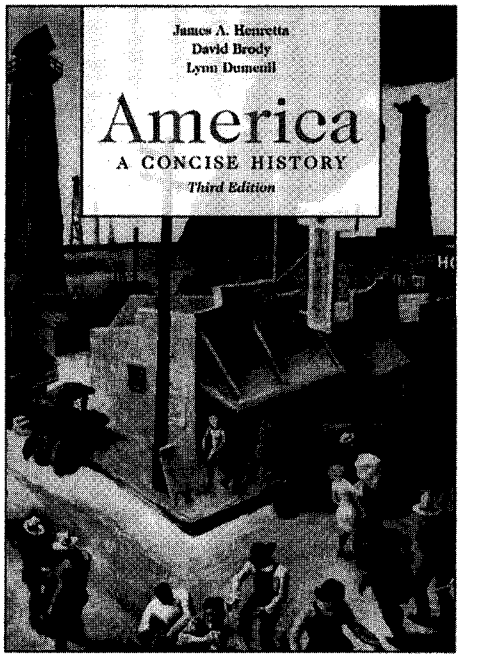
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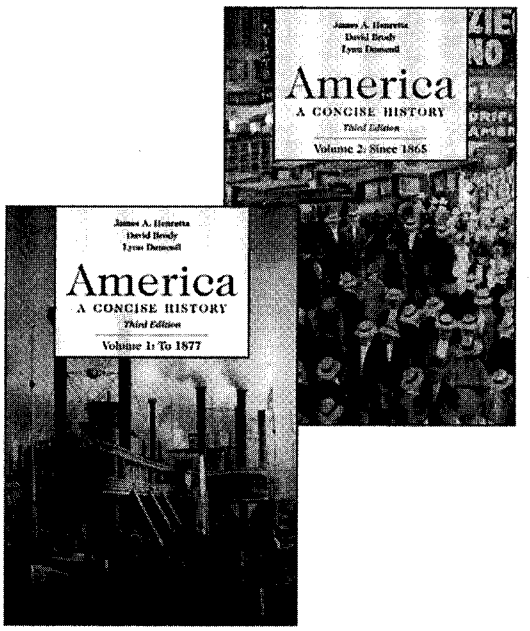
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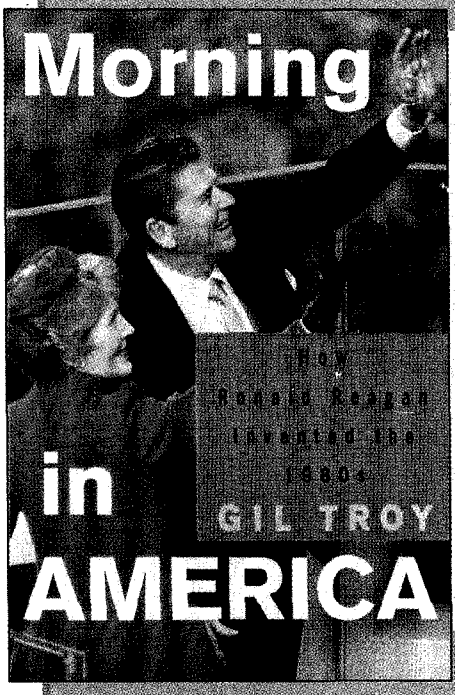
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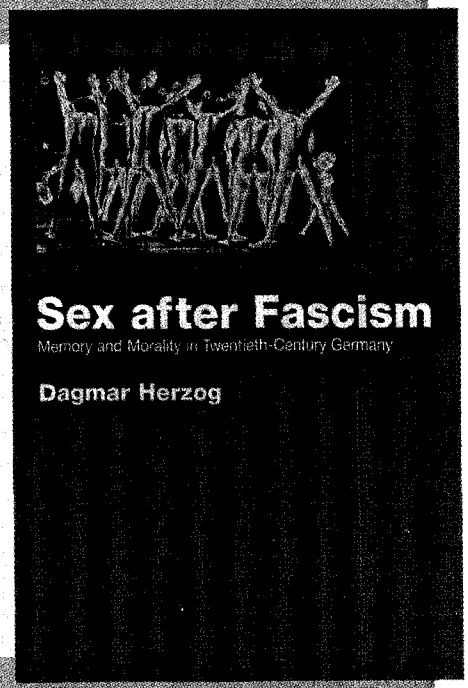
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